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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—We shall, hereafter, publish the magazine for 1871, as nearly as possible, on the *fifteenth of the month of the date of the several numbers.*

II.—The press of books for notice has obliged us to *add sixteen pages* to the usual number, making *eighty*, in all, instead of *sixty-four.*

III.—The February number will contain, among other papers, General Slocum's Address before the Long Island Historical Society, on *The Military Lessons taught by the War;* a complete report of the Centennial Celebration at Monterey, Cal., with Father Hudson's Oration, from the author's manuscript, furnished by himself; a letter from General Adam Badeau, U.S.A. on *The relative strength of the armies of Generals Lee and Grant,* with a reply by General J. A. Early, C.S.A.; an unpublished letter of the period, illustrative of life in New York, under Leisler; an unpublished Report by General Sedgwick, of Operations in April and May, 1863; and other original papers from various pens. The March number will contain, among other papers, the celebrated "Motley Letter

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. IX. Second Series.] JANUARY, 1871. [No. 1.

I.—ANDERSONVILLE.

I.—*DIARY OF A PRISONER.*

From the original Manuscript, now first printed.*

Continued from Old Book.

Thursday June 29th. 1864

No news in Camp this Morning. Very warm, and we will More than probably have rain before Night. Soon after our rations began coming in this afternoon the commander of the Camp issued an order, that not another load of rations should enter Camp until the party or organization of Raiders were fereted out and placed in his hands.

About a dozen guards entered the Stockade and with the assistance of Some informers began picking up Some of the leaders, which caused an imense excitement. They got Somewhere near 25 of the Most desperate and will keep them until to-morrow when Some action will be taken withe them either by the Confederate Military authorities or by our own civil laws as control our camp. Just at evening two or three of them were turned into Camp Singly to let the men do with [*them*] as they thought fit. They were all three beat and pounded So badly that they cannot get over it. This Evening We had a Row with our Kicked out tentmate and compeled him to deliver up a watch as part payment for his house rent

Various reports are in circularion as to the disposal of these raiders that are being taken outside. One report is that they will be a Scaffold erected in the Stockade and the raiders Sent back again into the Stockade and left to the Mercies of our now excited Men. But the Most plausible report that I have heard is that a Jury of 12 impartial men be Chosen and what ever Verdict they hand in the Confederate authorities will See Carried out

Grace Linwood
Amherst
Mass.

Recieved a Waverly from her whilst on the March, and never had time to write to her before being taken by the Rebs. I am bound to write and tender her my thanks, if I am even allowed to leave this infernal *Stockade Prison*.

Thursday June 30th 1864

Increasing excitement in camp in referance to the "*Raiders*" Two dead bodies have been found up to 10 A.M. buried beneath the tents of Some of the leaders, The Self instituted Vigilence Committe are busily engaged in hunting up More of the Murderous Villians. The Court Martial is now going on in the South entrance to the Camp.

If Justice is Meeted out to them, Not one among them but will die by the halter— There is a report in Camp that thirteen thousand of the recently taken prisoners will be removed to day to the New Stockade.

Friday July 1st. 1864

The Court Martial instituted to try the "*Raiders*" are disposing of the cases as fast as they can the Sentence or Verdict in Neither Case has been revealed to the publice or the Camp.

"*Frank*" was arrested this morning, under charges prefered against him by "*Torey*" But it proved to be unfounded, and the Charge not being Sustained, and Evident proof that he was Not guilty he was discharged

Detachments from 48—upwards are Moving into the New Stockade. Bought one dollar worth of white Beans (2 Quts) and cooked Some for our dinner.

Saturday July 2nd. 1864

No News in camp this Morning worthy of notice. The Excitement in regard to the "*Raiders*" is dying away fast.

* This Diary is written with a pencil, on the unoccupied spaces of a printed *Pocket Diary for* 1863, the blank pages of which had previously done duty, while the prisoner was yet in the field, as a record of his correspondence, etc., and, sometimes, as a diary of current events. Two distinct records, therefore, occupy the same pages, and very often are written across each other.

The writer was probably Alfred W. Letteer, Sergeant-major of a Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Thomas E. Rose; and the Diary is now in the collections of The Long Island Historical Society.

Sunday July 3d. 1864

Rool eall commeneed again this Morning, drew no rations to day in Consequence of the Men Not answering propperly to rool Call.

Monday July 4th. 1864

To day has opened with a pleasent Smiling Morning Just such a Morning as I would wish to see issher in this glorious day if I was at liberty. Everything quiet in the Camp. "Evening—one of the most teriffic Thunder Storms I ever wittnessed Visited this part of the Country this afternoon, our camp that this Morning presented So Smiling a countenanee, is Now one Vast Cesspool.

drew rations Evening at 7

Tuesday July 5th 1864

A Current report in Camp to-day represents that the paroling comences the 7th of the month the Repot finds Many diciples of belief. but your humble Servant does not Class himselfe among them. Drew rations of Fresh Beef and Meal to-night.

Saw Sergt Obriter for The first time since his Recapture.

Wednesday July 6th 1864

Very warm to day. little or no air in Circulation.

drew rations of Vinagar this A. M, in the Shape of Soured water from meal "Quantity—3 Tablespoons full to each man, rations of Bacon issued again this P.M. in liew of fresh Beef.

Thursday July 7th 1864

Some Men were Sent in this Morning that were taken out Suspected of being "*Raiders*" as No Charges was prefered and no Evidence that they were of that league So they were Sent back to Camp—*Mat Crane* one of them has been heard by one of the deteetives to Say that he will "drive a Knife to My heart before he leaves the "Camp" I am on my guard for him and his party of desperadoes, and with my friends, will give them a hearty welcome the moment they wish to make an attack.

Friday July 8th 1864—

Warm and Sultry this Morning. Rool-call rather earlier than usual. Drumbeat at 6.30. Just learned that Orderly Sergt. Ray of Co "E" 77th Pa. Vols died Some time ago at Hospital, did not learn the date.

Went over on opposite Side of Stream last evening to See Some Members of My Regt. down with the Scurvey. Found 5 or 6 of them beyond a possible recovery. they present a horrible appearanee withe their faee and limbs Swollen to twice their usual Size. Orders yesterday Morning and this that None but the Wounded will recieve attention at Sick eall as their Stock of Medicines have run out

"Well." It Makes but a trifle of differance, as the Medicines they do issue and prescribe amounts to Mere Nothing *Not one case of Chronic Diorhea* has ever been returned to Camp after onee going to Hosp—

News today that *Sherman* was shelling Atlanta last evening and that *Kilpatrick* with Twenty-five Thousand Cavalry is betueen this place and Atlanta in Johnstons rear with the intention of releasing the prisoners at this place,—also that a portion of us are to be Sent to either *Alabama* or Florida. 2 oclock P.M. a few prisoners perhaps 150 in all disembarked from the cars but have not yet eome inside of the Stockade.

drew rations at about 3 P.M. "*Bacon* & "*Dodger*." Indieations of rain this evening.

Saturday July 9th 1864

An intensely hot day. not a breath of air Stiring

Spent the greater portion of this forenoon in reading the *Three Spaniards*. Any thing we find to read here we think interesting Consequently I find Myself interested in a work, whieh if at home I would not give a passing or Second thought. The prisoners brought in yesterday were Captured in the Vecinity of Petersburgh and are prineipally Cavalry.

About two hundred More prisoners came in this P.M. they were Captured June 23d & belong to the Seeond Corps-de-Armee. they bring no News in regard to the Exehange Question. Quite a heavey thunder Storm Commeneed at about 3½ o elock and continued until Nearly 6 o clock.

Sunday July 10th 1864

Quite warm again this Morning. Quarreled with "*Frank*" about putting his foot on the plate of cakes we have for Breakfast. he has been under the weather for four or five weeks and has been the Most disagreeabe Man I ever Met with. Sent My wateh out this Morning by a "*Darkey*" to trade for ten dozen of Eggs whieh are Now Selling in Camp for $4.00 wheat flour is worth 75 cts per pint Butter $12.00 pr lb. Comon Cow *Pea* 45 cts pr pint Molasses (Sorgum) $10.00 pr gal. Salt 8/ pr pint potatoes $3.00 pr doz Blaekberries $3.00 Quart Green tea 50cts tablespoon Black Pepper 25cts tables sp full the priees already Mentioned is the amount which we have to pay for the articles in U. S. Moncy. Below is the Confed-Money priees Eggs $16.00 flour $3 Butter $48.00 per lb Cow Peas $2.50 Molasses $40.00

About 7 hundred prisoners came in to day and Some of them reports that Petersburgh is ours. went up in the new Stockade and Saw "*Dorey*."

Monday July 11th 1864

Cool and Very pleasant this Morning a Most delightfull breeze is blouing which exhilerates ones Spirits far above their usual Monotonous aspect,— Sent My watch out again this Morning as the Darkey di'dnot find a purchaser yesterday.

Beat friend "*Burk*" a game of Cards for the *Cigars* "*Frank*" not So well as usual this Morning. 12 M. the Carpenters are now engaged in erecting a Scaffold for the Execution of Six Raiders. Many think they will not be hung and among that party is My-Selfe But think they are Erecting a Scaffold and Making it appear as if they intended it in earnest to intimidate any future demonstration from the Raiders. 6. O clock P.M. the Erection of a Scaffold in Camp has proved *not to be* a Farce" for I have Just wittnesed the Execution of Six Men from its platform. Some rain this Evening.

Tuesday July 12th 1864

Very warm this Morning. Built up in front of our tent to Keep the water from runing in, Nothing New or Exciting in camp this Morning finished the well.

Wednesday July 13th 1864

Recieved two dozen Eggs last evening touards payment for watch, had half doz for Supper and let "*Dorey*" have the remainder.

a man Shot by one of the Sentinels this morning at the Stream wher water is Obtained Extremely hot day. News in Camp that Sherman will accept of all paroled prisoners delivereed to him in ten days. "*All a humbug* drew rations of raw Rice to-night.

Thursday July 14th 1864

Cool and pleasant Morning: had a good bath before daylight. Will have boiled Rice for Breakfast if we can obtain a Kettle to Cook it in

10 O clock A.M. just finished our Breakfast of Rice it was Splendid— Sent letter to Mother and a note to Commander of camp.

Sergts of Messes all called out to Head Qurs and told to Caution their Men against an outbreak. The Johnys have a Big Scare on now.

"Frank and Burkstrem Quarreled this Alfternoon about Cards. The former Made Some Violent pugalistic demonstrations towards the latter, who Shoued the better part of Valor in Meeting them with (what their Merits called for) silent Contempt— Raw rations again to day and No wood. indications of rain.

A great alarm in the Rebel Camps this evening. their Men all ordered out under arms. orderlies riding about at a breakneck Speed— artillery being ranged on the Camp and in fact the "*Johnys*" are nearly frightened out of their wits. I imagine it is done More to Show the prisoners their force. and intimidate them against making any dimonstration towards an Escape.— Or they fear a raid, being made here by Some of our Cavalry.

Friday July 15th 1864

The "*Johny Rebs*" under arms again this morning at 3 O clock— They are in ernest about Something, be what it will, Another Hot day before us. Breakfast this Morning at 5 O clock which consisted of ham & Eggs. Corn Dodger and Cold water. "*Frank*" acting as Cook this morning. Bought one dollars worth of soap. I learned to day that Private Sellers of Co "D" 77th Pena Vols died two days ago.

Saturday July 16th 1864.

Cool & Cloudy this Morning heard yesterday that Lee was again in Penna and that Burnsides Army was in hot pursuit, I assisted Hobbs & Smithland to carry Clayton over to Hospital but was obliged to bring him back. Washed My Shirt and drawers this afternoon. Nothing of any importance transpiring in Camp. Baked a large Corn Dodger this Evening.

Sunday July 17th 1864.

I arose this Morning at 4 o clock and cooked Breakfast before Sunrise Coffee and fried corn bread was the Bill of Fare Drove all the Loafers and Stragglers from the Spot above the Spring. Intend to have Rice Soup for dinner.— heard today that the Pirate "*Alabama* had been Sunk by the "*Kersage*"— drew rations of Molasses this P.M. in lieu of Bacon.

Monday July 18th 1864

News in Camp this morning that fifteen thousand of the New prisoners will be Sent to Alabama, commencing to morrow. Quite Cool last Night & Still cool this Morning— There is a petition being gotten up in Camp to Send to our government and asking that Some Steps be taken for our releas from this place, as the Mortality among the prisoners is increasing to an alarming extent Since the Confederates Medical Supplies have given out. We all pray that Some immediate action will be taken upon it by our Respective State governments, If the General government doesnot listen to the appeal— Could our Many friends in the North, have but a Momentary glance of our actual condition here— Could they look for one Short half hour upon the Sufferings we undergo and are obliged to See, They would rise Enmass and overthrow Such a so called government as allows her Sons to linger in Such prison as we do without one Manly or humane effort to releas us.

Tuesday July 19th 1864

A large Meeting was held in camp last evening

in referance to the petition about being Sent to our lines. I was Elected one of a Committe of 20 whose business it Shall be to Select three competent Men to bear the petition to the President of the United States to the Governors of each loyal State and to the Associated press of the U. S. at New York City. The above Committe is to Meet today at 12 M.— "Harry" the Sailor came into Camp yesterday and was at our tent

Cloudy this Morning but quite warm— The above Mentioned Committe convened today at 12 M. and proceded to business first nominating our Several delagates by an informal Ballot, afterwards Electing them by a formal Ballott,– Six being elected instead of three as *General Winder* gave permission to our Committe to Elect one Man for each five Thousand— The Committe then adjourned until Six O clock P.M. when we Expect to be discharged.

WEDNESDAY JULY 20th 1864

5 O clock A. M. Warm again this Morning, At the Meeting last evening in referance to the petition the procedings of the Committe above mentioned was so far approved as to accept of three of the first Named Men Elected, And pronounce the remainder of the procedings Null and Void.

The Committe were then dismissed and a new one of the Same Number (20) Elected to Select the remaining three, I was also placed upon this last Committe— At the appointed hour this morning (7 A. M.) the Committ Convened and proceded to Ballot, and re-elected tuo of those rejected last Night and *Dennison* of Penn[a] in place of *Garland* who was to represent the Navy. Then adjourned until 11 A.M, when the decisive meeting will be held—12 M. the delegates have come in from their conferance with *General Winder* and report favourably; their names have been Sent to Richmond for the approval of the Authorities–

Everything is progressing in order and fair prospects in view that our Representatives will Soon Start to our lines with the petition— The Rebels appear to have another Big Scare on, as they commenced this A.M. to throw up fortifications arround the Camp. About 200 Negroes engaged on the Works.

THURSDAY JULY 21st 1864

Went arround this Morning and had Some of the Sergts of Detachments Sign the Petition and read it and the Resolutions to the Men

My Name was upon the letter lie yesterday, but I waited tuo hours or More for the distribution to take place and would wait no longer. I. expect to get it to day Houever.

Recieved letter from *Cousin Josie* at Richmond.

Prisoners coming in from Shermans Army report that Atlanta is in our hands Drew Molasses in lieu of Bacon— Another report in camp that Grant is dead but I guess it is Nothing but report although it appears in the Columns of the Repel papers.

FRIDAY JULY 22nd 1864

Wrote a letter to "*Josie Holmes*" at Richmond Va. * in reply to the one I recd. yesterday.— Another Man found dead this Morning Near the principal Spring at the foot of My Street.— Cool & Cloudy and Some indications of rain. The "*Johnies*" Still busily engaged on fortifications, form the rapid improvement of the appearance of works this Morning they Must have worked upon them by Moonlight last Night

Drew 4. Spoonsfull of Extra Molasses— Another tunnel found out and Stopt–

Noel Clayton of Co "D" 4th Ohio Cavalry died yesterday. I took his Parents Address and when I reach our lines will acquaint them of his death, his fathers address Carrollton Ky W. H. Clayton †

SATURDAY JULY 23d 1864

The weather passably cool this Morning— Rebels Still continue to uork upon the fortifications near the Stockade— Nothing transpiring in Camp worthy of Notice— drew the largest rations of Rice to day we ever drew in the Confederacy (5 Spoonsfull)

SUNDAY JULY 24th 1864.

This is a cool pleasant Morning Much Such a day as yesterday and I trust tonight will be as pleasant for Sleeping as last night— had Mush for our Breakfast having eaten all our rice last Night for Supper—

I have the promise of the loan of an old

* There are, in the pocket of this Diary, a letter from this "Josie Holmes," dated "Richmond Va. Sept 29th," and addressed to her "Dear Cousin," the captive writer of this Journal, and a paper, marked "Josie Holmes, Rich-" mond, Va.," in which are a lock of hair and a dried leaf. From the letter, it appears that the prisoner was a cousin of the young lady who wrote it; that she lived with her parents, in Richmond; and that she corresponded, by letter, with her captive relative, as well as through at least one other person who enjoyed the same privilege. Her mother also sent a message of affection to the prisoner.

† On another page of the little book appears the entry referred to:

"W. H. Clayton
"Carrollton Ky

"Noel Clayton
" Co 'D.' 4th Ohio Cav.
"Died July 21st"

And on another page the following appears:

"Mrs W H. Clayton
"Carrollton
" Kentucky.

"Noel Clayton died at Camp Sumpter Thursday July 21st "1864 of Chronic Diorhea."

"Harpers Magazine this P. M. to while away a weary hour or two. I usualy loan Some of My Cooking utensils, and in return recieve reading Matter for a return of the compliment.

Dory offered me $20.00 for My Frying pan which I refused to take. drew fresh Beef & Rice in lieu of Bacon & Meal.

MONDAY JULY 25th 1864

Last Night was the coolest Night of the Season and continues Cool & pleasant up to 8 A. M.—Immediately after rool call I assisted "Frank over to the South Entrance to Sick Call. I tried to get him out but did not Succede

Had fresh Beef and Rice Soup for Breakfast.

heard from *Josie & Kate* this Evening through a Mr Dewey who just come from Richmond the ladies both Sent a Message through by him to Me if he Should See me.—from present indications it will be another cool Night.

TUESDAY JULY 26th 1864

Not quite So Cool last Night as night before

Frank tried to get into Hospl again this Morning but didnot Succede—A police party of 150 Men went out this Morning for tools to fill up the Swamp with—Noivot Moved his Quarters this A. M.

the police party commenced working at 11 A. M. and quit at 5 P. M. they have already Made a perceptable improvement in the appearance of the Camp.

Commenced raining at 5 o clock P. M.

WEDNESDAY JULY 27th 1864

This Morning I got up at 5 oclock got Breakfast as Soon as possible and commenced to tear doun our hous, preparatory to removing it farther up the Hill—5 P. M. have got our Quarters in a much higher position of ground and a considerabl distance from the swamp.

Can already feel a diferance in the atmosphere—it is nou raining Slightly and most probably uill be a rainy night—Amos come in uith us again to day—about 300 More prisoners came in to day A man Killed by a guard at the Bridge

THURSDAY JULY 28th 1864

Warm and Sultry this Morning the police party Still continue to uork filling up the Swamp. News in camp that paroling will commence the 6th of next month.

Tuelve hundred more prisoners came in this P. M. from Shermans Army, They report themselves taken within ¼ of a Mile from the city of Atlanta--A little rain this Evening.—A Shot throun over the Camp this P. M. to frighten and disperse the croud gathered arround the North gate to See the prisoners as the come in.

FRIDAY JULY 29th 1864

More trouble in cooking breakfast this Morning than fifty breakfasts is worth—wood uet and evey thing else proes itselfe to have wakened up (like myself) urong end too.

Every thing quite in camp—no reports in circulation this Morning up to 7.30—A *few* more prisoners came in this P. M.

SATURDAY JULY 30th 1864

Frank and Amos got up this morning and got Breakfast.—Took charge of the third Mess

drew no rations of Meal or rice to-day as the Q. M. says our detachment dreu tuo days rations yesterday by Mistake.

SUNDAY JULY 31st 1864

Nothing of importance transpiring in Camp

The Rebs are busily engaged in throwing up fortifications to-day—Something quite unusual for them to do here—that is to work on the Sabbath day

MONDAY AUGUST 1st 1864

Warm and Sultry this Morning—two fights alredy before 7 A. M.—about one hundred Sick of the worst cases, admitted to Hospital

The working party engaded in filling up the Suamp, are progressing finely—

TUESDAY AUG 2nd 1864

Cool and cloudy this Morning up to 8 A. M. when it cleared off and became excedingly hot although a good breeze is blouing—An immense Crowd of Sick at the gate this Morn awaiting to be admitted to Hospital— Had a most terrific thunder Storm this P. M. Lightining Struck Several trees Not a hundred yards from Stockade.

WEDNESDAY AUG 3rd 1864

Four hundred and fifty Men from Stonemans Command who were captured on the raid to *Macon* come in last Evening. They report Stoneman himselfe taken

To-day was the day in which "*Report*" Said Some of us were to leave here either by parole or Exchange, But so far No indications have Shown themselves different from any other day. A large Number of Sick are to be admitted to Hospital this Morning I hope to God "*Frank*" will be admitted— 3 P. M. about 6 or 7 hundred admittid to Hospital, but "Frank" was Not one of the lucky ones— Report Says those taken out will be Sent to *Macon*—& Still another Report Says they are being Sent to Savannah for an Exchange—I trust the later Report May prove the correct one.

THURSDAY AUG 4th 1864

No Roll-Call this Morning—another immense

croud at the gate for admission to Hospital—Gate not opened yet at 8 A. M—about 6 hundred Sick were admitted this P. M. but up to 5 o clock None have been removed from from the outside Enclosier.

FRIDAY AUG 5th 1864

All the uorst cases of Sick in detachments ranging from Number one up to Eight were admitted to hospital this P. M.
drew rations of Fresh Beef in liew of Bacon.

SATURDAY AUGUST 6th 1864

Awoke this Morning at 4 o clock got up and Boiled a Kettle of Splendid Rice Soup for Breakfast—No Sick admitted to Hospital this Morning althoug a great crowd congregated at the South Gate. Another Man Shot through the head and Killed this afternoon—at the foot Bridge
rations of fresh Beef issued again this Evening had all the Beef tonight that I could eat.

SUNDAY AUGUST 7th 1864

Warm and pleasant this Morning—No Roll-Call—
About 10 o clock the Committe Selected to Carry our petition North, were Sent for and told to get ready to leave for our lines immediatly. They went out but didnot reach the cars in time, They uill probably leave tomorow on the early train

MONDAY AUG 8th 1864

The Committe bearing the petition left this Morning on the 11 o clock train–heavy rain Storm this P. M.
75 Men taken out of Camp this Morning for Some purpose

TUESDAY AUG 9th 1864

A Newly arrived prisoner attempted to take the oath of aliegance to the Confederacy this Morning, but Some of the the boys finding it out came upon him and whipped him nearly too death--

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 10th 1864

Nothing of any importance transpiring in Camy up to 10 A. M. At 11 A. M. one of the Most terriffic thunder Storms commenced and continued for over tuo hours—A flow of water passed through the Camp tearing away the Stockad in Siveral places and all the flood-gates

THURSDAY AUGUST 11th 1864

Last Night after the Stockade had been torn doun and washed away, and whilst the Storm was at its highth, the alarm or Signal for evry Soldier to assemble was Sounded from the fort on the South Western Angle the guns on all the forts were immediatly maned and two or three hundred Men placed to guard the Several opertures to Keep the prisoners from attempting an escape. The force of Negroes were then brought out and commencd to repair the damage. The damage is Not all repaired now nor willnot be entirely done for Several days. A new Stockade commenced today to encircle the old one–*Sergt Tirney* come with us

FRIDAY AUGUST 12th 1864

The Negroes at work upon the New Stockade are progressing rapidly as also the Barracks being erected in the North West Corner of Camp.

SATURDAY AUGUST 13th 1864

News in camp that a parole will take place the 15th of this month also a report that More Sick will be Sent to Macon—Everything else all Quiet in Camp.

SUNDAY AUGUST 14th 1864

Another Sabbath day finds Me Still in *Rebeldom* and no fair prospects of any Exchange or parole of prisoners taking place soon—although Many are found in Camp foolish enough to believe that the 15th (tomorrow) will See *Some* of us paroled, but I have listened to Such Reports for nearly 11 Months and believe them not

* * * * *†

MONDAY SEPT 5, 1864

Frank was admitted to Hospital and Major Calohan come with us.

THURSDAY SEPT 8th 1864

Left Camp Sumpter Georgia under the impression that we uill be Exchanged immediatly–Arrived at Macon about 10 A.M, and remaind until 4 P. M. drew rations in our Car whilst at *Macon*.

SEPT 9th 1864

Arrived at Savannah and placed in Stockade & found to our disapointment that we have been again fooled and Not Exchanged as we Supposed ue would be when we left Camp Sumpter.

SEPT. 12th 1864

Went out to Hospital.

SEPT 14th 1864

Was paroled and Sent to New Hospital in the old Marine Government Hosp

† Although there is no apparent loss of leaves from the book, there is this hiatus in the Diary.

II.—*A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN WIRZ TO GENERAL WRIGHT.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL, NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

Hd Qrs Comr of Prison
Camp Sumter Andersonville Geo
Apr 25 1864

Genl

I have the honour to enclose report of Conf. States Mil. Prison & report of Guard forces at this post. Allow me Genl most respectfully to point out to you several things which in my humble judgement need some action upon.

The hospital which is within the stockade impedes very much the discipline necessary to keep such a large number of prisoners in proper bounds, beside I am very much in want of the space which the hospital is occupying, prisoners are constantly arriving, and soon I will not be able to quarter new ones, The gates which ought to be closed, are to be left open to give access to the Surgeons, as well as egress to the dead, all these things combined making an alteration most desirable.

There are a great many applications of Prisoners to take the oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy, not however with the intention to enter our service, but to be allowed to work to their resp: trades. An increased guard would not only be very acceptable but is a great necessity.

These suggestions Genl I submit to you, & remain

most respectfully
your obd servt
H. Wirz
Capt Comg Prison

to
M. I. Wright
Brig. Genl
Present

[Endorsed, *in red ink.*]
B 2207 1. W. 6 F

[Endorsed, *in black ink.*]
Head Qur's C S Military Prisons
Andersonville Geo
Apl 25 '64

H. Wirz
Capt Comdg Prisons

[Endorsed, *in red ink.*]
Returned 28th May '64

[Endorsed, *in black ink.*]
Respectfully submits
his report of the condition of the Prisons, and suggests Certain alterations.

Hd Qrs of Post
Andersonville
Apr'l 25 '64

Respectfully refered
A W Pickens
Genl Col Comdg
Wright Post

[Endorsed, *in red ink.*]
Recd A & I G O May 28. 1864

[Endorsed, *in black ink.*]
A & I G O May 25 '64

Resply refer'd to Gen'l Winder for his information & action
Report of Gen'l Wright and of Cap't Bovie more recently sent to inspect, all concur in urging removal of sick from within, the stockade, the great mortality prevailing amongst these prisoners being due to want of shelter, close confinement within stockade & exposure within narrow space of so large a body of men, estimated at 7 feet x 6 pr man, excluding the wet & marshy part of the enclosure.

By order of the Secy of War
R H Chilton
A A G

Respectfully returned—
Orders have been long since sent to have the Hospitals removed to the outside
Jno H Winder
B G

May 26th '64

* In the collection of Doctor Thomas Addis Emmett, New York City.

II.—JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES FROM FORTY-THREE TOWNS ON THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, JANUARY 16, 1781.*

COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN W. F. GOODWIN, U. S. A.

At a Convention of Members from forty-three Towns on the New Hampshire-Grants begun and held at Charlestown, January 16th, 1781.

The Honorable Samuel Chase, Esq; was chosen *Chairman* and

Bezaleel Woodward, Esq; *Clerk*,

* Mr. Slade, Editor of the *Vermont State Papers*, states, in a note on page 128 of that work, that he could not find this Journal; and it is evident that Hon. Hiland Hall, author of the *Early History of Vermont*, never saw it, as he has stated, on page 339, of that volume, that "*twelve*" of the delegates protested against the proceedings.—W. F. G.

Resolved, that General *Bellows*, *Daniel Jones*, Esq; Col. *Hunt*, Mr. *Woodward*, Col. *Bedel*, Col. *Paine*, Col. *Olcott*, Capt. *Curtiss*, Mr. *White*, Col. *Wells*, Mr. *Knoulton* and Mr. *Townsend* be a Committee to prepare matters necessary to be transacted by this Convention; and that they report the same with all convenient speed.

January 18th, 10 o'clock A. M.

THE Committee above named made report, which being read, is in the words following, Viz,

Whereas the Governor of New Hampshire, before and after the close of the last war, did exercise jurisdiction over and grant the greatest part of the Lands within the territory commonly called the *New Hampshire Grants*, on both sides of Connecticut-River, to sundry companies of persons, principally inhabitants of New England; who offered to undertake, and carry into effect, settlements thereon, subject to the jurisdiction of the crown of Great-Britain, in connection with the colony of New Hampshire

And whereas the said undertakers did undergo infinite hardships, toils and fatigues, in forming settlements in the several townships, on both sides of the river, agreeable to their engagements; induced by the happiness in prospect for themselves and posterity, resulting, in great measure, from an happy union of their settlements on the two sides of the river, under the same jurisdiction; the benefits of which had long been experienced in adjacent governments, and which were plighted to them by the circumstances and conditions under which they received and held their grants.

And whereas the King of Great-Britain did, in the year 1764, pass an arbitrary decree, that the said territory should be divided at Connecticut River, subjecting one part to the jurisdiction of his Governor of New-York, and continuing the other part under the jurisdiction of his Governor of New-Hampshire, whereby the said territory was divided without the consent or knowledge of the owners and proprietors, in violation of the royal engagements, and contrary to the true interest of the inhabitants; against which measure those most immediately affected, so soon as the matter came to their knowledge, did in the most humble, earnest and affecting manner remonstrate and petition; sent agents to Great-Britain to state before the King their grievances, and humbly interceded for redress; and at the same time took every prudent measure to obtain the interest of adjacent Colonies in their favor, especially that of New-Hampshire, from connection with which they had been separated.

And whereas the said connection rendered the government of New-Hampshire more extensive than the object of their first incorporation, viz, the Mason patent; which extension has ever been a source of uneasiness and discontent, to several persons of influence and importance in that government, and the Assembly of New-Hampshire therefore refused to use their influence in favor of a re-union of the grants, after the division of them by the decree in 1764, when applied to for that purpose, in behalf of the owners, proprietors and inhabitants of the said territory.

And whereas the obligations of the inhabitants of the said territory, as well as of all others in the United States, to allegiance and subordination to the crown of Great-Britain have ceased, on account of the series of unconstitutional and oppressive measures of that authority, towards the American plantations; and independence has therefore been declared by the inhabitants of the said grants, with the United States, whereby all those connections have ceased which resulted from, and were dependant on a subordination to Great-Britain. And as the said territory was never annexed by Charter to any one or more of the American colonies, nor otherwise connected, than by an order of the King to his Governors, to exercise authority there in behalf of the crown, and by a grant of the feoffees to claim a right to be continued in union with one another in matters of Government; the jurisdiction was of consequence, by the declaration of independence, transferred to the inhabitants; which they had good right to undertake and exercise, whenever they should see fit— Yet the said inhabitants, influenced by attachments to the different governments with which they had been connected (resulting from an habituated submission to despotic power) and not immediately attending to the singular circumstances, under which independence from the power of Great-Britain left them, did many of them passively submit to, and act with those governments, to which the King of Great-Britain had last annexed them; While on the other hand, a considerable part of the inhabitants of the said territory, influenced by uneasiness with the measures of those governments, and being early led to enquire into our peculiar situation (to which others were inattentive) did observe, and publish to the world, their views in respect to our independance; and in conformity thereto, broke off connection with the states of New-York and New-Hampshire,— And as those on the west side of the river, who had withdrawn connections from the state of New-York, viewing only the operation of independence from Great-Britain, in respect to themselves, and not attending that the whole of the Grants were thereby placed in similar situation, did associate together, and set up a new and independent government.

And whereas as the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, influenced by the refusal of a

respectable number of inhabitants of those parts the Grants, which they severally claimed, to of submitt to their respective jurisdictions, complained to the Congress of the United States, of measures taking by the said inhabitants in respect to their independency; and also, made known to Congress, that they had claims to the said territory: And as Congress, on the 24th of September, 1779, did resolve and publish, that they would take upon themselves a final settlement of the disputes respecting the said Grants, provided the states concerned should agree thereto; (and, among other things, recommended that no state should exercise jurisdiction over any of the inhabitants of the said district, except such as should profess allegiance to, and confess the jurisdiction of the same)—which was complied with by the states. And as sundry periods have elapsed, which Congress had appointed for a decision of the said matter, in controversy, without any thing material being transacted on the subject; and as, notwithstanding the claim of New-Hampshire to the whole of the Grants, the evident object of both states, by their agents at Congress, has of late been to establish a division at the river, contrary to the true interest of the inhabitants; as they would thereby be deprived of those advantages, in respect to commerce, and transactions of a public nature, which would naturally result from that union of the two sides of the river, which they had warrant to expect, and have right to demand, from the nature, tenor, and circumstances of the grants which they hold.

And whereas a considerable part of the inhabitants on the said territory, having disavowed connection with any state already formed, have subsisted for some time without any regular form of government, and have been destitute of civil regulations, for want of which they are reduced to lamentable circumstances; and as they are thereby prevented, in a great degree, from performing that part in the present contest with Great-Britain, which might otherwise reasonably be expected, and which might be of essential service in the grand dispute:— And as the contiguity of the said Grants to the province of Canada, renders the inhabitants a frontier to the New-England states: and as the parliament of Great-Britain have done what in them lies, towards annexing the greater part of the said territory to the province of Canada, by the act commonly called the *Quebec Bill;* for the purpose of obtaining an establishment whereof, it is to be expected they will further employ their force, in attempting the reduction of the inhabitants, or destruction of them and their property. And as the British forces, in conjunction with their savage allies, have of late begun a new scene of devastation among us, by burning some of our towns, and carrying the peaceable inhabitants into captivity; and it is to be expected that great part of the said territory will be treated in the same manner, unless vigorous measures are taken to prevent them:— And as there is no military force employed by the continent, or any of the states, for our defence, which renders an union without delay absolutely necessary, or great numbers will immediately abandon their habitations, which will give such advantage to the cause of Britain, and so open and extend this frontier, that a much greater force will then be necessary for its defence:— And as nothing considerable can be done by the inhabitants of the said territory, tending to their own defence, until they are firmly united for that purpose, and in measures of government.

This Convention therefore, taking the aforesaid matters into their most serious consideration, and being duly authorized by their constituents, the inhabitants of the said territory, do hereby publish and declare, that notwithstanding all the unjust measures which have been, or may be, taken to divide us, the right of union still remains to the inhabitants of the said territory, which we are determined to maintain and support; and bind ourselves *by the ties of virtue and honor*, as we are already bound by the ties of interest, to unite in all such lawful measures as the majority of the representativ body of the inhabitants of said territory, duly convened, or such as they may appoint under them, shall agree upon, to maintain and support a union of the inhabitants on the whole of the said Grants; *holding ourselves in duty bound to abide the decisions of Congress on the subject, when the matters shall be properly stated before them, and their resolutions thereon be obtained.*

As the primary object of this Convention is, that an union of the whole of the Grants be formed and consolidated, upon principles that the majority think proper; and as a considerable part of the said Grants are represented in the state of Vermont,

Resolved, That a Committee be chosen to confer with the said Assembly, at their next session, on the subject of said union; and invite them to join in measures which may be most conducive to obtain the object proposed.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be laid before the several towns on the Grants, for their approbation; recommending that those towns which concur in the measures, and have no representatives or delegates in this Convention, appoint members for that purpose; and that each and every town impower their members, to join with the representatives of other towns on the Grants, who shall agree to unite together, in all such measures as shall be

necessary for our internal regulations and defence.

Which declaration and resolutions having been repeatedly read, and maturely considered, the question was put, Whether this Convention do agree with their Committee in their said report? —which was carried in the affirmative.

Whereupon

Resolved, That Dr. William Page, Daniel Jones, Esq; and Mr. Elijah Frink, of the county of Cheshire; Luke Knoulton, Micah Townsend, and John Bridgman, Esqrs. of the county of Cumberland; Col. Peter Olcott, Noah White, Esq; and Capt. John Strong, of the county of Gloucester; and Col. Paine, Bezaleel Woodward, Esq; and Mr. Davenport Phelps, of the county of Grafton, be a Committee to confer with the Assembly of Vermont, agreeable to the foregoing resolutions.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be printed, and one copy thereof transmitted to each town on the Grants; and that Maj Day, Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Lovel, be a Committee for that purpose.

Resolved, That this Convention do adjourn, to meet at the meeting House in Cornish, on the first Wednesday in February next, at one of the clock in the afternoon.

"*In Convention at Charlestown, January* 18. "1781. We the subscribers, delegates from the "several towns to which our names are affixed, "wishing for, and endeavoring to form a union "of the New-Hampshire Grants on both sides of "Connecticut River, and contented that they be "annexed to New Hampshire, or be a seperate "state, as Congress may judge proper; but think- "ing ourselves not authorized by our constituents "to unite with the said Grants, in the method re- "solved by the said Convention; and being of "opinion that their proceedings have a tendency "to weaken thereins of government--to retard the "exertions of those who are engaged to oppose the "the public enemy--to introduce irregularity and "disorder in the county of Cheshire, and not con- "ducive to the end proposed; think it our duty "to protest against the proceedings of said Con- "vention.

"*Winchester*,	Samuel Ashley, Reuben Alexander,
* "*Walpole*,	Benjamin Bellows,
† "*Charlestown*,	Samuel Hunt,
"*Richmond*,	Oliver Capron,
"*Keene*,	Timothy Ellis, Daniel Newcomb,
"*Alstead*,	Nathaniel S. Prentice,
"*Claremont*,	Oliver Ashley, Matthias Stone,

"*Newport*, Benjamin Giles,"

Extract from the minutes.

Beza Woodward, *Clerk.*

* *There were two members attending from Walpole.*—W. F. G.

† *Three members* attended from Charleston, two of whom agreed to the Report of the Committee.—W. F. G.

III.—THE UNITED STATES BANK.

By Colonel Theodorus Bailey Myers.

The struggle which preceded the veto of the Bill re-chartering this Institution is within the recollection of many. Its powerful control over the financial affairs of the country was claimed to be equalled by its political influence; and it was believed that its favors not only held the leading politicians in the country, but, also influenced many members of both Houses. Its operations in cotton and exchange were of such magnitude, at a period when volume of currency was for less than now, that it could raise or depress the money market and "put on the "screws," before an election, with facility; and to its closing up was mainly attributed the panic of 1836 and the financial disasters which involved many in ruin. It is a remarkable fact, in this connection, that however bitter the hostility arrayed against the Sub-Treasury scheme, which was fatal to Mr. Van Buren's re-election in 1840, its bitterest opponents, when assuming the control of the Government, failed to make any change in a system which soon commended itself to the people and proved, in the end, by its continuance under the various administrations, down to the present time, what was predicted at the time, that "the sober second thought of the "American People" was always right.

The following letter from Mr. Biddle, the President of the Bank--a member of an historical family—who added to the reputation of a distinguished financier, that of an accomplished and elegant gentleman, and whose splendid establishment at "Andalusia, Bucks.," was the centre of a refined hospitality, displays the consciousness of the political dangers which surrounded the Institution, and his apprehension of the breakers through which he failed to steer.

"Washington, Novr 22 1829

"Dear Sir

"I wish to make a suggestion to you which I "am sure you will receive as it is intended, pro- "ceeding as it does from attachment to our favor- "ite institution. The impressions which I com- "municated to you by letter some time ago, are "fully confirmed since my arrival here. The "best feelings are entertained towards the Bank "by those whose opinions are most valuable and "most useful. I am very desirous of making "them continue, and for that purpose am par- "ticularly solicitous to avoid giving at the pre- "sent moment any occasion for the revival of a "jealousy which has been so recently and deeply

"felt in regard to the apparent exclusion or "omission from the local Boards of persons "favorable to the present administration. My "stay in Baltimore was too short to allow me to "consult with you on the subject, but Mr. Colt "mentioned the names of the five gentlemen who "were to be nominated all of whom appeared "were in opposition to the present administra- "tion, so that out of the whole thirteen there "are only two gentlemen who are in political "harmony with the administration. You know "my dear sir how entirely indifferent I am to "what are called politics, and how unwilling I "am to introduce things of that kind into the "affairs of the Bank At the same time it is "proper in itself as well as highly expedient "not to give unnecessary offence, and not to do "anything which might have the appearance of "partiality. I am afraid that this great dispro- "portion, tho' entirely accidental, may be the "ground of objection or reproach & I therefore "take the liberty of requesting that you will "confer with Mr Cobb, as well as Mr Patterson & "Mr White and if you can select at least two "gentlemen who are friends to the present ad- "ministration, and are entirely competent in "other respects I will thank you to nominate "them at once to the Board. I shall drop a line "to Mr Colt on the subject but I address myself "more naturally and more in detail to you be- "cause I know so well your devotion to the "Bank as to be sure that if in order to effect "this arrangement which I think very important "to its welfare, it may become necessary to omit "the two new members whom it was contem- "plated to bring into the Board and thus post- "pone till next year the introduction of Mr "—— ——, no one could acquiesce in it more "readily, and make the sacrifice of feeling for "the good of our institution more willingly "than you will

"I have deferred for a day or two writing "this letter in hopes of being able to explain "the project in person, but being unexpectedly "detained I will no longer postpone it. It will "not I hope be more than two days after you re- "ceive this that I shall see you and in the mean- "time I remain

"Very truly

"—— —— Esqr "Yrs

"Baltimore" "N. Biddle"

IV.—DANIEL WEBSTER'S VISIT TO MAINE, IN 1835.

By Joseph Williamson, Esqr., of Belfast, Me.

The recent appearance of the life of Webster, written by Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, awakens a renewed interest in everything which relates to the great American statesman.

"In *August*, 1835," says the biography, "Mr. "Webster being at Bangor, Maine, on a profes- "sional engagement, he accepted an invitation to "a public entertainment, and afterwards address- "ed an immense concourse of people who had "come from far and near to hear him." A note to his speech on the occasion, as published in the revised edition of his works, states that the banquet took place on the twenty-fifth of *August*. There is an error in the month and day. Mr. Webster's visit to Eastern Maine was not until the latter part of *September*, and the first week of *October*.

The dinner was given at the Bangor House, which had been recently opened, and was then the most spacious hotel in the State. Edward Kent, Esq., presided, assisted by several Vice-presidents. "Mr. Kent," wrote a correspondent of the *Boston Courier*, "made a brief but elo- "quent aud glowing speech on the faithful con- "duct and high character of Mr. Webster, as a "public man: referring, with a master's hand, "to the great constitutional battle of 1830."

Jacob McGaw, Esq., an early and personal friend of Mr. Webster, gave the following sentiment, prefacing it by a few pertinent remarks: "Our distinguished guest, Daniel Webster."

When Mr. Webster rose, every nook and corner of the large hall was filled; and, at the earnest solicitation of the multitude without, he yielded to their wishes, and made his appearance on the steps of the hotel. "You would have known "that *the people* were there," continued the cor- "respondent above quoted, "by the cheering "and acclamation with which they hailed the "ready watchman of human liberty. His speech "was worthy of Daniel Webster, of his eminent "ability and exalted fame. After expressing his "acknowledgements to the citizens assembled, "for their kindness and courtesy, he adverted to "a visit he made to the place more than thirty "years before,—attracted by the geographical "situation of the spot—the advantages of which "must be evident at a single glance on the map "—situated on a noble river, navigable for the "largest men of war, and the centre of a depot "for an immense extent of country. 'At that "'time,' said Mr. Webster, 'there were about "'twelve houses only in the limits of the present "'city of Bangor;' at that time, he crossed the "Kenduskeag stream, on floating logs, to visit a "friend—a man always respectable, and whom "he was happy to meet again, that day, in health "and comfort. He alluded to Capt. Wilder, of "Kirkland. After some further remarks relative "to the local situation and advantages of Bangor, "Mr. Webster referred to the notice which had "been taken of his services in defence of the "Constitution, and reiterated his strong and "heartfelt attachment to the Union." He then

spoke of his attachment to a system of internal improvements; and referred to the tendency of men to rely upon good intentions in their rulers, instead of keeping them strictly within the limits of the Constitution.

Mr. Webster spoke about forty-five minutes, by the clock, although, without that certain evi- the people would insist that it was not over fifteen; and, in conclusion, said that it might be expected that he should offer a sentiment local in its character,—but we were members and citizens not only of this city and State, but of a great nation, and deeply interested in the perpetuity of its institutions. Mr. Webster gave:—

"*Civil liberty*—It can only be preserved by "Constitutional restraints upon political parties."

On the twenty-eighth of September, Mr. Webster proceeded to Belfast, in the steamer *Bangor*, which, at that time, did not make regular trips into the harbor. On this occasion, out of respect to her distinguished passenger, the boat came unexpectedly to the principal wharf. The unannounced arrival of Mr. Webster prevented any formal public demonstration, although a salute was fired after he had landed. At the Eagle Hotel, a large number of citizens collected and tendered their hospitalities. Mr. Webster soon started, by a private conveyance, for the Kennebec. On his journey, homeward, the citizens of Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner availed themselves of the occasion to invite him to a dinner at the Hallowell House. The invitation was accepted; and about two hundred gentlemen were present. The Hon. George Evans presided at the table. After the cloth was removed, Mr. Evans explained the purpose of the citizens of Kennebec to signify their approbation of the public character and eminent service of a distinguished Senator in Congress, now present, and took occasion to refer, at considerable length, to some prominent political events in which Mr. Webster had been a leader and champion, in defence of the Constitution against fearful and violent assaults, from various quarters, but particularly from the administration, or party in power. He concluded by offering the following sentiment:

"*Our distinguished Guest*—DANIEL WEB- "STER— The profound civilian—the eloquent "advocate—the enlightened Statesman—None "so worthy the highest honors under the Consti- "tution, as its most untiring and ablest sup- "porter."

After the applause had subsided, Mr. Webster addressed the company in a speech of three quarters of an hour. This speech is not included among his works: but an abstract may be found in the *Kennebec Journal* of October 6th 1835. He offered as a sentiment:

"*The Constitution of the United States*—The "proudest inheritance of the American people."

It was intended by the Whigs of Portland, to give a collation, at the City-Hall, on Mr. Webster's arrival in that city, on his way home. The following correspondence passed on the occasion:

"PORTLAND, Oct. 7, 1835.

"HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,

"SIR— In the name of the Whigs of this "city, we take pleasure in requesting you to "meet them at the City-Hall, tomorrow, at 12 "M. and partake of a collation there to be pro- "vided.

"In discharging this duty, as the organ of "this portion of a political party whose princi- "ples you have so ably defended and so elo- "quently sustained, throughout a long series of "usurpations upon the part of the present ad- "ministration, we beg leave to assure you of our "personal regard, as well as political sympathy, "and are, Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"LEVI CUTTER,
"SAMUEL FESSENDEN,
"NOAH HINKLEY,
"MARSHALL FRENCH
"NATHAN CUMMINGS
"HOSEA ILSLEY.
"THOMAS AMORY DEBLOIS
"JOHN EDWARDS" } COMMITTEE.

[*Mr. Webster's reply.*]

"PORTLAND, Oct. 7, 1835.

"GENTLEMEN— It would give me true pleas- "ure to partake of a collation with the Whigs "of Portland, tomorrow, in compliance with "their kind invitation, communicated through "you. But my engagements at home do not "allow me, on this occasion, to stay in the city "long enough to enjoy such an interview. I "take leave to say, that I value highly, their "approbation of my political conduct; that I "accept their offered sympathy with satisfaction "and cordiality; and I pray you to assure them "that, under no circumstances, shall I abandon "those principles of civil liberty and that de- "votion to the Constitution of the country, to "which I owe the cheering commendation of "the Whigs of Portland.

"With sentiments of warm personal attach- "ment, I am, Gentlemen, your friend and obliged "fellow citizen,

"DANEIL WEBSTER.

"To Messrs
"CUTTER, FESSENDEN, HINLEY, FRENCH, "CUMMINGS, ILSLEY, DEBLOIS and EDWARDS."

Though the kind intentions of the Whigs were

not consummated, in the form of a public dinner, there was a general gathering of the party at Mr. Webster's lodgings, during the evening that he remained in Portland. The *Advertiser* states, that, "from the hour appointed to call upon him "until nine o'clock, the drawing rooms at the "Cumberland House were thronged with the "friends of the favorite son of New England, "flocking to exchange salutations with one to "whom they feel a strong indebtedness for the "able and fearless manner in which he has ever "sustained their principles. In the course of "the evening, Mr. Webster was addressed by "one of the company, in the name of the rest, "and replied in his usual happy manner."

Mr. Webster left for Boston, the following morning.

V.—FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES, IN KING WILLIAM PARISH, VIRGINIA, IN 1714.

From the Unpublished MSS. of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Contributed by William Stevens Perry, D.D.

In 1690, William III. sent over to Virginia, a number of French Protestants who had taken refuge in England, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685; and lands were allotted to them on James-river. They were received with great favor, and a special Law was enacted for their naturalization. During the year 1699, another body come over, under the leadership of their clergyman, Claude Philippe de Richebourg. Others followed, in succeeding years, the larger part settling at Monacan town, on the South bank of the James-river, about twenty miles above the falls, on rich lands formerly occupied by the Monacan Indians. The rest were dispersed over the country—some on the James and some on the Rappahannock. The settlement at Monacan town was erected into the Parish of King William, in Henrico-county; and was exempted from taxation for many years. Large donations of money and provisions were given to them by the King and by the vote of the House of Burgesses. Their settlement extended about four miles along the river bank. In the centre, a church was built; and in each family, at morning, noon, and evening, we are told, these pious refugees met for family prayers. From these Huguenots, many of the best known families of Virginia are descended. *Vide* Campbell's *History of Virginia*, 369, 370, and Hawks's *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, i., 78, 79.

1714.

LISTE GENERALLE de tous Les Francois Protestants Refugies, Etablys dans la Paroisse du Roy Guillaume, Comté d' Henrico en Virginia, y Compris les Femmes, Enfans, Veufes, et Orphelins.

Noms des Hommes.	Femmes.	Enfans. Garcons.	Filles.	Total.
Jean Cairon, Ministre,		3		4
Abraham Sallé,		5	1	7
Pierre Chastain,	1	2	4	8
Charle Perault,	1	1	3	6
Jean Forquerand,	1	2		4
Anthoine Matton,	1	5		7
Isaac Lesebure,	1	1	3	6
Jacques Bilbaud,	1	1		3
Jacob Amonnet,		3	2	6
Michel Cantepie,	1			2
Jean Voyé,	1	2	2	6
Francois Dupuy,	1		1	3
Daniel Guerrand,	1	2	2	6
Barthelemy Dupuy,	1	3	2	7
Jacques Sobler,	1	1	1	4
Pierre Fauve,	1	1	1	4
Mathieu Agé	1			2
Thomas Brians,	1	2	3	7
Jean Chastain,	1			2
Francois DeClapié,	1		2	4
Louis Sobler.	1	1		3
Tho. D'allizon,	1			2
Pre Dutoit,	1		2	4
Jean Calver,	1	3	2	7
Jean Farey,	1	3		5
Estienne Chastain,	1			2
Estienne Bouard,	1	2	1	5
Abra. Sobler, lesné,				1
Abra. Sobler, le jeune,	1			2
Gedeon Chambon,	1	1		3
Pre Morisser,	1	1	3	6
31	27	45	35	138
Isaac Lafuitte,	1	2		4
Jean Panetié,	1	1		3
Jean Joanis,	1		2	4
Jacq. Bioret,	1	1		3
Jean Solaigre,	1	1		3
Daniel Maubain,	1			2
Isaac Parenteau,		1	2	4
André Aubry,				1
Guillaume Genin	1			2
Jean Fonuielle,	1	1		3
Joseph Caillaud,	1		1	3
Joseph Bernard,				1
David Bernard,	1	4	1	7
Estienne Reynault,	1		2	4
Pierre Olliuier,				1
Pierre Viet,				1
Anthoine Ginaudan,	1	1	1	4
Jean Levillain,	1	2	2	6
Jean Filhon,	1			2
Abra. Michaux,	1	4	6	12
Adam Vigne,	1		1	3
Abra. Remy,	1	1	2	5
Anthoine Trabue,	1	3		5
Jean Martin,	1	3	1	6
Moize Leneveau,	1	2		4
Jacob Cappon,	1			2
Pierre Delaunay,				1
Francois Lassin,	1	1	2	5
Jean Powell,	1	2		4
Jean Dupré,	1		1	3
Jean Gorner,				1
Gaspard Gorner,	1	1		3
Mathieu Bonsergent,				1
Jacques LeGrand,	1			2
Pierre David,	1			2

Claude Garry,	1			2
Nicollas Souillé				1
Anthoine Rapinne,	1		1	3
Guillaume Martin,	1	3		5
Pierre Deppe,				1
40	30	34	25	129

Femmes Veuves et leur Enfans.	Femmes.	Enfans. Garcons.	Filles.	Total.
Lavenne Souillé,			2	3
Lave. Lorange,				1
Lave. Gorry,				1
Lave. Mallet,		1	1	3
Lave. Launay,			1	2
5 Femmes Veuves.		1	4	10

Enfans Orphelins.

Jean Fauve.	1
Estienne Mallet, Suzane Mallet, Marie Mallet,	3
Isaac Gorry, Jean Gorry,	2
Anthoine Benin,	1
Pre Sobriche, Jeanne & Suzanne,	3
Jean Lucadon. Pierre Lucadon,	2
Suzanne Imbert, Jeanne Imbert,	2
	14

Recapitulation du tout.

Pre Page. 31	27	45	35	138
2e do 40	30	34	25	129
71	57	79	60	267
Veuves et leurs Enfans,	5	1	4	10
Enfans Orphelins,				14
71	62	80	64	291

VI.—OLD-TIME TRAVELLING, IN NEW YORK.

By Joel Munsell, Esq.*

In the short time that remains for the scientific gentlemen to entertain us with the discoveries they have made, and after what has been so well said already of this interesting locality, I will merely allude to Cherry Valley and its former relations to Albany. In the latter part of the last century, it was a far distant town, as Judge Campbell remarks—an out-post of civilization. It was reached only by private conveyances, and with much difficulty, on account of the badness of the roads and want of traveling facilities.

In 1792, a sort of stage was established to run from Albany to Whitestown, near Utica, which performed the route once a fortnight. Some enterprising persons residing in the Genesee country, which was "the Great West" of that day, established another to meet the one at Whitestown. The next year, a stage undertook to carry passengers from Albany to Canajoharie, through Cherry Valley to Cooperstown. The success of these enterprises emboldened others; and it is found that one John Hudson, inn-keeper, at Schenectady, absolutely undertook to run a stage three times a week, between Albany and Schenectady.

A still bolder scheme was undertaken, to run a line of stages between Albany and the Connecticut-river Valley, at Northampton. Before this, the mountain was only crossed on foot or on horseback—the paper for the Albany newspapers being all brought over by the latter mode of conveyance. It was announced, in 1794, that a line of communication, by stage, had been opened from Portland, in Maine, to Whitestown, in the western part of the State of New York. When we consider that Whitestown is in the vicinity of Utica, we can better conceive what travel by stage was, hereabout, in its infancy, and where it was supposed the sun went down.

In 1799, the roads had been so far improved that a stage went from near Utica, to arrive at Geneva the third day, with four passengers. Cayuga Bridge, one and a quarter miles in length, the longest in America, was commenced this year, by the Manhattan Company of New York. The Cherry Valley turnpike was incorporated the same year, beginning at the house of John Weaver, in Watervliet. Turnpikes now came into vogue, in which capitalists eagerly invested. They were a great improvement over the roads in previous use, but never afforded profitable returns.

The old stages were a great phenomenon as they reached one point after another, until they connected with Buffalo. No doubt many will recollect with what interest the villagers gathered at the taverns, on the great lines, to witness the arrival of the stage at the principal halting places, and with what a magnificent flourish the driver came into town, cracking his whip and lashing his steeds to their utmost speed, and fetching up at the hotel, with a turn that struck the spectators with awe and amazement!

By continued gradations, Albany became the centre of a large amount of stage travel, which increased, from year to year, until it engrossed a larger amount of capital than any other enterprise. Lines of stages diverged to every point of the compass; and its streets were thronged with vehicles arriving and departing, sometimes in long processions, at every hour of the day and night. The firms of Thorp & Sprague and

* This interesting little sketch formed the off-hand "piece" of our honored friend, Joel Munsell, the Albany printer, at Cherry Valley, N. Y., when The Albany Institute held a Field Meeting at that place, during the past Summer.

It will be read with pleasure by Mr. Munsell's many friends.—Editor Historical Magazine.

Baker & Walbridge owned an incredible number of stage coaches, which were subsequently laid up, on the completion of the railroads; and many hundreds of worn-out horses went to their rest. The glory of that business has departed: its tired horses and tired men have been superseded by the iron horse that never tires.

In 1848, barely a score of years ago, the stages that ran out of Albany were all gone, but the solitary line which occupied the route over the Cherry Valley turnpike, terminating at Syracuse, through in twenty-four hours, to accommodate such persons as halted at by-places or were doubtful of their entire personal safety behind a locomotive. But the iron horse has, at length, reached Cherry Valley; and now, instead of a tedious ride of a whole day, jolting over bad roads, it is a pleasant trip of four hours, in which the sentimental traveler may ruminate recumbently on the rapidity of riding by rail, the satisfaction of scanning scenery summarily, and the jollity of journeying jauntily without jolting! It brings the savants of Albany to explore its fields and forests, its rocks and streams, and to open an acquaintance with its citizens, who have become, by its instrumentality, as it were, next door neighbors.

VII.—THE PALATINES IN ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK.

A relic of the early settlement at West Camp.*

By Rev. John B. Thompson, of Saugerties.

It is to be regretted that such a great number of our people take so little pride and interest in the preservation of the relics and landmarks of our early history. If our forefathers had been a little more particular in recording dates, names, and localities, it would have been much easier for the antiquary of the present time to collect and preserve relics which are now of great interest to us; and, because of this omission, many interesting incidents, names, and places are now lost to us. It is now clearly our duty to record daily occurrences, where they may be preserved to our children, that they may not grow up and forget us and our good works, which we hope will be many, but will be *few* enough at the most. Our fathers are not to be censured for the omission to post their acts on the ledger of history, for several reasons. First. Many were uneducated, and thereby unable to write them and preserve on paper, which is the surest way. Second. They had no newspapers, or at best very few; and so the *news* of our ancestors must remain hidden from us. How interesting it would be to read a newspaper of a hundred and fifty years ago, which tallied the scores of the hardy Pioneers who first opened the gates of the wilderness in this vicinity, and cleared away the dangers for us, that we might live in peace. Third. Many writings which have been made by the early settlers have been lost by the carelessness and neglect of their executors and others who succeeded them, who did not want to be troubled by taking care of, to them, waste paper. Would it not be well if there was some one who would take care of all such old papers and preserve them, where they might be perused by those who take an interest in such? Fourth. The hard and incessant toil of our ancestors, through the day, and the consequent need of rest, at night, prevented them from preserving, by the aforementioned means, facts which have slipped off the table of memory into the waters of forgetfulness and been carried away into oblivion.

I speak of these different ways of neglecting a thing, that thinking persons may take a hint or two and devise different methods of preserving present occurrences, for the edification of future inquirers, after our exit from the stage, when we have acted our parts in the play of life; and as a sort of preface, if I may so speak, to a description of the tombstone of the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, the first Lutheran preacher in West Camp, and one of the three in America, at that time, (1700), that is, the time when he began his ministry.

My object in writing of this venerable old memorial, is to bring it into public notice, as there are, perhaps, not two score of the members of the Lutheran Church, in West Camp, who are aware that the grave of their founder is within a few hundred yards of their Church and very *carefully neglected.*

I think that the grave of one of the *founders* of the Lutheran Church in the State of New York is deserving of, at least, a fence around it, *to prevent the cattle from leaving their filth upon it!* Thus I found it, when I went to copy the quaint old inscription on it, for the purpose of letting the people of this town know what a rare relic of our forefathers they were allowing to be desecrated, because *no one takes care of it.* Before I could copy the inscription, I had to clean off the dried cattle filth and kick away a pile of brush which had been carelessly thrown on it. It seems almost incredible that the tombstone and memory of our first Lutheran Minister should be so little respected. We hope, with this comment on it, some one will move in the matter and have the stone either removed and put in the Church, or have it suitably enclosed, with a good strong fence.

* We copy this article from *The Saugerties Telegraph* of November 4, 1870; for a copy of which we are indebted to our friend, the author of the paper.

The inscription on the stone is a very puzzling one, on account of the many mistakes in the spelling, the division of the words, and the many erroneous words—which are not *words*, at all, not being in any language spoken under the sun. The mistakes rendered it very difficult to translate the inscription, which is in the German language, but with Roman letters. There are no less than fifteen mistakes in the inscription, in mis-spelled and badly divided words, etc.

When it came to translating it, I found myself in the dark and unable to get out of the wilderness of crooked words; and, without any light on it, I was advised to call on the Rev. Philip Lichtenberg, the worthy Pastor of the German Lutheran Church of Saugerties. I did so; and he was truly a *Mountain of light* to illumine this truly literary wilderness of, in part, *wild* words. Here is a specimen: *welaneh thons;* this should be *Melanchthon's*, the great reformer's, name. Here is another—*Regherstu*—which should be, *Begerst du*—meaning, literally, *do you wish*, or *want*. These are but a few of the puzzling mistakes that perplexed us, when Mr. Lichtenberg attempted to translate the inscription for me, which he did in a *very* satisfactory manner. Indeed, without his aid, I would have been unable to give a lucid translation of the inscription, in English. He has my thanks for his kind assistance.

This is the inscription as it is on the stone:

"Wisse Wanders man Unter diesem Steine Rusht
"nebst Seiner Sibylla Charlotte Ein Rechter
"Wandersman Per Hoch Jeutschen in Nord
"America ihr Josua Und der selben an Der Ost
"and west seite Der Hudsons River rein Luthris-
"cher Prediger Seine erste an kunft war mit
"Lrd Lovelace 1707-8 den 1 Januar Seine
"fweite mit Col Hunter 1710 d. 14 Juny Seine
"Englandische rue reise unterbrach Seine Seelen
"Himmelische reise an St. Johannis sage 1719
"Regherstu mehr Ku wissen So unter Suche in
"welaneh thons vaterland Wer war de Kocher thal,
"Wer Harschias, Wer Winchenbach. B. Berken-
"mayer, S. Heurtin, L. Brevort. MDCCXLII."

The lettering on this stone must have been done by some one who was entirely unacquainted with the German language; or how could so many uncouth mistakes happen on one stone? The true inscription should be as follows: Wisse Wandersmann Unter diesem Steine ruht nebst seiner Sybilla Charlotte Ein rechter Wandersmann Der Hoch Deutschen in Nord Amerika ihr Josua, und derselben and der Ost und West seite des Hudson's River rein Lutherischer Prediger Seine erste Ankunft war mit Lord Lovelace 1707-8 den 1 Januar Seine zweite mit Col Hunter 1710 den 14 Juni Seine Englandische Rueckreise unterbrach Seine Seelen himmelische Reise an St. Johannistage 1719 Begehrst du mehr zu wisseu So untersuche in Melancthon's Vaterland Wer war der Kocherthal Wer Hasschias Wer Winchenbach. B. Berkeumayer, S. Huertin, L. Brevort. MDCCXLII.

From the latter inscription some sense can be taken, while, as it is on the stone, it is a muddle. Here we have the inscription as it would be in English, as it is translated by Mr. Lichtenberg:

Know, wanderer, under this stone rests, beside his Sybilla Charlotte, a right wanderer, the Joshua of the High Dutch, [*or Germans*] in North America, the pure Lutheran Preacher of them on the East and West side of the Hudson-river. His first arrival was with Lord Lovelace, in 1707-8, the first of January. His second, with Colonel Hunter, 1710, the fourteenth of June. His voyage back to England was prevented [literally, *interrupted*] by the voyage of his soul to Heaven, on St. John's day, 1719. Do you wish to know more? Seek, in Melanchthon's fatherland, who was Kocherthal, who Harschias, who Winchenbach. B. Berkenmayer, S. Huertin, L. Brevort. 1742.

These three last names are probably the names of the persons who placed the stone over the grave of the venerated *Joshua* of the *Germans* in North America; and the date is, perhaps, the year in which it was placed there. We take from the connection of the names of Melanchthon and Kocherthal, that the latter is to be venerated by the Lutherans, in America, as the former is by them, in Germany. Alas, but comparatively few Lutherans in America ever heard the name of Kocherthal.

According to the account given, in the *Early History of the Lutheran Church in New York*, by G. A. Lintner, D.D., on page 12, we learn that East and West Camp were settled by refugees from the Palatinate, in Germany, who were driven from their country by Roman Catholic persecution; and they were aided in their immigration and settlement, by Queen Anne of England, who nobly sustained them in their efforts and sacrifices for religious freedom. We have no idea of the trials and sufferings of this resolute band of pilgrims, as I will shortly show, in a short sketch of the Colony which settled in West Camp; and we ought to honor their memory enough to build an enclosure around the tomb of their leader.

The Colony embarked at Portsmouth, England, on Chrismas day, 1709, in a fleet of ten ships—this is the time mentioned on Kocherthal's tombstone, as his second arrival, "with Colonel "Hunter, 1710, the 14th of June." They were driven about, on the ocean, by adverse winds, for six months; and suffered greatly from colds, want of clothing, provisions, and the ravages of disease. On their arrival at New York, they presented a

heart-rending spectacle of human misery. The city authorities supposed they had brought some terrible disease with them; and they were, on that account, "not allowed to come within the city "limits." They were landed on Governor's-island, where "many more died before any relief "could be provided for them." "John Con-"rad Weiser, who was one of the sufferers, "said that of four thousand persons who left "Portsmouth, seventeen hundred died during "the voyage and after having landed." When they landed at West Camp, all the shelter they had was huts of logs, bark and brush, and no food for their families. For two long years, they subsisted on the Queen's bounty of "*one* "*shilling* per day for each man, and *eight pence* "for every woman" and child. "The men "were sent in the woods to burn tar," which was their chief avocation, besides clearing the land and building their log huts to shelter them and their loved families from the freezing blasts of our Northern winters.

VIII.—JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1741.*

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

Walter Bryents Journal in runing the Boundary between New Hampshire and that part off the Massachusetts Bay called County of York 1741

March

13. Fryday — I Set out from New Market with Eight men to assist me in runing & marking out one of the Boundary's lodg'd at Cochecho.

14. Saturday — Sent our Baggage on loging Sleds to Rochester from Cochecho under the care of three men the other five continuing with me at Cochecho it being foul weather. ——

15 Sunday — Attended Public Worship at Cochecho and in the evening went to Rochester and lodged there

16. Monday — Travell'd through the upper part of Rochester and lodg'd in a Loging Camp.—

17. Tuesday, — Went on Salmon Fall River & travell'd up Said River on the ice above the Second pond & Campt

18, Wednesday — Went to the third pond & about two of the Clock in the afternoon it rain'd & Snow'd very hard & oblig'd us to camp extream Stormy that night & two men Sick. —

19. Thursday — Went to the head of Nechawannock River and there Set my Course being North two Degrees West, but by the Needle North Eight Degrees East and run a half mile on a neck of Land with three men then return'd to the other five & Campt.

20, Friday — Crost the head pond which was a mile over and at two hundred Rods distance from S^{t} head pond was another which lay so in my Course that I crost it three times and has Comunication with Mousum River as I Suppose — from the last mentioned pond, for Six mile together I found the land to be pritty even the growth generally White Pitch Pine (N: B: at the end of every mile I mark'd a Tree where the Place would admit of it with the number of Miles from the head of Nechawornnock River) went over a mountain from the Summit of which, I plainly See the White Hills, & Ossipa pond, which pond bore about North West and was about four mile distant —There also lay on the North Side of Said Mountain at a Mile distant a pond in the form of a Circle, of the Diameter of three miles, the East End of which I Crost, I also Crost the River, which comes from the East, and runs into Said pond & Campt; had good travelling to-day & went between Seven and Eight miles. —

21, Saturday — In travelling five miles (the land pritty level from the place where I campt last night, I come to a river which runs out from the last mentioned pond & there track'd an Indian & three dogs, Killed two Deer & Campt.

22 Sunday — Remain'd in my Camp & about nine o'clock at night the Camp

* We are indebted to the attention of our friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A., for this paper.—ED. HIST. MAG.

was hail'd by two Indians (who were within fifteen rods of it) in So broken English that they call'd three times before I could understand what they Said which was "What you do there" upon which I Spake to them and immediately upon my Speaking they ask'd what news, I told them it was Peace they answer'd "May be no" but however upon my telling them they Should not be Hurt; And bidding them to come to the Camp They came & behav'd very orderly and gave me an account of Ossipa pond & River, as also of a place call'd Pigwaket, They told me the way to know when I was at Pigwaket was by observing a certain River which had three large Hills on the South West Side of it which Narrative of Said Indians respecting Ossipa &c[a] I found to correspond, pritty well with my observations—They also inform'd me of their names which were Sentus & Pease, Sentus is an old man was in Cap[t] Lovells fight at which time he was much wounded and lost one of his Eyes; the other is a young man. They informed me then Living was at Ossipa Pond. They had on Gun, but hatchets & Spears —our Snow Shoes being Something broken they readily imparted wherewith to mend them.–They would have purchas'd a Gun of me, but could not Spare one. They were very inquisitive to know what bro't Englishmen so far in the woods in peace where upon I inform'd them—And upon the whole they Said they tho't it was war finding Englismen so far in the Woods & further that there were Sundry Companys of Indians a hunting & they beleiv'd that none of S[d] Companys would let me proceed if they Should meet with me.—

23, Monday Parted with Indians & went to Ossipa River which is fifteen miles from the head of Salmon Falls, which number of miles I mark'd on a pritty large Tree that lay convenient (And in my return I found on Said Tree a Sword handsomly form'd grasp'd by a hand) One mile from Ossipa River came to a Mountain from the Top of which I Saw the White Hills Travell'd over five large Mountains Campt.—

24, Tuesday Found the Snow very Soft to day So that we Sunk half leg deep in Snow Shoes, See where two Indians had Campt On Hemlock Boughs, Campt, Snow'd all night

25 Wednesday Continued Snowing all day & night. The general depth of the Snow with what fell last night & to day was four foot & an half or five foot deep.—

26 Thursday The Weather fair & Clear and in my travel to day Saw the White Hills which were West and by North from me and about Seven miles distant as near as I could guess I also See Pigwaket Plain or Interval Land as also Pigwaket River which runs from the North West to the South East and cuts the aforesaid Interval in two Triangles it lying North & South about eight miles in length & four in breadth. ——

About two or three miles beyond Pigawaket I saw a large body of Water three or four miles long & half a mile broad but whether River or Pond I do not know

27, Friday Finding the Travelling Difficult by the Softness of the Snow, and the Rivers and Brooks breaking up together with some Backwardness in my men to venture any further, I concluded to return, which I did accordingly and on Wednesday the first of April We got Safe to Newmarket And all in good health. —

WALTER BRYENT

PROF. OF N. HAMP[R] } ss May 22. 1741—M[r] Walter Bryent made oath that this is a true and exact journal of his Survey, of part of one of the divisional boundaries between His Majesty's Province of new Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay made by him according to the best of his skil & observations —

Sworn Before RICH[D] WALDRON J[t] Peace

the Charge of Runing y^e^ Dividing Line between y^e^ province of newhampshire & y^e^ province of Main for my Self & Eight men ——— ——— to two Days my Self @ portsm^r^ attending on his Excelen y^e^ Governor and Counsell in order to an agreement

	£	S	d
	1–	10–	00

to one day a Ditto 15/ } & —— to Receive my order }

& three men that were Sworn } for Lines men @ 10/ Day each }

	2–	05–	00

to my Self Seventeen Days @ 23/ ℔ Day

	19–	11–	00

to Eight men each 17 Days @ 13/ ℔^r^ Day

	88–	08–	00

to a plan & Return by y^e^ agreement 5 £ (& I gave three)

	05–	00–	00
£	116–	14–	00
Received	85–	00–	00
Remains £	31–	14–	00

Errors Excepted ℔ WALTER BRYENT
Newmarket—1741

Hazen —£ 300..00..
Mitchel—£ 50..11..
Briant —£ 85..

435..11..

In the House of Represen^t^ ffe^r^ 12^th^ 1741: The within accompt allowed to be p^d^ £ 31 : 14.. ..
JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r^ Ass^m^

In Coun feb: 18: 1741.2
Read and Concurrd R WALDRON Sec^ry
Feb: 18: 1741–2 Assented to
B WENTWORTH

IX.—REPORT OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL Z. YORK, BRECKENRIDGE'S CORPS, C. S. A., JUNE AND JULY, 1864.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN POSSESSION OF CAPTAIN C. W. ELWELL, NEW YORK CITY.

HEAD QRS YORK'S COMMAND (HAYS' & STAFFORD'S BRIGADES.) JULY 22^D^ 1864.

Major R. W. HUNTER
A. A. GENL
GORDON'S DIV.
MAJOR!

I have the honor to report—that after having participated in the various engagements of the Army of Northern V^a^, up to the 13^th^ of June, & also in the successful movement up the "Roanoke Valley," my command left "Staunton on the 28^th^ day of June, advancing with Joyful step into the "Valley "District"

The fatigues of the "Wilderness, of Spottsylvania C. H., of Hanover, of the forced march from Lynchburg to Salem, were forgotten & every heart & step was light, as we turned our faces towards the "Potomac.

The hope of gashing with the iron heel of war, the Enemy's soil, ever inspires with new alacrity my decimated but willing command.

No fatigue can overcome, no danger appall them, when the hearthstone of the "Vandal foe is the hateful goal—

Advancing with eager tread down the great Virginia Valley, so adorned & blessed by Nature & so blasted by the grim hand of War, they found nothing to vary the monotony of long marches save the recollections of the past.

This Valley is for my Command classic ground. As they tread its highways, the Eagle eye, the nervous frame, the flashing genius of "Stone-"wall Jackson" are incarnate before them.

Each spot is to them a monument of *his* immortality" Here Jackson conquered "then "Jackson was victorious" With colors drooping, arms reversed & to the solemn dirge, my brave Louisianians filed past the grave of the dead hero at Lexington, garlanded by the taper fingers of beauty—a very bank of flowers—

But standing in this noble Valley, the scene of his labors & his triumphs, no follower of Jackson could think of him as cased in narrow walls of earth. As well put the Lightning in a shroud or the hurricane in bonds.

To his old comrades his spirit stalks along the mountain tops, or tramps the fertile plain. No place hold genius. No tomb imprisons Jackson. The echoes still repeat "Victory." whenever his guns resounded & the scenes of his triumphs are the inspiration of success.

So sublime & perpetual is the life of genius, Louisianians revere the great Chieftain, still living in his wonderous acts.

And once more moving through this classic region under the leadership of one, who enjoyed the confidence of the Hero gone, their eagerness is unabated & the bright anticipations of the present tip the golden memories of the past.

It is proper to record that my Sharpshooters, led by Captain "Workman & " Lieut Reams together with the 9^th^ Regt of L'a Infantry, Lieut Col Hodges Comd'g, first entered the town of "Martinsburg, having driven out the enemy, after a short but sharp resistance. And I regret to be compelled to call attention to the fact, that my command by no means obtained their equitable share of the stores captured at this place.

Crossing the Potomac at "Shepherdtown, my Command took part in the attack on Maryland Heights" Although exposed to severe shelling

for two days, my casualties at this point were only 2, or 3.

My Sharpshooters as usual took a spirited part in the advance —

Withdrawing from "Maryland Heights" we found ourselves on the 9th day of July in front of "Frederic City Maryland.

After lying in line of battle from 8, O,clock in the morning, at 2, O,clock I moved on a road parallel with the Georgetown Turnpike, across the "Monococacy River" & took position near "Monococacy Bridge"

As the Division to which I have the honor to be attached, moved into action, in echelon of Brigades, the sight was more than imposing.

My veterans marched under fire with the precision of automata.

The spirit of twenty victories burned in their bosoms & flashed along their faces. No eye quailed & no mind doubted. Every motion seemed to say with the valiant "Percy" I will pluck from this nettle danger, the flower of safety."

The position occupied by my Command exposed them to an enfilading fire from the Enemy. And although hotly pressed & with thinning ranks, my men bravely stood their ground & advancing steadily, dislodged the foe from his position & drove him in confusion down the Baltimore road.

I regret to record a heavy list of casualties in this engagement. My loss amounted to 45. Killed & 118. wounded. Among the wounded were Lieut Col Hodges of the 9th La Infantry & Lieut Lynn of the 6th La. both gallant & meritorious Officers. I regret to state that these Officers & many of my wounded, were so badly injured, that it was impossible to remove them & they fell into the hands of the Enemy at Frederic City—

Every provision possible was made for their comfort. Too much praise cannot be awarded to my Officers & Men for their bearing in this engagement. Disciplined by the fire of 20 Battles, they so uniformly & so generally meet danger & death without fear, that it is almost impossible to discriminate in the record of gallantry.

I believe however it will not be invidious particularly to mention, Col Eugene Waggaman 10th La, who led the van of Stafford's Brigade, cheering his Command, in the thickest of the fight by his example, in a way that the bravest might well be proud of

Col R. R. Peck 9th La, of Hay's Brigade, ever present with his gallant command gained new laurels The Col had his horse killed under him, & his clothes pierced by a ball, slightly wounding him in the breast.

Lieut Col Hodges had the misfortune to be wounded in the arm, so severely as to require amputation. He is one of the best Officers in the service. The combat of the "Monococacy" although short was a severe test of the endurance of my Command And the highest commendation I can give them is, that their bearing met the requirements of the occasion —

Moving on towards the Capital of the "Unit-"ed States" my Command took part in the investment of that City.

The sight of its domes & fortifications fired anew my men, & they would have hailed with joy the command for an assault & moved with intrepidity to its execution.

But confiding in the wisdom of their leader, they withdrew at his bidding & acquiesced in any direction for their zeal.

Once more crossing the Potomac sanctified by "Mount Vernon & Arlington Heights, yet now a weary line of contest & of death,

My Command encamped near "Castleman's "Ferry" on the Shenandoah, in Clark County Va. Here my command took part in the punishment inflicted on the insolent foe. I am happy to state that my casualties were confined to 2 Privates, wounded, of my Sharpshooters.

In closing this imperfect report of the Operations of my Command I feel it due to those who have sacrificed their lives to make more than a passing mention of their Names : Lieut Robert Lynne Co E 6th La wounded in the combat of the "Monococacy" has since died. He was a brave and deserving Officer. I regret that he was denied, in his last moments, the consolations of tender kindred, But to them he leaves the proud legacy of a noble death in a sacred Cause —

I am grieved to record also the loss of Capt. R. A. Pearson Co "C" 9th La at "Castleman's "Ferry" Capt. Pearson was a pains-taking faithful & remarkably brave Man. His death is no small loss to a Regiment, the record of whose casualties in battle is the best evidence of their gallantry, Capt. W. F. T. Burnett Co F. 9th La killed on the 9th inst, was a grave loss to this same Regt. Captain Burnett added to all the virtues of private life, efficiency as an Officer & uncommon bravery.

Lieut M. Murray Co F. 6th La killed on the Monococacy is a serious, very serious loss to his Command.

An old English Soldier, he discharged his duties with the greatest precision, participated in every engagement & was never absent from his Regt. His regularity was only surpassed by his coolness under fire.

I regret to report amongst the wounded Capt. J. P. Groves Co "B" 1st La, a very faithful Officer, Lieut P. Baron Co A. 10th L'a, Lieut Arthur Bride Co E 5th L'a. Lieut N. J. Landlin Co

"G" 8th L'a. Lieut W. C. McBride C° H. 9th L'a, & Lieut C. R. Haworth C° "B" 9th L'a

Our gallant dead we mourn.

The grave has closed its gloomy portals above their mortal remains.

But their free spirits, clad in the garments of immortality, still live in the memory of deeds well done.

The vestal lamp of patriotism will burn ever beside their tombs.

Its light shall dispel the sombre gloom of the overhanging Cypress.

The works of the dead speak trumpet-tongued to their surviving Comrades.

From the bright example of the departed, the living shall gather new ardor & learn the lessons of duty & of fame.

The tears that water their graves shall bring abundant harvest of patriotism of hope & of zeal.

Pardon me when I presume to add my opinion to that of my Command in saying that the chivalorous bearing of our revered Major General in the combat of the "Monocoeacy" as in all other battles added new lustre to his already brilliant career,

His escape was miraculous, his horse being killed under him at the very front of his Command. where his voice might be heard above the roar of Musketry.

I cannot speak too highly of the gallant bearing of my "Staff Officers, Capt. T. A. McDannold & R. J. Barton, courting danger fearlessly, wherever duty called— I respectfully ask for their promotion for gallant conduct, at the battle of the "Monocoeacy

Lieut J. L. Seales, Ordnance Officer of my Command rendered efficient service in his department.

Major Campbell my efficient Commissary is worthy of note for his bravery in action.

He renders valuable service in manœuvring the troops in every engagement The respect shown by both Officers & Men for the Order of Lieut Genl Early & for the rights of private property during the invasion of Maryland cannot fail to elicit the commendation of their superiors.

The alacrity of both Officers & Men to meet the requirements of duty; their patient endurance of fatigue; their impetuosity & steadfastness in action: their implicit confidence in their leader; their perseverance in this crusade of liberty, notwithstanding their depleted ranks & reduced numbers; their cheerfulness under long absence from kindred & all they love or cherish, bespeak the spirit of true patriots & true Soldiers & will justify me, I believe in any language of commendation.

I humbly trust that their & my efforts may meet the approval of our Countrymen

I am Major, with much respect,

Your Obdt Servant.

Z. York

Brig. Genl.

X.—THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS OF THE SEVERAL STATES. *

I.—*NOTICES OF PIONEERS IN AMERICAN GEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES.*

By Hon. George W. Clinton, of Buffalo, N.Y.

[New York, 115 Broadway,
December 22, 1870.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.
Editor of the Historical Magazine.

Dear Sir: When proposing to publish some Sketches of Western New York, in 1844, additional to the volume issued in 1838, about "Western Settlements," etc., I aimed to give some particulars concerning the origin and progress of geological research in this State. Knowing that the Hon. George W. Clinton, of Buffalo, before devoting himself to the legal profession, had had his attention turned towards investigations of this kind, by his father, Governor De Witt Clinton, and that he was a member of an exploring party which traversed the State, for that purpose, while our great Canal System was struggling into operation, I sought information from him, respecting the surveys that General Stephen Van Rensselaer's liberality stimulated Professor Amos Eaton to undertake, for the purpose of examining the natural features of the country which our Canal System might profit itself and the public by aiding to develope.

Judge Clinton promptly complied with my request, by favoring me with the reminiscences embodied in the annexed communication. This contribution to history will, doubtless, be read now with even greater and wider public interest, than it would have secured if printed at a time when less attention was turned towards Geology—a science comparatively young—in fact, only struggling into being as an exact system—less than half a century ago. Among the wonders of late years, few are so remarkable for practical utility as this Science, which has already acquired honorable maturity—of which the official Reports of the Geological Survey of this State, by Professor James Hall and his able associates, furnish some of the most important proofs—the *New York Geological Reports* being now, everywhere, quoted with admiration, while their nomenclature is substantially adopted throughout the scientific world.

Engagements connected with the original extension of the Telegraph System through the United States and other circumstances having prevented the preparation of the additional volume formerly contemplated, as above-mentioned, I now endeavor to accomplish my object by furnishing the Historical Magazine with these reminiscences of Judge Clinton, in the hope that they may invite other surviving Pioneers in our State Geological researches, to favor the public with their recollections concerning the origin and progress of the investigations which have eventuated in placing the State of New York among the foremost in this all-important branch of practical science.

Connected with these reminiscences, I may allude to a kindred matter which occurred about the time when Judge Clinton's interesting statement was written. People who

* We are indebted to our respected friend, Henry O'Reilly, Esq., for the following timely article, which we employ as the introductory to a series of papers, by various hands, on this interesting subject, which we propose to present for the consideration of our readers.

This series will include memoirs of distinguished Geologists, who have thus served the States, papers illustrative of the history and results of surveys, bibliographical notices of Reports and other printed works relative thereto, ect; and we promise ourself much pleasure and our readers much profit from the collection.—Ed. His. Mag.

recollect the state of public opinion, six-and-twenty years ago, need not be told how strong a prejudice prevailed, then, among a large portion of the community, against the Geological Survey, as a thing costing what many considered an extravagant sum and producing little good. Knowing how largely this feeling prevailed among farmers, as well as others, I thought it would prove beneficial to that class, particularly, to embody in the *Annual Report of the State Agricultural Society*, some statements concerning the "practical paying value" of the investment which the Legislature had made in the way of Geological research. With this view, I besought Professor Hall to furnish a brief statement of the prominent features of the Geological Survey, and particularly some facts concerning the economic value of the great enterprize, which I desired to include in the volume of documents forming the Annual Report to the Legislature, from the State Agricultural Society, of which I was then Secretary. I particularly requested Professor Hall to favor the object by including as many illustrations as he deemed necessary for depicting the rocks most prominently developed, as indications of the value of the soil and mineral resources, in different portions of the State.* To people familiar with geological research, it is scarcely necessary to say that that article of Professor Hall was one of the most valuable in that or any other volume of the *Transactions*, and contributed, essentially, among farmers, in promoting something like proper appreciation of the great Geological Survey which forms a most distinguishing feature in the history of science, in its application to the welfare of mankind; although some persons, from whom better might have been expected, tried, for a little while, to be facetious in ridiculing the "pictures" with which the learned Professor illustrated the characteristics of the prevalent rocks—those wiseacres "wanting to "know" what connection such things have with "raising "potatoes and corn!"

In connection with, and illustrative of, Judge Clinton's enthusiastic allusion to Natural Science and research, it may be stated that he is yet (1870) evincing devotion to his favorite pursuit, in the intervals of professional duty—as President of the Buffalo Society of Natural History, and as a practical explorer in the field—some of his Reports on the Botany of Western New York, having been lately published by that Society.

In justice to the author and his subject, let me ask the reader to remember the *date* of Judge Clinton's reminiscences. The six and twenty years that have elapsed since the Judge wrote those memorials, have in few matters been so remarkable as in the broad and bright light thrown on Geology—a branch of knowledge which, as above stated, was scarcely recognized as an exact Science in the days of his early explorations, with Professors Eaton, Beck and Eights, and which was comparatively little appreciated by general readers, even a quarter century ago, when his letter was written.

Some other memoranda, on this subject, may be at your service, in connection with the labors of the Pioneer Geological Explorers, to whom Judge Clinton justly and beautifully alludes in the annexed communication.

Yours truly,

HENRY O'REILLY.]

[REMINISCENCES OF JUDGE CLINTON.]

BUFFALO, October 16, 1844.

To

HENRY O'REILLY, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have, in vain, endeavored, down to the present time, to secure the leisure to collect and arrange my old materials, in order to answer your letter of the 7th of August last. Even now, I am compelled to write in haste, and without having before me some memoranda and some pamphlets which are, or ought to be, in my possession. Having, for so many years, been utterly diverted from geological pursuits, I am ignorant, in a great measure, of the theories and discoveries of the last fourteen or sixteen years, and may, peradventure, exhibit the ignorance, rather than the merits, of those gentlemen who were, in my estimation, highly meritorious as the *Pioneers of Geology* in this country.

Your inquiries have sent me to my old note books; and they have recalled some of the most pleasant scenes of my existence. Subsequent changes have made the recollection of those olden days "sweet, yet mournful to the soul." I know not whether to thank or to blame you, for directing my thoughts to those peaceful and happy years, when I was devoted to pursuits, so congenial to my taste and so widely variant from the struggles and passions of my present life. I can truly say, that I could have been contented with poverty and loneliness, in the humble and unregarded study of Nature; and that I have often most bitterly regretted my having been drawn from my devotion to her, by the influence of true but misjudging friends.

In passing judgment upon the earlier geologists, we should remember the difficulties with which they contended. The founder of a Science is generally a greater man, and expends more labor in founding it, than any of the succeeding prosecutors of that Science, who extend its boundaries, and, in fact, know a great deal more about it. The great Cuvier, the father of Comparative Anatomy, knew probably much less about that branch of Science, than is now mastered and comprehended by many gentlemen who are, nevertheless, fated to be forgotten. So it should be, though it seldom is so, with the earlier votaries of a Science. They grope in comparative darkness. They may shed but little light upon that darkness; but that little light, the fruit of a life's labor, is often a life's start to their successors, in the rugged path towards Truth. Their merit should be estimated, and praise accorded to them, not in proportion to the actual attainments made by them, but according to the value of those attainments to those coming after them, regard being had to the circumstances of ease or difficulty under which they made them. I admit that he who reduces unformed accumulations of knowledge to order and founds a Science, does a more immediate and sensible good than those who accumulated the undigested knowledge; still, without pioneers, Science has never appeared in this world; and the humble herbalist should be approved for his labors, at least, because he prepares and smooths the way for the botanist.

I cannot, of course, pretend to fix the comparative deserts of the earlier and the present geologists of this country; but, if the latter be per-

* These statements may be found in the volume of *State Agricultural Transactions* for 1843, published by legislative authority, in 1844.

sons of super-eminent merit, it does seem to me that the former are entitled to great credit for having created and fostered the taste for geological pursuits, and paved the way for their more marked and rapid progress.

Not being confident but that I am ignorant of some great discoveries that may have been made of late years, I cannot say but that the advances made in my time have been so far surpassed as to be utterly valueless now. Perhaps, our supposed discoveries have turned out baseless; and, our locations of our rocks were, perhaps, entirely erroneous. I can merely say that I do not know of one important fact in the economical geology of this State which was not well understood in 1830. I do not know if any mineral product of our State, of any consequence, in Agriculture or the Arts, now known to exist, was then undiscovered; and I am very confident that Coal, in large masses or deposites, was then unlooked for, unless it might be on our Southern border, which was then but little known.

For myself, I claim no merit. What little I did was done for my own satisfaction, and brought its own sufficient reward. I am, however, solicitous that justice should be done to others who have earned and are entitled to gratitude. They had none of those advantages, at the outset, which, prior to my abandoning the Natural Sciences, began to be felt in this State, and which, I am told, for many years, have been so sensibly experienced. Books were few, and diffieult of procurement; there was not, as now, a free and rapid intercommunication with European naturalists, and a comparatively easy access to European schools and to large and well-arranged geological cabinets, here and abroad; the all-important science of Organic Remains was peculiarly diffieult of attainment; and, above all, the geologist was not then cheered on by the respect of all classes and encouraged by State patronage, but, on the contrary, he was too generally regarded as a visionary and a cumberer of the ground. The geologists of my acquaintance were well aware that, in all probability, they were merely preparing the ground for others. They felt distrust in their own conclusions, and, with some exceptions, did not print them, to my knowledge; still these conclusions, and the facts upon which they were based, were freely conversed about, and circulated, in letters and by word of mouth. They must have reached the later race of our geologists. Their value I do not pretend to estimate.

Apologizing for these preliminary remarks, permit me to proceed to answer the substance of your letter, so far as I can. In order to do so, I must venture a few remarks upon the history of geological investigation in this State, or, rather, refer you to the earlier pamphlets on the subject.

In 1820, under the direction, I think, of an Albany County Agricultural Society, Professor Amos Eaton and Dr. T. R. Beck made an Agricultural and Geological Survey of Albany-county; and it was published, either that year or the next. I have not the pamphlet by me; but my recollection is, that it was highly creditable to those gentlemen, and of great benefit, in itself and as a model for similar explorations.

In 1821, Professor Eaton, aided by Dr. Lewis C. Beck, then a very young man, made a similar survey of Rensselaer-county, which was published, in 1822, at Albany, in a pamphlet. This Survey was made by the direction and request of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer,—a man who, to his latest hour, never omitted an opportunity to do good, and whose memory will be reverenced for many generations.

In 1822, Dr. John H. Steel, of Saratoga Springs, published *A Report on the Geological Structure of the County of Saratoga*. These three pamphlets, according to my present recollection, are the earliest attempts I have seen, to elucidate the geology of any portion of this State. They contain much interesting matter; and I doubt whether the two former should be regarded as valuable only for their rude antiquity.

Under the patronage of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Professor Eaton published his Canal Rocks—in fact, an attempt at a classification and description of the rocks of the State. I have not the work by me, and cannot give the date of the first edition, nor its exact title; but you can readily find the book. I doubt whether the actual desert of any of our more recent geologists, for their works, should, under all the circumstances, be admitted to be superior to that of Professor Eaton, as the author of this first general attempt at a synopsis of the Geology of our State.

And here let me observe, in justice to Professor Eaton, that no man did so much as he, in his day, to promote a taste for Natural History in this country. His several text books, though, perhaps, now superseded, were of incalculable utility. He educated many young men (some of whom are now forgetful of the great obligations they owe to their old master) and inoculated them with his own ardor in the pursuit of Science. He was a man of a clear mind, of great ability, and of varied attainments.

He, perhaps, erred in his geological conclusions, principally from his ignorance of Organic Remains. He considered our American formations as being on a larger and more uniform scale than those of Europe; and was, perhaps, too ready to apply the old hypothesis, that the strata of the earth were superposed and continuous, like the coats of the onion. He erred too, (unless his views

are now verified) in placing among the Secondary, many of our Transition rocks. He adopted a new, though, generally, just and convenient, nomenclature of our strata; and made sad mistakes in identifying the Clay of Albany and the Sand of its plains with the London Clay and Bagshot Sand of English Geologists. But, notwithstanding his errors, he did, perhaps, more than any other man of his day, to investigate and elucidate our Geology.

In May, 1826, I first became acquainted with Professor Eaton, and accompanied him, Dr. James Eights, and a number of the students of The Rensselaer School, on an excursion from Troy to Buffalo, or, rather, to the Eighteen Mile-creek, on the South shore of Lake Erie, on the Canal, and back. A canal-boat was chartered for the purpose; and two months and nine days were consumed in the excursion. The special object was the study of the Canal Rocks and other branches of Natural History. I do not remember that any very notable discoveries in Geology were made; but many interesting facts were ascertained, in that and other Natural Sciences,—a few of which I will mention.

In geodes, in the calciferous sandrock of Eaton, opposite Root's Nose, on the Mohawk, we found quartz crystals, rounded on one or more of their facets, as though they had been fused by the blow-pipe.

We christened a village, on the Canal, "Gas-"port," from a fountain of carburretted hydrogen in the Canal, within its bounds. The place, I believe, bears that name, to this day.

We obtained one small specimen of Galena from the limestone of Lockport.

At Salina, in the red-marl, or red sand-stone, we discovered small pseudo-morphous crystals, or rather casts, of the same shape and appearance as the "hopper-formed" crystal of salt. Subsequently, much larger ones, from two to four, and, even six inches, across, were found at Manlius, in the clay, by Dr. Eights.

It should be observed, that we diverged, frequently, from the Canal, to visit Niagara Falls, the Genesee Falls, Trenton Falls, and several other remarkable points; and that our geological observations were such as, with me, at least, and I think with others, to shake our faith in the generalizations of Professor Eaton and in his classification and nomenclature of our rocks.

This journey was important, not, perhaps, so much from its direct results, as from the zeal with which it inspired many young men in the pursuit of Natural History. On this occasion, I became acquainted with Professor Rafinesque, who seems to have been more highly regarded by European than by American naturalists, and who was certainly a man of more universal information, particularly in matters of Natural Science, than any other individual I ever met with.

From the time of this tour until the commencement of 1828, and, indeed, occasionally, from time to time, down to 1831 or 1832, I gave much time to geological investigations. I cannot claim to have done much, except rectifying some of my old notions. Of correspondents, I had very few. I may here mention that, in 1830, when I was examining the rocks of Ontario county, I had pointed out to me a singular mineral (?) substance, of which I do not remember to have ever seen any account. It exactly resembles animal fat, or grease. I made no analysis, nor, indeed, any critical examination of it. It occurred about one foot from the surface, in clay, in a marsh about one mile from Rushville, at a place where a man, by the name of Slayton, was, at the time, or professed to be, boring for coal.

With regard to the Helderberg, I spent much time in examining it, with Dr. James Eights, who was familiar with it, before I visited it. Twice, at least, we examined it with great care; and once endeavored to, and succeeded, to our own satisfaction, at least, in tracing its geological connection with the Catskill Mountains, at the Kaater's-kill. I am very confident that I kept, (as was my custom,) full journals of these explorations; but, if so, I have mislaid them. I find, however, among my notes, an abstract of the results of these examinations, made in 1827 and 1828, specifying the various localities which we visited, and the appearances, &c., of the different strata at each. From the adoption, however, of Professor Eaton's divisions and nomenclature, any value they might otherwise possess, is, probably, diminished. In the Helderberg and Catskill, we found, or thought we found, all, or almost all, the "Canal Rocks," and more. Our knowledge of Organic Remains was so imperfect, that, in all probability, we gave to most of those we met with, names by which no geologist of this day would recognize them. Our general conclusion, however, was that the Catskill and the Helderberg were, in fact, entirely composed of Transition Rocks. Whether this is the present view of our men of science, I do not know; and I presume this section of country has been more accurately examined, by gentlemen of superior science, with more leisure and far better opportunities of observation, than were or could be enjoyed by two men, with empty pockets, who carried knapsacks, and did their own hammering.

I do not flatter myself that there is anything in this communication that can be at all valuable to the public, or of sufficient interest to deserve preservation. You may, however, use it as you please, if, in your opinion, it can be of service in securing a due regard to gentlemen who have deserved well, but are not remembered as they

should be. I am very far from claiming for those with whom I had the pleasure of laboring, any exclusive merit, or of postponing to them, more recent geologists, of whom and whose labors I know but little. But, my contemporaries did do much; and common justice requires that they should not be utterly eclipsed by the brighter luminaries of the present day. If the more modern votaries of Geology arrogate all glory to themselves, and withhold the humbler meed of praise which was so clearly earned by the Pioneers, in my humble judgment, they act unwisely, and deserve a gentle reprimand. Buffon's vanity made him supremely ridiculous; and his absurd pretensions will, probably, be recorded when his works are obsolete; and Linnæus ennobled his own memory and added lustre to his own achievements, by remembering his obligations to his predecessors and encouraging and acknowledging the aid of his humbler co-laborers.

Yours, most truly,
G. W. CLINTON.

XI.—THE OLD FAMILIES OF NEW YORK.

I.—*THE VAN VORST FAMILY*, 1634 TO 1722.

By HON CHARLES P. DALY, LL. D.

[The following letter was written by Chief-justice Daly, of the New York Common Pleas, to Judge Van Vorst, formerly of the same Court, in answer to a request for information respecting the Van Vorst family.
We publish it, as it contains, probably, all that is known of the early history and genealogy of one of the oldest of the Dutch families by whom the State of New York and the eastern part of New Jersey were settled.]

MY DEAR JUDGE:

I give you, herewith, all that I know respecting the Van Vorst family.

The first emigrant and common ancestor, in this country, was CORNELIUS VAN VORST, who came to the Colony of New Netherland, in 1634, when it was under the government of Wouter Van Twiller.

In 1630, Michael Pauw, under the title of the Lord of Achtienhoven, in Holland, obtained a Patent for a Grant of land upon the New Jersey shore, opposite to New Amsterdam, which embraced what is now Jersey City and much beyond it. A similar Grant was obtained by Van Rensselaer, about the same time, of the lands about Albany; and the object of Pauw, like that of Van Rensselaer, was to establish a feudal Colony, of which he was to be the Patroon, or Lord, and to which he gave the Latin name of PAVONIA. In 1633, he sent out, as his representative, one Michael Paulinson, who took possession of the Patent and established himself on the Hook, now part of Jersey City, which was called, after him, Paulis Hook, corrupted into Powles Hook, the name by which it was formerly known.

In the following year, 1634, Cornelius Van Vorst was sent out to supersede Paulinson, as Pauw's "Commander in Pavonia." He came in a small English barque, from some port in the North of England; and brought with him some "good Bordeaux wine," which appears to have been especially prized; for, immediately upon his arrival, Van Twiller, who according to the narrative of De Vries, "was fond of tasting "good wine," paid a formal visit to the new incumbent, accompained by Dominie Bogardus, the clergyman, and husband of Anneke Jans, and by De Vries, the navigator. They evidently imbibed very freely of the wine, for the Governor and the Dominie got into a high dispute with Van Vorst, about the murder of an Indian, but were finally reconciled; and, upon their departure, Van Vorst resolved to give them a parting salute with a piece of cannon that stood upon the palisade, in front of his house; when, a spark flew upon the house, which was thatched with rushes, and, in half an hour, it was entirely consumed.

Your classical recollection will recall the custom of making a sacrifice, in honor of a guest, of the best ox, calf, etc; but your ancestor went beyond the ancients, by burning down the house over his head: and we can appreciate how complimented the Governor and his party must have felt, as the flames of the burning dwelling lighted them, on their way, across the Hudson, to the Fort, at New Amsterdam.

Pauw did not succeed in accomplishing his object. It was difficult to do so, in the vicinity of New Amsterdam. It was repugnant to the notions of men brought up under the free institutions of Holland: and Pauw and his commander were so baffled by the opposition of the settlers of New Amsterdam, that, in 1637, he gave up the enterprise and relinquished all his interest in the Patent to the West India Company.

In the following year, 1638, Cornelius Van Vorst died, leaving a widow, Vrouwtje [*Dame*] IDES. He had been twice married. By his first wife, he had two sons, Jan and Hendrick, and two children, a son and daughter, by his second wife, all of whom survived him. The two elder children, by the first wife, were minors, at their father's death—children, under the Dutch law, not attaining their majority until the age of twenty-five. Jan Damen and David Provost were, accordingly, appointed Guardians of Jan, until he attained his majority, which was in 1641; and Dominie Bogardus and Tymen Jansen were appointed Guardians of Hendrick.

Hendrick remained in possession of the farm occupied by his father, which was leased to him

by Governor Kieft, on behalf of the Company. Kieft, also, in the same year, 1639, leased to Jan, the Company's Bouwery [farm] No.6, on Manhatten-island; * and, in the same year, he leased to the widow, Vrouwtje Ides, for twenty-one years, a farm at Ahasimus, [*Horsimus,*] to which she removed with her children; and, to assist her, he supplied her with a certain quantity of sheep.

In 1638, Hendrick was prosecuted by the Fiscal, for illegal trading in furs—that is, I suppose, for infringing upon the monopoly of the Company. In 1639, he went to Holland, taking with him Powers of Attorney from several persons, to act for them, and died there, in 1640—one half of his estate going to his full brother, Jan, and the other half, in equal proportions, to his half brother and sister, the children of Vrouwtje Ides. Of Jan, I know nothing further than above stated.

The widow, Vrouwtje Ides, married Jacob Stoffelsen, who had been one of Van Twiller's Overseers of the Negroes employed in the construction of Fort Amsterdam, in 1635. She died at her farm, at Ahasimus, in Pavonia, in 1641; and Stofflesen continued to reside there, with her children, until 1643.

In 1641, Vander Horst, of Utrecht, founded a Colony at Hackensack; and, among the colonists, was Garrit Jansen Van Vorst or, rather, *Voorst*, who was shot, in 1643, by a drunken Indian, as he was engaged, there, in thatching a house. The middle name denotes that he was the son of Jan Van Voorst; but he could not have been the son of the Jan, above referred to, who was then but twenty-five years of age, as the Van Voorst that was killed was a married man—the Indians offering an atonement to his widow. His son, Jan Garretsen Van Voorst, born in New Netherland, was married, in 1662, to Sara Waldron, a native of Amsterdam, in Holland. He died, shortly afterwards; and his widow, in 1666, married Laurens Jansen Van Oosten, a native of Leyden.

I may here mention, that it is very difficult to trace a Dutch geneology, by names, from a peculiarity in Dutch nomenclature; for the son received, as his surname, the christian name of the father, with the termination added of *zoon* or *sen*, meaning *son*. Thus, Cornelius Van Vorst's son being christened Hendrick, his name would be Hendrick Cornelis*sen*; and if *his* son was christened Jan, his name would be Jan Hendrick*sen* or, in English, John Hendrickson; and if *his* son was christened Hendrick, his name would be Hendrick Jans*en*. The difficulty which this caused led to the adoption of a unchanging patronymic; but not until many years after the arrival of the Van Vorsts in the Colony—not, in fact, until the change had became very general in Holland, where the previous practise had existed for centuries.

In addition to this, there was another difficulty. A man would be called by the name of his trade or, sometimes, from a personal peculiarity. Thus, if Jan Van Vorst had been brought up to the trade of a Brewer, he would be called *Jan Brouwer;* or to a Bleacher, *Jan Bleecker;* or, rather, he would take his father's first name and be called thus, *Jan Cornelissen Brouwer*. For this reason, it is almost impossible to trace Dutch families by names.

The murder of this Garrit Van Voorst led to a collision with the Indians; and, in 1643, a body of Hackensack Indians came to Jacob Stoffelsen, then living, as I have said, upon the farm of his deceased wife, Vrouwtje Ides; and, being a favorite with them, they induced him, upon some pretext, to go to New Amsterdam; and, as soon as he was gone, they murdered all in the household, not a soul escaping, except the little son of Cornelius Van Vorst, by Vrouwtje Ides, whom they carried off, as a prisoner, to Tappan—an act which they followed up by laying the whole of Pavonia in ashes.

Three years after this event, that is, in 1646, Stoffelsen became one of the five founders of the Village of Breuckelen, [*Brooklyn*] which was established on the road from the Ferry to Flatbush, between the Wallobout and Gowanus-creek, or, in about the vicinity of the City Hall of the present City of Brooklyn. Here he had a farm commencing at the meadow, at the head of Gowanus-creek, and extending to the Flatbush road [*Fulton-avenue, from Bond to Smith-street*] and remained there until 1656, when he leased a farm at Ahasimus, from the Company, where he was living, in 1664, having married again.

The boy carried off by the Indians, I suppose to have been Ide Cornelissen Von Vorst, who was afterwards a farmer at Ahasimus. In 1652, he was married to Hilletje Jans, and had four children—Vrouwtje (named after his mother) Cornelius, Peter, and Cornelia. In 1663, he and Stoffelsen were fined for working on Sunday. In 1664, he obtained a Patent for land at Ahasimus, Southeast of the wagon-road to New Jersey, and, the same year, another Patent for land at Schreyer's Hook, "a triangle adjoining the Director Gener-"al's Garden, in New Amsterdam." In 1674, he and Claes Jans, probably a son of Jan Van Vorst and grandson of Cornelius, had a controversy about the right to certain valley and pasture land, at Ahasimus, with Casper Steymets, which was settled by the authorities. His son, Cornelius, had two children, Ides (1685) and

* This may be a mistake. The Jan here referred to, may have been a brother or connection of Cornelius, the Commander.

Annetje (1694); and, in 1685, he was in possession of land, near Tappan-creek, as appears by a record of the arrest of certain persons, from East Jersey, for disturbing his possession. The group, here especially referred to, are those from whom the New Jersey branch of the family are descended.

Ahasimus, where this branch of the Van Vorsts settled, is now part of Jersey City. It constituted a portion of the island, if I may so call it, which was seperated by a creek from the remainder of Hudson-county. Here, and in the immediate vicinity, the Van Vorsts became, and continued to be, extensive landholders. It is said that, in 1802, the title to Powles Hook was vested in Cornelius Van Vorst; and that the title was conveyed to the Associates of the Jersey Company, prior to their incorporation by an Act of the Legislature of New Jersey, in 1804. In 1841, a township, half a mile wide and a mile and a quarter long, was erected, embracing, within its limits, what was, formerly, Ahasimus; and, in recognition of the ancient family whose descendants were then large land-owners, in the locality, it was called VAN VORST. It is, now, I presume, or the greater part of it, absorbed in Jersey City.

In 1655, Joris Van Vorst is referred to as the servant, probably the apprentice, of Adrian Van der Donck, who was a lawyer of New Amsterdam, and a distinguished political leader. This Joris is afterwards put down as a Cooper and Small Burgher; and that is all that I know respecting him.

In 1654, Peter Kock, a single man, residing in New Amsterdam, brought an action in the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, against Anna Van Vorst, who is described as a maid, living at Ahasimus, for a breach of a promise of marriage, mutually entered into between them, in confirmation of which he had made her certain gifts. It appears, however, as the record states, that the lady had misgivings, and was not disposed to marry him. On her part, she proved, by two witnesses, that he had agreed to give her up, and had promised to give her an acquittal, in writing. But the Court would not excuse her—"as the "promise of marriage," says the Court, "was made "before the omnipotent God, it shall remain in "force;" and they held that neither should marry any other person without the approval of the Court; that the presents should remain with the lady until they were married or until, by mutual consent, they were exempted from the contract; and they were equally condemned in the costs of the suit. This Anna Van Vorst, I suppose to have been a daughter of the first emigrant, by Vrouwtje Ides.

This suit was not like our action for a breach of promise of marriage, by which a pecuniary compensation or damages is sought, but a much more stringent proceeding, by which each party was prohibited from marrying any one else, unless they mutually agreed to release each other—a decree which might easily be enforced in a small community, in the condition of New Amsterdam, at that period, but which, in the present age, would, perhaps, be productive of little effect.

In 1685, Johannes Van Vorst was married, in New York, to Anneken Hercks, by whom he had six children—Johannes, Sara, Herck, Wyntje, Siebout, and Anneje. Who he was, I do not know. He may have been a son of Joris.

In 1718, John Van Vorst was married, in New York, to Marytje Hummet; and, in 1722, Johannes, probably the elder son of the above named Johannes and Anneken Hercks, was married, in New York, to Elizabeth Barkels.

Your immediate ancestor, I suppose to have been Jellis Van Vorst, who, as an inhabitant of Albany, in 1701, signed the Petition of the Protestants of the Colony to William III., Prince of Orange. All that I know, in addition, is the presentation of a Petition, on his behalf, for his pay for supplying fire-wood to the garrisons of Albany and Schenectady, in 1704; and with this, ends all that I can communicate, in compliance with your request, respecting the Van Vorsts.

I will add a remark respecting the name. "*Vorst*," in English, "Prince," is a derivative word. The primitive word is "*Voorst*," meaning "foremost." It has many significations; but all relating to First or Foremost. Thus, the Dutch say "*de Voorst Vinger*," "the first or "index finger;" "*Voorstappen*," "to step be-"fore;" "*Voorstander*," "protector;" "*Voor-"steller*," "the proposer;" "*Voorstimmer*," "the first voter;" "*Voorsteng*," "the foretop-"mast;" "*Vooresteren*," the prow of a vessel;" &c., &c.

Was it not for the "VAN," the word "VOORST," as applied to an individual, might be regarded as having come into use to designate the foremost or head man of some particular place or locality, and, in that way, passed into a surname for him and his descendents; but "*Van*," as you are aware, is a prefix, like the French "*de*," meaning "of," or "from;" and surnames with these prefixes are generally derived from places, the prefix following after the christian name, to indicate that the person belongs to, or is from, some particular place, as "John Van Antwerp" which, in English, is "John from Antwerp." There is a small place in Holland, in the Province of Gelderland, near the river Yssel, called *Voorst*, and another, in Belgium, in the eastern part of the Province of Antwerp, called *Vorst*, formerly in Holland. Your ancestral name may be derived from either of these places; and was, probably, from one of them—the "Van" indicating a local origin.

In the Petition to William III., before referred to, the name of your immediate ancestor, Jellis, is spelled, "Van Voorst." He, it would seem, adhered to the original form; whilst the others gave to the substantive part of the name the specific meaning of "Prince," by omitting a letter; but, should you follow his example, you will have to expand by adding one.

Very Truly, Yours.

CHARLES P. DALY.

HON. HOOPER C. VAN VORST.
NEW YORK May 29, 1870.

XII.—THE MASSACRE AT FRENCHTOWN, MICH., JANUARY, 1813.*

BY REV. THOMAS P. DUDLEY, ONE OF THE SURVIVORS.

[A. T. GOODWIN, Esq.,
Secretary Western Reserve Historical Society:
DEAR SIR:

I take pleasure in forwarding to your Society, an interesting and *reliable* narrative, by the Reverend Thomas P. Dudley, of this city.

Very Truly, Yours,
LESLIE COOMBS.

LEXINGTON, June 1st, 1870.]

On the seventeenth day of January, 1813, a detachment of five hundred and fifty men, under command of Colonel William Lewis, with Colonel John Allen and Majors Benjamin Graves and George Madison, from the left wing of the Northwest Army, was ordered to Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, where it was understood a large number of British had collected, and were committing depredations on the inhabitants of that village. On the seventeenth, at night, the detachment encamped at the mouth of Swan-creek, on the Maumee of the lake. On the eighteenth, they took up the line of march, meeting a number of the inhabitants retreating to the American camp, opposite to where Fort Meigs was subsequently built. Our troops inquired whether the British had any artillery, to which the reply was, "They have two pieces about "large enough to kill a mouse." They reached the River Raisin about three o'clock in the afternoon; and, while crossing the river on the ice, the British began firing their swivels, when the American troops were ordered to drop their knapsacks on the ice. Reaching the opposite shore, they raised a yell, some crowing like chicken-cocks, some barking like dogs, and others calling, "Fire away with your mouse can-"non, again." The troops were disposed as follows: The right Battalion, commanded by Colonel Allen, the center by Major Madison, the left by Major Graves. The latter Battalion was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the position occupied by them, "being the same occupied by the "American troops in the battle of the twenty-"second," during which the right and center were ordered to remain where they were, in the open field, until Major Graves's command should force the enemy to the woods. While Graves was driving the enemy, occasional balls from the woods, opposite Colonel Allen's command, wounded some of his men. Hence Colonel Allen ordered a partial retreat of some forty or fifty yards, so as to place his men out of reach of the Indians' guns. Just as this order was accomplished, we discovered, from the firing, that Major Graves had driven the enemy to the woods, when he was ordered to advance the right and center. Up to this time, the fighting was done by Major Graves's Battalion. So soon as the right and center reached the woods, the fighting became general and most obstinate, the enemy resisting every inch of ground, as they were compelled to fall back. During three hours the battle raged, the American detachments lost eleven killed and fifty-four wounded. About dusk, Major Graves was sent by Colonel Lewis, to stop the pursuit of the enemy and direct the officers commanding the right and center, who had been hotly engaged in the conflict and had killed many of the enemy, to return to Frenchtown, bearing the killed for interment, and the wounded for treatment. Nothing of importance occurred until the morning of the twentieth, when General Winchester, with a command of two hundred men, under Colonel Wells, reached Frenchtown. Wells's command was ordered to encamp on the right of the detachment who fought the battle of the eighteenth, and to fortify. The spies were out continually, and brought word, on the twenty-first, that the enemy were advancing, in considerable force, to make battle. On the morning of the twenty-first, Wells asked leave to return to the camp, which he had recently left, for his baggage. General Winchester declined giving leave, informing Wells that we would certainly and very soon be attacked. In the afternoon, Wells again applied for leave to return for his baggage. General Winchester again replied, "The spies bring "intelligence that the enemy have reached "Stony-creek, five miles from here. If you "are disposed to leave your command in the im-"mediate vicinity of the enemy, when a battle "is certain, you can go." Wells left and went back.

On the twenty-second, just as the reveille was arousing the troops, about daybreak, the first gun was fired. Major Graves had been up, some hours, and had gone to the several Companies

* This paper forms the first number of *The Historical and Archæological Tracts*, of The Western Reserve Historical Society, to which reference is made in another part of this number.—ED. HIST. MAG.

of his Battalion, and roused them. Upon the firing of the first gun, he immediately left his quarters and ordered his men to stand to their arms. Very many bombs were discharged by the enemy, doing, however, very little execution, most of them bursting in the air; and the fighting became general along the line, the Artillery of the enemy being directed mainly to the right of our lines, where Wells's command had no protection but a common rail fence, four or five rails high. Several of the Americans, on that part of the line, were killed, and their fence knocked down, by the cannon balls, when General Winchester ordered the right to fall back a few steps and reform on the bank of the river, where they would have been protected from the enemy's guns. Unfortunately, however, that part of the line commenced retreating, and reaching Hull's old trace, along the lane, on either side of which the grass was so high as to conceal the Indians. At this time, Colonels Lewis and Allen, with a view of rallying the retreating party, took one hundred men from the stockade, and endeavored to arrest their flight. Very many were killed and wounded, and others made prisoners—among the former Colonel Allen, Captains Simpson, Price, Edmundson, Mead, Doctor Irwin, Montgomery, Davis, McIlvain and Patrick, and of the latter, General Winchester, Colonel Lewis, Major Overton, etc. The firing was still kept up by the enemy on those within the pickets, and returned with deadly effect. The Indians, after the retreat of the right wing, got around in the rear of the picketing, under the bank, and on the same side of the river, where the battle was raging, and killed and wounded several of our men. It is believed that the entire number of killed and wounded, within the pickets, did not exceed one dozen; and the writer doubts, very much, whether, if the reinforcements had not come, those who fought the first battle, although their number had been depleted by sixty-five, would not have held their ground, at least until reinforcements could have come to their relief. Indeed, it was very evident the British very much feared a reinforcement, from their hurry in removing the prisoners they had taken, from the South to the West of the battle-ground, and in the direction of Fort Malden, from which they sent a flag, accompanied by Doctor Overton, Aid to General Winchester, demanding the surrender of the detachment, informing they had Generals Winchester and Lewis, and in the event of refusal to surrender, would not restrain their Indians. Major Graves being wounded, Major Madison was now left in command, who, when the summons to surrender came, repaired to the room in which Major Graves and several other wounded officers were, to consult with them as to the propriety of surrendering. It is proper here to state that our ammunition was nearly exhausted. It was finally determined to surrender, requiring of the enemy, a solemn pledge for the security of the wounded. If this was not unhesitatingly given, they determined to fight it out; but, O! the scene which now took place! The mortification at the thought of surrendering the Spartan band who had fought like heroes, the tears shed, the wringing of hands, the swelling of hearts; indeed, the scene beggars description. Life seemed valueless. Our Madison replied to the summons, in substance: "We will not surrender without a "guarantee for the safety of the wounded, and "the return of side-arms to the officers"—we did not intend to be dishonored. The British officer haughtily responded: "Do you, Sir, "claim the right to dictate what terms I am to "offer?" Major Madison replied: "No; but I "intend to be understood as regards the only "terms on which we will agree to surrender." Captain William Elliott, who had charge of the Indians, it was agreed, should be left with some men, who, it was said, would afford ample protection, until carryalls could be brought from Malden to transport the prisoners there; but the sequel proved they were a faithless, cowardly set. The British were in quite a hurry, as were their Indian allies, to leave after the surrender. Pretty soon, Captain Elliott came into the room where Major Graves, Captain Hickman, Captain Hart, and the writer of this —all wounded—were quartered. He recognized Captain Hart, with whom he had been a *roommate*, at Hart's father's, in Lexington, Kentucky. Hart introduced him to the other officers; and, after a short conversation, in which he (Elliott) seemed quite restless and a good deal agitated, (he, I apprehend, could have readily told why, as he could not have forgottten the humiliation he had contracted in deceiving Hart's family, pecuniarily) he proposed borrowing a horse, saddle, and bridle, for the purpose of going immediately to Malden, and hurrying on sleighs to remove the wounded. Thence, assuring Captain Hart, especially, of the hospitality of his house, and begging us not to feel uneasy; that we were in no danger; that he would leave three interpreters, who would be an ample protection to us, he obtained Major Graves's horse, saddle, and bridle, and left; which was the last we saw of Captain Elliott. We shall presently see how Elliott's pledges were fulfilled. On the next morning, the morning of the massacre, between daybreak and sunrise, the Indians were seen approaching the houses sheltering the wounded. The house in which Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, and the writer were, had been occupied as a tavern. The Indians went into the cellar and rolled out many barrels, forced in their heads, and began drinking and yelling.

Pretty soon, they came crowding into the room where we were, and in which there were a bureau, two beds, a chair or two, and, perhaps, a small table. They forced the drawers of the bureau, which were filled with towels, table-cloths, shirts, pillow-slips, etc. About this time, Major Graves and Captain Hart left the room. The Indians took the bed-clothing, ripped open the bed-tick, threw out the feathers, and apportioned the ticks to themselves. They took the overcoat, close-bodied coat, hat, and shoes from the writer. When they turned to leave the room, just as he turned, the Indians tomahawked Captain Hickman, in less than six feet from me. I went out on to a porch, next the street, when I heard voices in a room, at a short distance; went into the room where Captain Hart was engaged in conversation with the interpreter. He asked: "What do the Indians intend to do with us?" The reply was: "They intend to kill you." Hart rejoined: "Ask liberty of them for me to "make a speech to them, before they kill us." The interpreters replied: "They can't under-"stand." "But," said Hart, "you can inter-"pret for me." The interpreters replied: "If "we undertook to interpret for you, they will as "soon kill us as you." It was said, and I suppose truly, that Captain Hart subsequently contracted with an Indian warrior, to take him to Amherstburg, giving him six hundred dollars. The *brave* placed him on a horse, and started. After going a short distance, they met another company of Indians, when the one having charge of Hart spoke of his receiving the six hundred dollars to take Hart to Malden. The other Indians insisted on sharing the money, which was refused, when some altercation took place, resulting in the shooting of Hart, off the horse, by the Indian who received the money. A few minutes after leaving the room, where I had met Hart and the interpreters, and while standing in the snow, eighteen inches deep, the Indians brought Captain Hickman out on the porch, stripped of clothing, except a flannel shirt, and tossed him out on the snow, within a few feet of him, after which he breathed once or twice, and expired. While still standing in the yard, without coat, hat, or shoes, Major Graves approached me in charge of an Indian, and asked if I had been taken. I answered "No." He proposed that I should go along with the Indian who had taken him. I replied "No. If you are safe I am satisfied." He passed on, and I never saw him afterward. While standing in the snow, two or three Indians approached me at different times, and I made signs that the ball I received was still in my shoulder. They shook their heads, leaving the impression that they designed a more horrid death for me. I felt that it would be a mercy to me if they would shoot me down, at once, and put me out of my misery. About this time, I placed my hand under my vest, and over the severe wound I had received, induced thereto by the cold, which increased my suffering. Another young warrior passed on, and made signs that the ball had hardly struck, and passed on; to which I nodded assent. He immediately took off a blanket capot, (having two,) and tied the sleeves around my shoulders, and gave me a large red apple. The work of death, on the prisoners, being well nigh done and the houses fired, he started with me, toward Detroit. After going a short distance, he discovered my feet were suffering, being without shoes; and he having on two pair of moccasins, pulled off the outer pair, and put them on my feet. Having reached Stony-creek, five miles from the battle-ground, where the British and Indians camped the night before the battle of the twenty-second of January—their camp fires were still burning, and many had stopped with their prisoners to warm—in a short time, I discovered some commotion among them. An Indian tomahawked Ebenezer Blythe, of Lexington. Immediately, the Indian who had taken me resumed his march; and soon overtook his father, whom I understood to be an old Chief. They stopped by the road-side, and directed me to a seat on a log, and proceeded to *paint me*. We reached Brownstown, about sun-down, in the evening, when, having a small ear of corn, we placed it in the fire for a short time, and then made our supper on it. A blanket was spread on bark, in front of the fire, and I pointed to lie down. My captor, finding my neck and shoulder so stiff that I could not get my head back, immediately took some of his plunder and placed it under my head, and covered me with a blanket. Many Indians, with several prisoners, came into the Council-house afterward; and they employed themselves in dressing, on hoops, the scalps of our troops. There was the severest thunder-storm, that night, witnessed at that time of the year. The water ran under the blanket, and the ground being lower in the centre, around the fire, I awoke some time before day and found myself lying in the water, possibly two inches deep. Got up and dried myself as well as I could. About day-break, they resumed their march toward Detroit, stopping on the way and painting me again. We reached Detroit, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and, as we passed along the street, a number of women approached us, and entreated the Indians not to kill me. Passing on, we met two British officers on horseback, who stopped and chatted with the Indians, exulting with them in the victory, to whom the women appealed, in my behalf; but they paid no more regard to me than if I had been a dog. I passed the night, with the Indians, at the house of a white woman in the city, who, the next morning, asked liberty to give

me a cup of tea, with a loaf of bread and butter. In the afternoon, the Indians paraded, with their prisoners and the trophies, *scalps*, and marched to the Fort. After remaining, some time, in the guard-house, where all the prisoners were surrended but myself, my captors arose to leave with me. When we reached the door, the guard stopped me, which seemed to excite the Indians considerably. Major Muir, commanding the Fort, was immediately called for, and entered into a treaty for my release. It was said, he gave as a ransom for me, an old broken down pack-horse and a keg of whisky. My Indian captor took affectionate leave of me, with a promise to see me again. Let me here say, my Indian captor exhibited more the principle of the man and the soldier, than all the British I had been brought in contact with, up to the time I met Major Muir. The next day, the British officers, Hale and Watson, invited me to mess with them, so long as I remained in the Fort. Three or four days afterwards, and the day before our officers, Winchester, Madison, and Lewis, were to leave for the Niagara-river, one of these officers accompanied me across the Detroit-river, to Sandwich. When passing to the hotel, where they were, when I came opposite the dining-room door, I saw Major Madison sitting down to supper. The temptation was so strong, I entered the door, to the astonishment of the Major and other officers, who supposed I had been murdered with many other prisoners. I am constrained to acknowledge, the great mercy of God in my preservation, thus far. On the following morning, when arrangements were being made for transportation of officers to Fort George, but none for me, my heart felt like sinking within me, at the thought of being left to the care of those I had no confidence whatever in. Providentially, a Canadian Lieutenant was listening; and, so soon as all, both British and American officers, left the room, he nobly came to me and said, "I have a good "span of horses and a good carryall. You are "welcome to a seat with me." I joyfully accepted his offer; and I hereby acknowledge that I met, in this person, a whole-souled man and a soldier, through whose kindness, mainly, I reached Niagara-river. When I was once more permitted to look on the much-loved flag of my country, and paroled and put across the Niagara-river, on American soil, then, with all my suffering, I felt that I could once more breath freely. I have again to acknowledge the goodness of God, in providing for reaching my home and friends, after traveling more than one thousand miles, badly wounded, a half once ball buried in my shoulder. But I lived to be fully avenged upon the enemies of my country, in the battle of the eighth of January, 1815, below New Orleans.

I have omitted many minor incidents that were in this communication, the writing of which has given me great pain in my wounded shoulder.

THOMAS P. DUDLEY.

LEXINGTON, KY., May 26, 1870.

XIII.—RICHMOND HILL.

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

The memories clustering round the spot once known by this name, have not lost their freshness in the passing away of two generations of our people; while its many living traditions of social and political events, extend over a space of time fast approaching the close of a century.

This princely estate, so well known to our elderly citizens, was for many years one of the chief attractions of the suburban scenery of New York. Situated on a commanding eminence, surrounded by groves of ancient trees, a short distance West of the centre of the island, it extended, through intervening vales, to the shores washed by the waters of the Hudson.

The hand of Art and the guidance of taste had adorned its broad expanse of cultivated grounds, with all the luxuriance of gardens, arbors, and shrubberies; while Nature lent to the perfection of the landscape, her choicest productions and the ripening influences of her beneficence.

The checquered fortunes of the owners of this beautiful region were not more remarkable than the conflicting conditions which followed the title to the estate, as it passed into the hands of its successive proprietors.

About ten years anterior to the Revolution, an English gentleman, Major ABRAHAM MORTIER, at one period of his life a Commissary of the English Army, acquired possession of the principal part of this eligible tract of land, which was then held under Grant from the Colonial Government, by the Episcopal Church of the City of New York. This religious organization, afterwards under the sanction of law, adopted the more definite title of "Trinity Church."

The Grant to the Church embraced immense possessions within the bounds of the rising city, a goodly share of which is still retained under the same authority. Having secured from the Church a lease of the property for a long-extended term of years, the new proprietor erected, on a conspicuous eminence, a spacious and imposing edifice, to which, with a natural fondness for familiar English names, he gave the designation of "RICHMOND HILL." He speedily commenced, on a scale of generous expenditure, to improve and ornament its grounds. This disposition, on his part, growing with the

opening attractions of his new home, continued until the outbreak of hostilities, or, according to the local traditions, until his premature death. While the property remained in his possession, Major Mortier devoted much of his time and no small share of his fortune to the embellishment of his highly-prized acquisition.*

At the commencement of active hostilities, in the neighborhood of New York, under the tenure of military power, General WASHINGTON, with his family, were, for a portion of the year 1776, the occupants of Richmond Hill.

It was during this period that Colonel Aaron Burr was appointed an Aid, with the rank of Major, on the Staff of the Commander-in-chief, and, thus early, became personally acquainted with the advantages and attractions of the place.

It is not within the design of this brief sketch, to follow the successive changes of title and possession, between the departure of Mortier and the removal of Washington's Head-quarters, from Richmond Hill, to the Roger Morris house, near the Point of Rocks. The movement of the American forces was consequent on the subjugation of the city by the British troops, and preceded only, by a short time, the capture of Fort Washington.

During the seven years occupation of the Island of New York, little is known of its internal condition; but, undoubtedly, some superior British officer enjoyed the advantages and administered the unpaid-for hospitalities of Richmond Hill.

The year 1783 witnessed the departure of the unsuccessful supporters of Royalty and the gradual return of citizens to the peaceable resumption of their property and rights.

The legal tenure of the rights held under the Church-lease, to the Richmond Hill property, was maintained, and the buildings and improvements were not disturbed nor injured while in adverse occupancy.

During the first year of the Government, under the newly-adopted Constitution, while President Washington was living, with some display of courtly splendor, at the Franklin mansion, on the corner of Pearl and Cherry-streets, JOHN ADAMS, of Massachusetts, the first Vice-president, occupied the house and grounds of Richmond Hill.

How much the delightful surroundings of that beautiful residence were enjoyed by its inmates, at this period, is pleasantly depicted in the letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, the wife of the Vice-president. She writes to her relative, Mrs. Shaw, in the following glowing terms:

"RICHMOND HILL, (N. Y.)
"27th September, 1789.

"I write to you, MY DEAR SISTER, not from "the disputed banks of the Potomac, the Sus- "quehanna, or the Delaware, but from the "peaceful borders of the Hudson; a situation "where the hand of nature has so lavishly dis- "played her beauties, that she has left scarcely "any thing for her hand-maid, Art, to perform.

"The house in which we reside is situated "upon a hill, the avenue to which is interspersed "with forest-trees, under which a shrubbery, "rather too luxuriant and wild, has taken shel- "ter, owing to its having been deprived, by "death, some years since, of its original proprie- "tor, who kept it in perfect order. In front of "the house, the noble Hudson rolls its majestic "waves, bearing upon his bosom innumerable "small vessels, which are constantly forwarding "the rich products of the neighboring soil to "the busy hand of a more extensive commerce. "Beyond the Hudson, rises to our view the fer- "tile country of the Jerseys, covered with a "golden harvest and pouring forth plenty, "like the cornucopia of Ceres. On the right "hand, an extensive plain presents us with a "view of fields, covered with verdure, and past- "ures full of cattle. On the left, the City opens "upon us, intercepted only by clumps of trees "and some rising ground which serves to height- "en the beauty of the scene, by appearing to "conceal a part. In the back-ground, is a "large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge, "and some very handsome trees. On one side "of it, a grove of pines and oaks fit for com- "templation.

—"'In this path,
"'How long soe'er the wanderer roves, each step,
"'Shall wake fresh beauties; each last point present
"'A different picture, new, and each the same.'

"If my days of fancy and romance were not "past, I could find here an ample field for "indulgence; yet, amidst these delightful "scenes of Nature, my heart pants for the "society of my dear relatives and friends, who "are too far removed from me."

In another letter, written a year later, to her friend, Mr. Brand-Hollis, living in England, she repeats and enlarges her description of the beauties of the scenery by which she was surrounded, at her delightful residence of Richmond Hill; and when the removal of the Government from New York to Philadelphia, required the official families to change their residences, the regrets of Mrs. Adams were feelingly expressed.

In the year 1797, this property was in the possession of an eminent foreign gentleman by the name of TEMPLE; and a good deal of public excitement was awakened by an extensive robbery committed on the premises, the

* This property is traced on the Map, published from a Surve ymade, in 1766, by Major Montresor.

perpetrators of which were never discovered. Just at this period, the Richmond Hill estate came into the possession of AARON BURR, by whom it was retained, as a country residence, for about fifteen years.

Colonel Burr retired from the Army, in consequence of greatly impaired health, some years before the Revolutionary contest had ceased. He had entered, actively, into the practice of the law, at New York, in which he had already acquired no little distinction, elsewhere. Subsequently elected to the Senate of the United States and, at the close of that service, elevated to the office of Vice-president, much of his time was necessarily spent at the seat of government; but all of his home life was passed in the society of his family, at Richmond Hill. While his business-offices and temporary lodging-apartments were in the crowded city, his hours of enjoyment and the brilliant scenes of his social entertainments always found him at this chosen spot.

It was here that he received, with fitting honors, the distinguished strangers, from every land, who came to study the features of the country and to estimate the characters of the people, newly entering into the family of nations. Certainly, no man of that day was better qualified to perform the duty he had taken upon himself. Born, as it seemed, to adorn society; rich in knowledge; brilliant and instructive in conversation; gifted with a charm of manner that was almost irresistible; he was the idol of all who came within the magic sphere of his friendship and his social influence.

In his immediate family circle, were centred his purest joys, his highest hopes. His married life had been one of uninterrupted happiness, save from the declining health of his affectionate wife. The correspondence between them, which is extant, affords undeniable evidence of the truth of these statements. His daughter, THEODOSIA, after the death of her mother, was the delight of her father's heart, the chosen companion of his hours of ease and relaxation. She conducted, with rare tact and discretion, the generous hospitality of the Richmond Hill establishment; and the felicity of her management and the charm of her manner were, frequently, the topic of admiration and commendation, in the best social assemblages of those happy days.

Among the frequent guests at Burr's house, during this period of his highest prosperity and popularity, were the accomplished Volney, the courtly Talleyrand, and the princely-born Louis Phillippe. Expatriated, under the misrule of the French Revolution, these were all of a class of men whom Burr delighted to entertain and who could appreciate and enjoy the elegant hospitality which was extended to them. About this time, also, while the Vice-president was at his post of duty, in Washington, he requested his daughter, whom he had left in charge of his country establishment, and who was then fourteen years of age, to give a dinner-party, at Richmond Hill, to the celebrated Indian Chief, Brant. The entertainment was eminently successful; and Burr was exceedingly proud of his daughter's household accomplishments. Colonel Stone, in his life of Brant, gives the particulars of this affair, which were derived from Burr himself. "Miss Theodosia," says Colonel Stone, "received "the forest Chief with all due courtesy and "hospitality, and performed the honors of her "father's house, in a manner that must have been "as gratifying to her absent parent as it was "creditable to herself. Among the guests se-"lected by her to meet the distinguished visitor, "were Bishop Moore, and Doctors Hosack and "Bard, gentlemen who ranked among the most "eminent of the citizens of that time. In writ-"ing to her father upon the subject, she gave a "long and sprightly account of the entertain-"ment. She said that, in making the prelimin-"ary arrangements, she had been somewhat at a "loss in the selection of such dishes as would "probably suit the palate of her principal guest. "Being a savage warrior, and in view of the "many tales she had heard, of

> "'The cannibals that each other eat,
> "'The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> "'Do grow beneath their shoulders,'

"she added, sportively, that she had a mind "to lay the Hospital under contribution for a "human head, to be served up like a boar's head, "in ancient hall, barbaric. But, after all, she "found him a most christian and civilized guest "in his manners." These details are from Parton's *Life of Burr*.

The years that were passed, (with occasional absences on public duty,) at Richmond Hill, in the companionship of his wife and daughter, comprised the six years of allotted service in the Senate and the four years incumbency of the office of Vice-president of the United States. In that brief period of time, culminated, declined, and passed away, for ever, the fame, distinction, and happiness of Aaron Burr.

There is no parallel in personal history for such a fate, so sudden and so irreparable, as that which befell the once honored, respected, admired, and feared master of Richmond Hill.

As a brave and faithful soldier of the Revolution, he was without fear and without reproach. In his first battle, he was chosen to lead the forlorn hope, at the assault of Quebec; and, while under fire, he bore the body of Montgomery from the crimsoned snow-bank where he fell. Chosen by Washington, to fill the responsible

post of Aid, he remained in that confidential position until he voluntarily accepted the office of the like distinction by the side of Putnam; and thence only changed his line of duty, to accept the more active service in the command of a Regiment.

Distinguished in the arduous duties of maintaining the integrity of "the neutral ground" of Westchester, his conduct won the admiration of every judicious commander. Successful whenever he led an independent command, on the disastrous field of Monmouth, he made the final sacrifice of his health and ambition, to the cause of his country.

Retiring from duty, as an invalid, he declined to accept the proffered privilege of leave from active service with continued compensation, and returned to the walks of private life, with shattered health, but with few of the honors and none of the rewards of his faithful service.

This is the brief, but true, military record of Aaron Burr. Is there nothing in such a record to justify the hope of a memory worthy to be cherished, rather than to meet the execration of undying enmity? One act of Burr's life made him an outcast, not alone from the society he had adorned and honored, but from the country which had given him birth, and in support of whose liberties he had freely perilled his life. Of the great host of enemies, so suddenly raised up, and who so relentlessly followed the footsteps of the stricken man, how many were there who should have shuddered with the infamy of casting the first stone?

At the closing of his official duties, as Vice-president, Burr followed out a long and well-considered purpose of opening a justifiable enterprise for the conquest of one of the Provinces of Southern America. Through the perfidy of one or more of his trusted agents, he was arrested, imprisoned, and tried for treason, in the City of Richmond, Virginia. After months of enforced delay, for sinister purposes, the trial was held before the most distinguished of all the Chief-justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; and, while the whole power of the Government of the Nation was arrayed against the persecuted defendant, under the advice and ruling of John Marshall, he was honorably acquitted and restored to all the rights of a citizen. And yet, there are men who continue to write and speak of Aaron Burr as a traitor!

How many years was he in advance of that glorious enterprise which secured Texas as one of the States of the American Union!

His subsequent career was one of long-continued and almost crushing sorrows. The sad sufferings which his misfortunes had cast upon his noble-minded daughter, Theodosia, who had previously become the wife of Governor Alston, of South Carolina; the melancholy death of her only child; and the loss of the devoted mother, on her voyage to meet and welcome home her beloved father, after his long years of absence abroad, altogether make one of the most pathetic stories in the whole range of personal literature.

This painful episode has led our reflections far away from the subject of Richmond Hill; and we now, again, take up the thread of our story.

Before Burr's loss of fortune, he had contemplated parting with this property, and had opened negociations with a wealthy capitalist, to that end. Having suddenly determined to visit Europe, in the hope and expectation of obtaining pecuniary assistance in the prosecution of his Mexican enterprise, he departed, leaving his business affairs in a condition of irretrievable embarrassment. The necessary consequence was, that the Richmond Hill property was sold, to satisfy the most pressing of his creditors, for a very small part of its actual value; and that, finally, the larger portion became incorporated with the vast estate of Mr. John Jacob Astor.

A part of the property held by Burr, was not embraced under the Church Lease, but had been purchased from other parties; and so much as had been thus acquired, with a title in fee, had been disposed of, some years prior to the ultimate catastrophe from which there was no recovery.

While writing these lines, we have lying before us an attested copy of a Conveyance, with an attested Map of the premises attached, from Aaron Burr to John Jacob Astor, bearing date the eighteenth of November, 1803. This Instrument purports to convey a piece of land known as the "Triangle," comprising about forty city lots, bounded by the line of the Church property, and is conveyed, in fee, to the purchaser. The location of this section is indicated, by its boundaries, on Downing, Bedford, and Village-streets—the latter name being now obsolete.

It is a significant fact, in relation to Burr's well-known business relations, that this piece of property was conveyed, subject to an existing mortgage, in favor of the Manhattan Company.

We have also before us, an original instrument, certified of record, by T. Wortman, Clerk of the City and County of New York, purporting to be a mortgage, executed by Timothy and Mary Green, to Aaron Burr, covering certain lots, formerly part of the estate of said Burr, and which had, previously, been part of the estate of Elbert Herring, and was bounded by property held by Burr, under a Church

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Lease. This Mortgage bears date the twenty-third day of October, 1802; and appears to have been assigned, on the same day, to the Manhattan Company.

These ancient documents are only interesting to antiquaries, in search of disputed or forgotten boundaries, and were found, with many other unconsidered trifles, among the multifarious articles seeking a purchaser in the stock of a dealer in old paper. They are entirely at the service of any person who can find them of any value.

Thus passed away, into other hands, the possessions once held and dearly prized by the dwellers in the spacious halls and on the broad lands of Richmond Hill.

From time to time, between the years 1806 and 1818, the premises, diminished in size and attraction, were noticed in the public papers to be rented, for private residences; and thus, as time passed on, the fortunes of Richmond Hill declined.

The writer remembers the place well. In the year 1813, the noble mansion remained in good preservation, with its broad entrance, under a porch of imposing height, supported by tall columns, with balconies fronting the rooms of the second story, and with an aspect of distinction altogether beyond the ordinary private dwellings of that day.

The outer entrance to the premises, at the period mentioned, was through a spacious gateway, placed between highly ornamented columns, at the then termination of McDougal-street, about two hundred feet North of Spring-street. The grounds, at that time, had been reduced in size, by the interposing barriers of newly opened streets, and no longer extended to the river. The beautiful piece of water, long known as "Burr's Pond," remained, intact, with a full supply of the needed element which, in Winter, gave excitement and enjoyment to all the noisy urchins fond of the exercise of skating. On this point, the writer can speak from personal knowledge. "Burr's Pond," so far as its exact location can now be traced, must have been on, or near, the piece of ground known as "the Triangle," as it has been followed to a point where it meets the junction of Bedford and Downing-streets.

In the year 1820, the final excavation of the high ground was completed; and, in 1822, a public Garden was opened, and soon became a popular resort for the neighboring inhabitants, to whom refreshments were served from the main building. A turtle feast became, also, a standard entertainment, and was frequently presented to an appreciative public, by a Society gifted with a knowledge of such culinary accomplishments.

Having thus passed through all the mutations of city suburban property, these premises followed the fortunes of other localities;—the Street Commissioner made his influence felt; Streets and Avenues were opened; buildings were demolished or removed; profile Maps came into vogue; hills disappeared and vallies were filled; until, at length, the old Richmond Hill mansion found itself shorn of all its grandeur, stripped of its verdant groves, despoiled of its gardens and lawns, sitting, sadly, far beneath its former altitude, at the noisy and somewhat unsavory corner of Charlton and Varick-streets. Its stately portals no longer opened wide, to welcome the entrance of distinguished guests from foreign lands, or the brilliant crowds who came to mingle in the gay receptions of joyous and sparkling Theodosia. Poor Theodosia! whose grave had been made for her beneath the surging billows of the ocean.

Alas! for the changes wrought by the relentless hand of Time!

The tenacity of life with the old mansion was remarkable; and, after the gardens had ceased to be remunerative and other similar attractions had failed, a new and more pretentious effort was made to embellish its history and to keep alive, a little longer, the distinction attached to its name.

On its new foundation, the house was placed with its front, still wearing the adornments of columns and balconies, some twenty feet withdrawn from Varick-street, extending along the line of Charlton-street.

About the year 1831, the premises were leased and a new building constructed, in the rear, connected with the principal edifice and running back about fifty feet, with the view to form a dramatic temple, under the title of "The "Richmond Hill Theatre." When completed, the management of the establishment was entrusted to Mr. Richard Russell, an experienced and respectable member of the theatrical profession.

Shortly before the opening night, the Manager invited, by public notice and the offer of a prize, the co-operation of our city's literati, in the production of a *Poetical Address* for the occasion. The Committee selected to award the prize, sat in one of the reception chambers of the old time-honored mansion. It was an afternoon to be remembered. As the twilight deepened into the evening, the shadows of departed hosts and long-forgotten guests seemed to hover round the dilapidated halls and dismantled chambers. Silence and a saddening gloom weighed heavily on the spirits of the selected party. But the lights came, the feeling of depression soon passed away, and the disordered fancy was roused to resume the duty of the hour.

Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck was chosen to break the seals of a couple of dozen envelopes. The writer of this paper was permitted to be a sharer in the ceremonies. As the poems were read, or glanced at, some few were placed on the right hand, but much the larger number on the left. Of course, there could be but little hesitation in making up the final verdict. The successful competitor bore the name of FITZ-GREENE HALLECK; and, with these pages, the original manuscript of the following beautiful Poem is placed in the hands of the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

PRIZE POEM,

Written for the opening of the Richmond Hill Theatre.

"*ADDRESS.* *

"Where dwells the Drama's Spirit?—not alone
"Beneath the palace-roof, beside the throne,
"In learning's cloisters, friendship's festal bowers,
"Arts pictur'd halls, or triumph's laurel'd towers:—
"—Where'er man's pulses beat, or passions play,
"She joys to smile or sigh his thoughts away,
"Crowd times and scenes within her ring of power,
"And teach a life's experience in an hour.
"To night she greets, for the first time, our dome,
"Her latest, may it prove her lasting home,
"And we, her messengers, delighted stand,
"The summoned Ariels of her mystic wand,
"To ask your welcome. - - Be it yours to give
"Bliss to her coming hours, and bid her live
"Within these walls, new-hallowed in her cause,
"Long in the nurturing warmth of your applause.

"'Tis in the public smiles, the public loves,
"His dearest home, the actor breathes and moves;
"Your plaudits are, to us, and to our art,
"As is the life-blood to the human heart;
"And every power that bids the leaf be green
"In nature, acts on this her mimic scene.
"Our sunbeams are the sparklings of glad eyes,
"Our winds, the whisper of applause that flies
"From lip to lip, the heart-born laugh of glee,
"And sounds of cordial hands that ring out merrily:
"And heaven's own dew falls on us in the tear
"That woman weeps o'er sorrows pictur'd here,
"When crowded feelings have no words to tell
"The might, the magic of the actor's spell.

"These have been ours, and do we hope in vain,
"Here, oft, and deep, to feel them ours again?
"No—while the weary heart can find repose
"From its own pains in fictions joys or woes;
"While there are open lips and dimpled cheeks
"When music breathes, or wit or humor speaks;
"While Shakspeare's master spirit can call up
"Noblest and holiest thoughts, and brim the cup
"Of life with bubbles bright as happiness,
"Cheating the willing bosom into bliss;
"So long will those who, in their spring of youth,
"Have listened to the drama's voice of truth;
"Marked in her scenes the manners of their age,
"And gathered knowledge for a wider stage;
"Come here to speed with smiles life's summer years,
"And melt its winter's snow with warmest tears;
"And younger hearts, when ours are hushed and cold,
"Be happy here, as we have been of old.

"Friends of the stage! who hail it as the shrine
"Where music, painting, poetry entwine
"Their wedded garlands, whence their blended power
"Refines, exalts, ennobles, hour by hour,
"The spirit of the land; and, like the wind,
"Unseen, but felt, bears on the bark of mind;
"To you, the hour that consecrates this dome
"Will call up dreams of prouder hours to come,
"When some creating Poet, born your own,
"May waken here the drama's loftiest tone,
"Through after years to echo loud and long;
"A Shakspeare of the west—a star of song!
"Brightening your own blue skies with living fire,
"All climes to gladden, and all tongues inspire,
"Far as beneath the heaven, by sea-winds fanned
"Floats the free banner of your native land."

* This is an *exact* copy of the Address, carefully compared with the original manuscript, in Mr. Halleck's well-known hand-writing, which is now before us.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

However promising may have been the opening of the theatrical speculation, it did not, in the end, restore the fortunes or rescue the name of the Richmond Hill House. The situation was not well adapted for such a place of amusement; and its existence was not a protracted one.

What is known as "the regular drama"—Tragedies and Comedies—failing to attract a sufficient support, an Operatic Company was called into requisition. Some well-appointed musical entertainments were offered; but usually with inadequate results. One of the most effective performers, in Italian Opera, and with a superb voice, was presented at this house. Pedroti, will long be remembered for her charming acting and singing.

Several of the Actors, of established reputations, from other theatres, appeared here for short engagements. Cooper occasionally reminded his admirers of an earlier day, of the gratification his acting had afforded them; while those well-remembered favorites, Mr. and Mrs. Hilson, whose names were household words with a New York audience, sometimes wandered away from the Park, to receive a cordial welcome at Richmond Hill. But the chief incident in this dramatic episode, was the entrance into the management of JOHN BARNES, so long and well known as one of the leading Comic Actors, from the Park Company.

Mr. and Mrs. Barnes were sterling performers. They had brought, from their old theatrical homestead, all the prestige of a life-long stage success. They had also acquired a moderate competency in the practice of their profession; and had won the warm regard and respect of a large community of friends of the Drama, by the excellency of their deportment and habits of life. Mr. Barnes first appeared at the Park Theatre, in the year 1816, and Mrs. Barnes, at the same time. They both soon established themselves in public favor, and remained at the Park, until the Spring of the year 1832, when Mr. Barnes accepted the Management of the new Theatre. The enterprise was a signal failure, much to the regret of those who witnessed the misfortune which befell the Manager and his accomplished companion.

In opening the second season, in May, 1832, Mrs. Barnes delighted her audience by reciting a brilliant Address, from the pen of a gentlemen who shone among the literary lights of that day. Mr. Charles P. Clinch, with characteristic, but not to be commended, modesty, withheld his poem from the press; and it cannot, therefore, lend grace and beauty to these pages.

The Theatre, with the aid, occasionally, of a Circus Company or a Menagerie, continued its feeble existence, for about ten years; and, at the close of 1842, it finally surrendered to a fate that was inevitable—its doors were closed, never again to be opened.

And thus passed away the glories and the shadows of Richmond Hill. All that remains of them, are a few fleeting memories and a page or two of history, fast fading into oblivion.

[Note. The writer of this paper desires to acknowledge the kindness of Colonel Thomas F. Davor, in granting the use of his extensive and valuable collection of materials for the local history of New York.]

XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Editor Historical Magazine.]

Some of the Poetic Names of the various States which compose the Union are cleverly conceived, while others seem to have been bestowed without much discrimination. The following is a list of most of these fanciful appellatives:

Arkansas,	*Bear State.*
California,	*Golden State.*
Connecticut,	*Free-stone State, Land of Steady Habits, Nutmeg State.*
Delaware,	*Blue Hen, Diamond State.*
Florida,	*Peninsula State.*
Illinois,	*Garden State, Prairie State, Sucker State.*
Indiana,	*Hoosier State.*
Iowa,	*Hawkeye State.*
Kansas,	*Garden of the West.*
Kentucky,	*Dark and Bloody Ground Corn Cracker.*
Louisiana,	*Creole State.*
Maine,	*Lumber State, Pine Tree State, Star in the East.*
Massachusetts,	*Bay State.*
Michigan,	*Lake State, Wolverine State.*
Mississippi,	*Bayou State.*
Missouri,	*Iron State.*
Nevada,	*Silver State.*
New Hampshire,	*Granite State.*
New Jersey,	*Camden and Amboy.*
New York,	*Empire State, Excelsior State.*
North Carolina,	*Old North State, Turpentine State.*
Ohio,	*Buckeye State.*
Pennsylvania,	*Keystone State.*
Rhode Island,	*Little Rhody.*
South Carolina,	*Palmetto State.*
Texas,	*Lone Star State.*
Vermont,	*Green Mountain State.*
Virginia,	*Mother of Presidents, Mother of States, Old Dominion.*
Wisconsin,	*Badger State.*

It will be observed that Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and West Virginia are still unbaptized by the poets. Some of the names, like "Camden and Amboy," "Wolverine State," "Corn Cracker," and "Bear "State," are certainly not complimentary to the people who inhabit the Commonwealths thus characterized. Those applied to the original thirteen States are, in general, more happily chosen than those bestowed on the new members of the Union.—*Hartford Courant*, Sept., 1867.

Lord Lyndhurst.—*Mr. Editor:* If it is of sufficient importance to know the exact time that Lord Lyndhurst left this country, for England, allow me to state that he was a passenger on board the ship *Minerva*, Captain Callahan, which sailed from Marblehead, May 27, 1775, with fourteen other cabin passengers, thirty-nine souls in all, on board. The cabin passengers were Mrs. Callahan, Joseph Green, Esq. and lady, Mr. John Amory and lady, *Mrs. Copley* and *three children*, Mrs. Jackson, Samuel Quincy, Esq., Lieutenant William Augustus Merrick, of the Royal Navy, Mr. David Green, Mr. David Sears, Mr. Nathaniel Balch, Mr. Isaac Smith, Jr., besides servants, and six steerage passengers. The above is from the Diary of a fellow-passenger, who landed at Dover, 24th June, and arrived in London, 6 P. M., next day. Lord Lyndhurst was born on the twenty-first of May, 1772—of course, he was just three years and six days old.—*Boston Evening Transcript*, May 22, 1862.

By What Law?—Perhaps the history of the human race does not furnish a parallel for such marvellous coincidences as occur in the following items, which are well authenticated, both by documentary testimony and that of Mr. Sylvester R. Hazard, of Newport, who is now living:—

George Hazard was born in South Kingston, R. I., March 3, 1727.

Thomas H. Hazard, eldest son of George, was born in South Kingston, March 3, 1765.

Sylvester R. Hazard, eldest son of Thomas, was born in South Kingston, March 3, 1793.

Christopher G. C. Hazard, eldest son of Sylvester, was born in Newport, R. I., March 3, 1818.

Since the birth of Thomas, an anniversary has always been held by the family, on the third of March, to commemorate the event.—*Banner of Light.*

Germantown, Pa.—It is, perhaps, unknown to thousands who have visited Germantown by the railroad, that the woods at which they land were once vocal with the voice of Penn, the Founder, preaching forth to the assembly, close by, "the words of eternal life," at the base of the woods, near where glides the waters of the Wingohocking-creek, and near where stands the primitive and peculiar-looking house of the original German settler, Schumaker, a Friend, at whose house Penn sometimes tarried, and from whose green lawn, standing on a small rock, still visible there, he was wont to preach. The house is of one story, with a remarkably high roof, and, on the lintel of the door, may be seen inscribed '1683,' the year of its foundation. To a thinking mind, which can appreciate the wonderful changes which have intervened since the days of the pilgrim settlers, the whole scenery is full of reflective and ideal presence. The house and the rock are both in sight of the ticket-office house.—*Poulson's Daily Advertiser*, August, 1832.

The Standard of the Three County Troop.—One of the interesting papers read at the meeting of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, on Wednesday last, was a communication from William H. Whitmore, Esq., Chairman of the Committee on Heraldry, on the standard of the Three County Troop, a Massachusetts military organization belonging to the Counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex, in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Colonel Joseph L. Chester, of London, recently sent to a member of the Historic-Genealogical Society, a drawing of a flag, found in the work-book of a herald-painter of the time of Charles II., among the Additional MSS., in the British Museum. The charge on the book was for "*worke don for New England*,

"ffor painting in oyle one both sides a Cornett
"one Rich crimson damask with a hand and
"sword & invelloped with a Scarfe abuot the
"Arme of gold, black & sillver."

The items are given, amounting to £05.02.06. The above entry describes the flag very clearly. It bore a motto which Colonel Chester read, "*Thre County Trom.*" The motto was a mystery. The person to whom the drawing was sent, handed it to Mr. Whitmore, as the Chairman of the Heraldic Committee, who informed him that he had received a similar drawing from Horatio G. Somerby, Esq., who agreed in reading the inscription "Thre County Trom."

Mr. Whitmore investigated the matter, and satisfied himself that this was intended for the standard of the "Three County Troop," a Company of Cavalry, frequently mentioned, by that name, on the Records of the Massachusetts Colony, from 1663 to 1677. The Troop is mentioned, without a name, May 28, 1659, as "lately raised." Edward Hutchinson was then confirmed by the Court as its Captain. Mr. Whitmore thus closes his remarks upon this flag: "We may allow ourselves to imagine that "it was ordered from England before King "Phillip's war, and that under its folds the "best soldiers of the three Counties took part "in the fight. It is an additional proof, if any "were needed, that the first settlers here not "only depended on England for articles of "luxury, but that they were able to command "them."—*Boston Evening Transcript*, September 10, 1870.

Interesting Incident, if true.—In the course of his lecture, on Lafayette, at the Academy of Music, recently, Mr. Sumner related the following interesting incident, connected with Lafayette's visit to this country, in 1824, which took place at Boston—*which may be true or it may not.*

"This visit was full of memorable incidents, "sometimes most touching, among which I se"lect one now little known. At one of those "receptions which took place wherever the "national guest appeared, a veteran of the "Revolution, in his original Continental uni"form, with the addition of a small blanket, "or rather a piece of blanket, upon his "shoulders, and with his ancient musket, "which had seen service on many fields, "came forward and, drawing himself up in the "stiff manner of the old-fashioned drill, made "a military salute, which Lafayette returned, at "once, with affection, tears starting to his eyes. "for he remembered, well, that uniform, and saw "that an old soldier, more venerable than him"self, in years, stood before him. 'Do you "'know me?' said the soldier, for the manner "of the General persuaded him that he was "personally remembered, although nearly fifty "years had passed since their service together.

"'Indeed I cannot remember you,' the General "replied, frankly. 'Do you remember the frosts "'and snows of Valley Forge?' 'I can never "'forget them,' said Lafayette. The veteran "then related that, one freezing night, as the "General went his rounds, he came upon a sen- "try, thinly clad, with shoes of raw cowhide "and without stockings, on the point of perish- "ing with cold; that he took the musket of the "sentry, saying to him, 'Go to my hut, you will "'find stockings there, and a blanket, which, "'after warming yourself, you will bring here: "'meanwhile, give me your musket and I will "'keep guard.' 'I obeyed,' the veteran contin- "ued, 'and returning to my post, refreshed, you "'cut the blanket in two, retaining one-half "'and giving me the other half. Here, Gen- "eral, is the one half of that blanket, and I am "'the sentry whose life you saved.' By such "tribute, in unison with the universal popular "heart, was the triumph our benefactor carried "beyond that of any Roman, proudly ascending "the Capitol with the spoils of war."

Teachers in New England, Seventy Years ago.—The records of the First School District, in the town of Franklin, Connecticut, show that the following votes, passed at meetings held in 1798:

"Voted, That the Saybrook Platform, West- "minster Catechism, and Spiritual Songs shall "not be taught in school and chanted so loud "that they may be heard to Pleasant Hill.

"Voted, To hire a man to instruct the school "for four months, at $8 per month, finding his "own board, to keep six days in the week, and "twenty-six days for a month; and that no par- "tiality be used on the part of the master.

"Voted, That a Summer school be kept by a "qualified woman, and to pay her 67 cents per "week, and that she keep three weeks on trial, "and upon the petition of three, having suf- "ficient cause, applying to the District Commit- "teeman, he is obliged to warn a meeting on "the occasion."

Admiral Porter's Story about the Captured Cannon.

To the Editor of The Sun,

Sir: You and I both know Admiral Porter. Everybody at Vicksburg, about Grant, except Grant himself, knew Porter was not his friend. Some of us told Grant so, but he would not lis- ten to the charge, patiently.

You remember when Porter had made his un- successful assault on Grand Gulf, and proposed to renew the assault, the next day. Porter said he had disabled all the guns but one; and that he would silence next day. Grant could not wait. That night, he ran his transports by Grand Gulf. Every gun that was used against the gunboats, opened on the transports. Grant marched his army to Hard Times; crossed the Mississippi; and landed at Bruinsburg. You were with him, when he fought the enemy and routed him, near Port Gibson.

The next morning, early, about four o'clock, the rebels exploded their magazine and evacuated Grand Gulf.

As soon as Porter heard the explosion of the magazine and knew the enemy had abandoned his works, he crossed the river, and *captured the deserted fortifications and their siege guns, with an unarmed tugboat.*

He immediately ordered the fort dismantled, and had the guns brought to the landing and marked "Captured by the U. S. Mississippi Flo- "tilla, D. D. Porter, A. A. R., commanding, "May 1, 1863."

The Army knew it was a lie, and was indignant at it. The Navy knew it was a lie, and blushed at it. Grant knew it was a lie, and despised its author. You knew it was a lie, and so reported to Washington. And yet this man remained publicly unexposed until he climbed the tree high enough to expose himself. It is hoped that Grant has had enough of Porter.

Vicksburg.

Oldest Paper.—Professor Pond, of Bangor, disputes the claim confidently urged by the press, in Philadelphia, that the *Remembrancer* of that city, published in 1813, was the first religious paper in this country. He has two complete volumes of the *Christian History*, a weekly paper, by Kneeland & Greene, Boston, in 1743, edited by Thomas Prince, Jr., son of the venerable Pastor of the Old South, at that time.

This weekly was devoted, mainly, not exclusively, to the spread of religious intelligence, and was, probably, the first newspaper of the kind in the world.—*Boston Traveller*, Sept. 5, 1866.

Scraps.—The last extraordinary discovery is that of a letter, purporting to have been written by Edgar A. Poe, to a Mr. Daniels, of Philadelphia, under date of Sept. 29, 1849, in which he confesses that he was not the author of the *Raven*, so long and closely linked with his name; but that it was written by Samuel Fenwick of New York, and sent to Poe, who put his name to it, in a fit of intoxication. Then follows this paragraph:

"The sensation it produced, made me dis- "honest enough to conceal the name of the real "author, who had died, as you know, some "time before it came out; and, by that means, I

"now enjoy all the credit and applause, myself.
"I simply make this statement to you for the—"

The above facts have been communicated to a Mr. C. C. Macon of New Orleans, says the *Times* of that city, by Rev. J. Shaver of Burlington, N. J., who declares that he found the letter referred to, among documents in possession of John T. Tompkins, of the latter town.

—The present site of Bridgeport, Conn., seems to have once been an immense Indian burial ground. Skulls and bones have been found in many parts of the city. In digging, recently, for the new wing of a school-house, some fifty graves were exposed. In each case, the body was buried in a sitting posture; and a number of pikes and other Indian relics have been discovered.

—While the authorities are debating the question, Who wrote *Rock me to sleep Mother?* another dispute has arisen concerning the original authorship of that other popular poem, *Over the River*, which has always been accredited to the late Mrs. Wakefield. It seems that another very similar poem, under the same name, was written by a Miss Donelson, of Coleraine, and published in the *True Flag*, in 1855, two years before the appearance of Mrs. Wakefield's production in the *Springfield Republican*. There is certainly a striking resemblance between the two; but whether Mrs. Wakefield is guilty of plagiarism, or the case is one of unconscious repetition, is uncertain.

—How many times the missionary hymn *From Greenland's Icy Mountains*, has been sung! But of the many who have sung it, how few have known its origin? Forty years ago, the story runs, the Clerk of the parish-church in Wrexham, Wales, whose duty it was to arrange the singing for an approaching service in behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, came to the Vicar in great trouble, because he could find no hymn appropriate to the occasion. Now the Vicar's son in-law happened to be visiting him, at the time, and being something of a poet, the task was imposed upon him of supplying the deficiency. "Let the hymn be of some simple, "easy measure," said the Vicar, "and we will "have it printed, and sing it on the Sabbath." Away went the son-in-law, Reginald Heber was his name, to a retired nook; and, in an hour and a half, reappeared, bearing the extemporized hymn, whose two first lines were,

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
"From India's coral strand;"

The equally popular tune to which this hymn is invariably sung, was composed in Savannah, Georgia, in 1827, by Lowell Mason, then living in that city.

—In 1731, the people of Star-island, now Gosport, Isle of Shoals, gave a call to Mr John Tooke (or Tucke), to settle there as their Minister—offering him one hundred and ten pounds, in money, as an annual salary. In 1738, fifteen pounds were added; and, in 1750, when there was not money, it was voted to pay him in fish.

XV.—NOTES.

William Allen, Esq., the historian of the towns of Norridgewock and Industry, Maine, now nearly ninety-one years of age, has sent to us the following interesting autobiography, which originally appeared in the *Maine Farmer;* and we gladly make room for it, in our pages.

Our venerable friend has occasionally employed his pen for The Historical Magazine—an article of his preparation is in the number for April, 1870—and we rejoice to hear that, notwithstanding a recent attack of inflammation of the lungs, he is now enjoying his usual good health. May he be long spared to enjoy the honor which has been so nobly earned by a long life of industry and integrity.

"How I began Farming.

"I commenced learning to clear new land "and to cultivate the soil, in the wilderness of "Sandy-river, in Maine, seventy-eight years ago; "and served an apprenticeship eight years, with-"out fee or reward. I then, in 1800, began on "my own account, in the woods, on the Plymouth "Patent, (now Industry,) in the County of "Franklin, Me.; felled the trees, on eight acres; "and burned the cut down. On the sixteenth of "April, 1801, I commenced burning off the logs, "and cleared up three acres, by hand, in three "weeks, and sowed two bushels of wheat on two "acres and one bushel of rye on one acre. Hav-"ing no funds to begin with, I procured seed "on credit; hired a yoke of oxen; and harrowed "the three acres, as well as I could, in one day; "and then grubbed, with a hoe, round the stumps, "two days, and thus covered the seed not covered "with the harrow. The wheat and rye grew "finely; and the two bushels of wheat yielded "forty-two, and the bushel of rye over thirty "bushels, of excellent quality. I picked up the "limbs on the remaining five acres, on which I "planted corn, and raised one hundred and "twenty-eight bushels of sound corn, for market.

"When I could leave my work, on my new "land, I worked at haying and other work, for "hire; made shoes, in the Fall, and taught school "in the Winter; paid for my board and some "for clothing; husbanded my resources, as well "as I could, to raise money to pay for my land; "and, at the end of the year, found myself

"worth two hundred dollars. I continued to "clear up about four acres a year, till I had "cleared fifty acres, planted an orchard, and "erected suitable farm-buildings and fences.

"I was at Hallowell, the greater part of the "time, in 1805, '6, and '7, on wages. In the Fall "of 1807, I married and settled on my farm; "was prosperous and never failed to raise a good "crop from what I sowed or planted; and, at "the expiration of eleven years, I had gained, "by my labor, two hundred dollars per year. That "is, my farm-buildings and assets were estimated "at two thousand dollars, the avails of my new "farm and wages earned. In 1812, I was called "to an official station; moved to the shire-town of "the County; and was constantly employed in "places of trust and profit, many years; and did "not give up doing business, entirely, until nine-"ty years of age."

CORRECTIONS.

I.

We take this opportunity to make a few corrections to the article on John Cabot's voyage of 1497, in Volume III, Second Series, of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

I. In the first paragraph, read *Richard* Biddle, instead of *Robert* Biddle.

This gentleman was a brother of Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia.

II. On page 131, second column, tenth line from the bottom, the sentence must read thus: "Pasqualigo says, '*he coasted for three hundred* "'*leagues*,'" which, if leagues of seventeen and a half to the degree are meant, would be one thousand and twenty-nine nautical miles, a distance, allowance being made for over estimates, that agrees remarkably with the view taken in this paper.

III. On page 132, first column, tenth line from the bottom, the sense would be clearer by substituting for, "*an approach in a direct* "*Southeast line*," the words, "*an approach on a* "*direct line from the Southeast*" *etc.*

A number of small typographical errors in the text and in the quotations, may be noticed; but as they do not interfere with the sense, it will be hardly necessary to enumerate them.

BROOKLYN. J. C. B.

II.

NEW YORK, November 7, 1870.

* * * * * *

My attention has lately been called to a typographical, or clerical error, in the dates of two letters of my Father's, printed on page 204, No. III., Vol. V., New Series, (March, 1869.) I refer to the Extracts No. 3, and 4—the former from "Ruin Bridge," the latter from "Camp "Shades of Death"—the former should be dated May 21, 1779, and the latter June 11, 1779; and they each bear the date of 1776, as printed. I hope that you may be able to print a "corrigendum," giving the correct date.

Very Truly, Yours,
HAMILTON FISH.

FATHER MATHEW AND ENGLISH LORDS—HOW AN OLD ONE WAS LED TO SWEAR HE WOULD KEEP THE PLEDGE, FOR A CERTAIN TIME, AND KEPT IT.—It is remarkable, that when the good man publicly inaugurated his Mission, at Cork, April 10th, 1838, he was seconded by neither a Roman Catholic nor an Episcopalian. When about to sign his name, he said: "Here goes, in the name "of God." His signature was followed by those of the Protestant Priest, Charles Duncombe, the Unitarian philanthropist, Richard Dowden, and the stout Quaker, William Martin.

What success he had with the members of the House of Lords, appears uncertain. If any statements have been made, I have not seen them. Mr. Maguire, in his life of Father Mathew, observes that, at a large party, in London, the Father tried to make a convert of Lord Brougham, who resisted, good humoredly, but resolutely, saying, "I drink very little wine; only half a "glass at luncheon and two half glasses at dinner, "and, though my medical adviser told me I should "increase the quantity, I refused to do so." "Ah!" said the Father, "they are wrong in ad-"vising you to increase the quantity, and you are "wrong in taking the small quantity you do; but I "have hopes of you." And so, after a pleasant resistance, on the part of the learned Lord, Father Mathew invested him with the silver medal and ribbon. "Then I'll keep it," said Brougham, "and take it to the House [*of Lords*] where I "shall be sure to meet old Lord —— the worse for "liquor; and I will put it on him." He was as good as his word; for, on meeting the veteran Peer, he said "I have a present from Father "Mathew for you;" and passed the ribbon quietly over his neck. "Then I'll tell you what it is, "Brougham. By —— I will keep sober for this "day," was the acknowledgment. And, it is said, he kept his word, to the great amusement of his friends. E.*

THE SALMON CLAUSE, IN APPRENTICES' INDENTURES.—We cut the following curious query from the *Western Weekly News*, Plymouth, England:—

* This "Note," although not strictly American in its character, is admitted to these pages as a contribution, thereto, one of his last, by our late friend, Hon. Thomas Ewbank. Our readers will not object to its appearance therein.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"SIR: I see that "INDEX" refers to the above "widely-spread myth, the tradition of which, I "believe, was found, by the Salmon Fishery Com- "missioners, to exist in every part of England. "In an old book of mine, there is the following "manuscript note, which I think I may date at "about 1730 or 1740: 'Formerly, servants bar- "'gained not to eat salmon more than twice a "'week, in Gloucestershire." Evidently, then, "more than a century ago, the clause, if it ever "really existed, had become a mere tradition, as "no sort of date can be extracted from a word "so vague as 'formerly.' Some years ago, a "correspondent of the *Field* offered £5. for the "mere sight of one of these indentures; but I "never heard that the money was claimed by "any one. Recently, this irrepressible salmon "clause has started into fresh life; and Brother "Jonathan, who has restored so many forgotten "Anglicisms, gives us this, also, in a western "dress. 'Onec,' says Elihu Burritt, speaking of "salmon, 'they herded in the Connecticut-river in "'such multitudes that a special stipulation was "'inserted in the indentures of apprentices, in the "'vicinity of the river, that they should not be "'obliged to eat salmon more than a certain num- "'ber of times in a week. Now, if a salmon is "'caught between the mouth and source of the "'river, it is blazoned forth in the newspapers, as "'a very extraordinary and unnatural event.' "— *Walk from London to John o'Groat's.* Most "probably, the idea was carried to the States by "the early English settlers, and localised, to suit "the first salmon-river with which they became "acquainted. At all events, as Wethersfield, the "oldest town in Connecticut, was not founded "until 1634, a limit may be put to the date with- "in which, if ever, the clause must have existed "across the water; and, perhaps, some American "antiquary may be able to afford the informa- "tion which, in England, has been searched for, "in vain.

"Yours faithfully, N. D.

"Jan. 8, 1867."

To which we add the still more interesting notes of a scholar and antiquary, of this city, whose initials are widely known:

"I suspect that an American antiquary would "have no better success than the English, in "searching for apprentices' indentures contain- "ing 'the salmon clause.' That some such "stipulation was, at some time, inserted in in- "dentures, is one of those quaquaversal tradi- "tions, as common in New England as in Old, "which the antiquary finds it much more easy "to catch than to hold. 'N. D.' is, probably, "correct in his supposition 'that the idea was "'carried to the States by the first English "'settlers and localised to suit,' not only 'the "'first salmon-river,' but every place where, in "'the progress of settlement, scarcity of fish or "game succeeded abundance. One writer after "another has given currency to the story, with- "out taking the trouble to verify it; and the "restrictive clause has as many 'various read- "'ings' as a Delphin classic. In one locality, "it was *venison* to which apprentices made "objection; in another, *wild turkies;* and at "Boston, Nuttall (*Manual of Ornithology*, p. "800) tells us, 'according to information re- "ceived from Lieutenant-governor Winthrop,' that "the *prairie-hen* (*Tetrao cupido*, Wilson) was "once 'so common on the ancient bushy site of "'the city, that laboring people or servants stip- "'ulated with their employers not to have them "'brought to table oftener than a few times in "'the week!'

"On the banks of the Connecticut, the restric- "tion was naturally made to apply to *salmon*, "which, for the first century after the settle- "ment of Hartford and Wethersfield, sold at a "penny per pound, or less. So late as 1786, the "price had not advanced beyond three pence "(four cents) per pound, at Hartford or North- "ampton; while the *shad*, at the same period, sold "for two or three 'coppers' (a penny half- "penny) each.

"In Chase's *History of Haverhill, Massachu- "setts*, published in 1861, it is stated that, with- "in the memory of persons then living, fresh "salmon, taken in the Merrimac-river, sold for "less than five cents per pound, in the fishing "season; and that 'it is well authenticated, that, "at one time, it was nowise uncommon to stipu- "late, in the indentures of apprentices, *that they "should not be obliged to eat salmon oftener than "six times a week!*" Dr. J. V. C. Smith, in his "*Natural History of Fisheries of Massachusetts*, "(p. 139.,) gives another version of the same "story. 'In many rivers, in which salmon were "'formerly so abundant that *farmers' servants "'stipulated to have them only twice a week, as "'food*, not one is now to be found:' but he "did not cite his authority for the statement he "quoted and italicized.

"Robert's *Social History of the Southern "Counties of England*, published (London) in "1856, transfers the traditional clause from the "apprentice's *indentures* to the town or *borough- "law* book: 'While the richest persons in the "'West buy salmon as adelicacy, at a high price, "'so that it is" [now] "an expensive luxury, our "'town worthies carefully legislated, and no "'doubt it was requisite, that apprentices should "'not eat salmon more than three times a week, "'for dinner, when it was sold at one penny a "'pound. Our rivers *then* abounded with sal- "'mon' (p. 186) 'Our town' appears to be "Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire; and the time in- "dicated, to be that of Queen Elizabeth, or a

"preceding reign. Many of the Colonists of "Massachusetts—and some who came thence to "Connecticut—were from Dorsetshire. Per- "haps they brought with them the town-law "against excessive salmon-eating—or the tradi- "tion of such law. J. H. T."
—*Hartford Press.*

MAINE, IN 1779.

TO THE SELECTMEN OF PEPPERRELLBORO[h]
GENTLEMEN.

We the Subscribers Inhabitants of said Pepperrellboro[h] Request you to Call a Meeting of the Inhabitants of s[d] Pepperellboro[h] as soon as Possible to see if they will agree to Hire Six Men to Reinforce the Continental Army agreeable to a Resolve of this State [*of Massachusetts*] of June 9th 1779 and to Hire Two men more to go to Rhode Island agreeable to a Resolve of s[d] State of June 8[th] 1779, also to see whether the said Inhabitants will for the future agree to Hire men to Reinforce the Continental Army if any more [*are*] requested, also to see whether they will raise Money sufficient for one or both of S[d] Purposes. PEPPERELLBORO June 21. 1779.

THO[s] CUTTS
NATH[l] SCAMMAN
HUMPHREY PIKE
JOSEPH BRADBURY
JAMES FOSS
SAM BOOTHBY
JAMES GRAY
RICH[d] BURK [*or Buck.*]
SAMUEL DENNETT

[*From the original, in the Archives of the York Institute, at Saco, Maine.*
BOSTON. J. W. T.]

THE STORY OF THE RHODE ISLAND PIG AND THE WAR OF 1812.*

SENATE CHAMBER,
June 14th, 1864.

THE HON'BLE HENRY B. ANTHONY,
Senator U. S. from Rhode Island.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request of yesterday, I have the honor to state, that I have examined the Journal of the Senate, with the view of furnishing you with the desired information.

In the proceedings of the Senate, on "the Bill, "from the House of Representatives, declaring "War between Great Britain and her dependen- "cies, and the United States and their territor- "ries," a Motion was made by Mr. Greig, of Pennsylvania, to re-commit the Bill to the Special Committee, "with instructions *to modify and* "*amend* the same in such a manner as to au- "thorize reprisals upon the public and private "ships of Great Britain, by the public ships of "the United States; and to grant Letters of "Marque and reprisal, to private armed ships "and vessels of the United States."

This seems to have been presented as an alternative, in place of a direct Declaration of War; and upon it the Senate divided, there being seventeen votes for the instructions and thirteen votes against them—Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, voting in the affirmative.

A Motion having been made to include reprisals against France, it was determined in the negative, Yeas fifteen, Nays seventeen—Mr. Howell having voted in the negative.

The question then arose on striking out *the Declaration of War* and inserting *the reprisals;* and it was decided in the negative, Yeas 16, Nays 16, Mr. Howell voting in the affirmative, or in favor of reprisals, rather than War; but the Senate being equally divided, the question was lost; and the original Bill, declaring War, was resumed. This is the only occasion, in the proceedings of the Senate, on this Bill, on which the Senate was equally divided.

The question on the passage of the Bill, declaring War, was determined in the Senate, on the seventeenth of June, 1812, by a vote of Yeas 19, Nays 13; and Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, voted in the *Negative.*

Presuming that this statement embraces the desired information,

I have the honor to be,
Dear Sir, Yours Truly,
W. HICKEY, Chief Clerk.

SENATE CHAMBER,
June 14th, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR:

I send you General Hickey's memorandum, touching the historical question that I wrote to you about.

Yours, Very Truly,
HENRY B. ANTHONY.

[*Addressed:*]
HENRY T. DROWNE, ESQ.,
52 Wall-street, New York.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF NORTH CAROLINA.—The Church in this State had organized itself into a Diocese, in 1792, and sent Deputies to

* There is a tradition, afloat, that an unruly pig, in Rhode Island, broke into the enclosure of its owner's neighbor and produced unfriendly feelings between the neighbors; that this unfriendliness resulted in a change of the party-vote of the town, from Federal to Republican; that that change of a town-representative's party secured a change in the relative strength of parties in the Legislature, and elected a Senator from Rhode Island, who was a supporter of the War instead of an opponent thereto; and that it was that particular vote which secured the passage of the Bill declaring the War. How little foundation, in fact, there is for all this, so-called, "history," will be seen in this letter.

the General Convention, held in New York, in September of that year.

Previous to the General Convention of 1795, an effort was made to obtain the Episcopal succession for this Diocese; and a Convention was held, for that purpose, in Tarboro', to elect a suitable person for the office of Bishop, as will appear by the following copy of a document, recorded in the history of the Church.

"We, the subscribers, having met in Convention, at Tarborough, North Carolina, on the "twenty-eighth day of May, 1794, for the purpose of considering the declining situation of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, "and having chosen the Rev. CHARLES PETTIGREW as a person fit to be our Bishop, and "worthy to be recommended for consecration to "that holy office—but being sensible that the "great distance at which the laity, as well as the "clergy, of this State live from each other, deprives us of sufficient personal acquaintance "with one another, to subscribe a testimonial in "the words prescribed by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, have "thought it necessary and proper to make some "deviation therefrom, which we presume to "hope will be no obstacle to our laudable pursuit. We therefore do hereby recommend to "be consecrated to the office of Bishop, the said "Rev. Charles Pettigrew, whom, for his morality, religious principles, piety of life, from his "general reputation in a clerical character, from "the personal knowledge we have of him, and "from his sufficiency in good learning and soundness in the faith, we are induced to believe "worthy of being consecrated to that important "office. We hereby promise and engage to receive him as such, when canonically consecrated "and invested therewith; and to render that "canonical obedience which we believe to be "necessary to the due and proper discharge of "so important a trust in the Church of Christ. "And we address the Right Reverend, the Bishops in the several United States, praying their "united assistance in consecrating this our said "brother, and canonically investing him with "the apostolic office and powers.

"In testimony whereof, we hereunto subscribe "our names, the day and year above written.

"*Clergy*—N. BLOUNT, J. S. WILSON, J. GURLEY, S. HALLING, R. J. MILLER.

"*Laity*—J. LEIGH, M.D., J. GUIN, M.D., R. "WHITE, Lawyer, B. WOODS, Lawyer, W. CLEMENTS, L. DESSEAUX, W. GRIMES, R. GODLY."

The Rev. Charles Pettigrew, thus elected to the office of a Bishop, set off to attend the General Convention of 1795, which was to be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of September, with a view to his consecration, but was prevented from prosecuting his journey, by the prevalence of an epidemic fever in Norfolk, which had suspended the accommodations for traveling. Before another opportunity for his consecration occurred, the Bishop elect died. D.

BOSTON NOTIONS.—The following paragraph occurs in the Dedication (p. xviii,) of *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty, delivered at the Second Baptist Church, December 3, 1772. By a British Bostonian.* Fourth edition. Boston, 1773:

"However, my Lord, there is another idea "arises in my mind (and it is no wonder, for the "*Bostonians* are very notional,) which is, if "there is any law broken, is it not the King and "Ministry who have broken it?"

From this, it would appear that "Boston notions" were recognized, nearly a century ago.

BOSTON. S. A. G.

XVI.—QUERIES.

EARLY BAPTISTS IN NEW YORK.—Will those who know, oblige me by informing me *when* and *where* the Baptists first appeared in the city of New York—anything, indeed, which relates to their history, whether individual or as a church, prior to the organization of the existing "First Baptist Church," which formerly worshiped in Gold-street?

Is there in existence, either a drawing or an engraving of the old meeting-house of the First Baptist Church, in Gold-street; and, if so, where may it be seen?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y. DICK.

MACKENZIE'S LIVES OF VAN BUREN, ETC.—Some quarter century or so ago, two volumes were published, containing private letters and other papers, written by various gentlemen, prominent in public life, and various statements, more or less minute and important, concerning the writers of those letters and their friends and families. These volumes purported to have been written by William Lyon Mackenzie, a refugee from Canada, who had spent some months, a short time before, as the energetic Actuary of the Mechanics' Institute, in the basement of the City Hall.

Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me, through its columns, what hand beside Mr. Mackenzie's engaged in the preparation of those volumes for the press or their introduction to the public—able and untiring as Mr. Mackenzie was, he evidently enjoyed the assistance, in that work, of some one whose name is not seen on the title-pages of the volumes which were thus published.

WESTCHESTER, N. Y. ?

THE MUNICIPAL GAZETTE.—Some twenty-five years ago, there was published in New York, and circulated gratuitously, a quarto publication bearing the above title. It was published irregularly, numbered irregularly, and paged irregularly; but it contained a great quantity of highly important material, relating to the City of New York and to the State.

My copy includes Nos. 1–41, although there are really forty-*four* numbers in it, each with its appropriate head, *except the numbers.* It is paged from 1 to 560, inclusive; but it has neither title-page nor index.

Was there any more of the work published than I possess? If so, of what did it consist, how was it numbered, and how paged?

MORRISANIA, N. Y. H. B. D.

JONATHAN DICKINSON AND THOMAS FOXCROFT.—In Dr. Chandler's *Life of Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson*, some account is given of his controversy, on the subject of Episcopacy, with the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown. It is there stated that after Dickinson had conducted the discussion for some time, and published several pamphlets, the controversy, on his side, was taken up by Rev. Thomas Foxcroft of Boston, who wrote still more largely on the subject.

Yet, in the various Catalogues which give more or less complete lists of Foxcroft's writings, found in the public libraries, there is no mention of anything of the kind, after the date of Dickinson's publication—sat least, nothing to justify the statement of Johnson's biographer. It seems quite probable that whatever came from Foxcroft's pen, was published anonymously. Is it possible, now, to recover the titles of the works which he issued?

In a volume, from the library of Rev. Dr. Hatfield, of New York, I find two publications, bound together, the first of which—although both are anonymous—is unquestionably by Dickinson, although credited to him in no list of his writings which has come under my eye. It is entitled, *The Scripture Bishop Vindicated. A Defence of the* Dialogue between Prelaticus and Eleutherius, *upon the Scripture Bishop, or the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government, Against the Exceptions of a Pamphlet, Intitled* The Scripture Bishop Examined. *By Eleutherius, V. D. M. In a Letter to a Friend.* This was published in Boston, in duodecimo, pp. 126, in 1733. A few years later, Beckwith, of Lyme, Connecticut, in a small treatise of his, on the same subject, quotes from it, and ascribes it, without any qualification, to Dickinson.

From all this, it appears that *Eleutherius*, or Mr. Dickinson, first published his *Dialogue on the Scripture Bishop;* that this was answered, probably by Dr. Johnson, in a pamphlet, *The Scripture Bishop Examined;* and that, to this, Dickinson published, in 1733, his anonymous reply, *The Scripture Bishop Vindicated.*

But, in the second piece contained in the volume, and which bears the title of *Eusebius Inermatu. Just Remarks on a late Book entitled* Eleutherius Enervatus &c., another writer takes up the pen, on Dickinson's behalf, remarking, in his Preface, that "it was thought convenient that "the replications to both the Episcopal answers "should be published under one cover. But by "reason of *Eleutherius's* distance from the press, "we could not expect, reasonably, to receive his "reply to this other answer.

"Therefore, I've taken the liberty to stand his "second in this polemic engagement; tho' con-"scious I need to make an apology for my offi-"ciousness, in appearing, unasked, in defence of "one who needs no assistant."

The author of the second piece also states that it was sometime after the *Scripture Bishop Vindicated* was in the printers' hands, "that we "were saluted with another answer to the *Dialo-"gue between* PRELATICUS *and* ELEUTHERIUS, "bearing the title of *Eleutherius Enervatus* &c." Although he regards the *Scripture Bishop Vindicated* as a suficent answer to both the replicants, yet, that none might complain of neglect, he chooses to answer the second reply himself.

Thus the two pieces were issued together, in the same volume, and at the same date—1733. Is there any conclusive evidence that Foxcroft was the author of the last? The probability of it is very strong, since the piece was written near the press (undoubtedly in Boston,) and Foxcroft, originally an Episcopalian himself, and also an able writer, would naturally be selected as the champion, on Dickinson's side, and for many years had been settled over a church in Boston.

It may also be asked when was Dickinson's *Dialogue* published? Was Dr. Johnson the author of the Reply—*The Scripture Bishop Examined?* If so, who wrote the other reply, a Boston publication, doubtless, and bearing the title, *Eleutherius Enervatus, or an Answer to a Pamphlet entitled,* The Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination, &c., argued. *Done, by way of Dialogue, between Eusebius and Eleutherius.*

The two letters mentioned in the title, were written by "A Layman." Who was this coadjutor of the clerical controversialists? Was it T. Cradock, or some one else?

It should, perhaps, be stated that the second piece and the volume which contains Dickinson's defence of his Dialogue, is much the more extended of the two. It contains one hundred and fifty-eight duodecimo pages, of much finer print than Dickinson's piece; and must have, at least, fifty per cent more matter.

Can any of the correspondants of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE throw light on these questions concerning the controversy in which Dickinson and Foxcroft were both engaged?

HARLEM, N. Y. E. H. GILLETT.

THE FOLLOWING extract is taken from the *Letters on the Eastern States*, by William Tudor, Boston, 1821, and may have furnished the origin of the expression "*Modern Athens*," as applied to Boston. The "Letters" were written, according to a note in the first edition, in 1818: "This town" [*Boston*] "(for it is not a "city) is, perhaps, the most perfect, and certainly the best regulated, democracy, that ever "existed. There is something so imposing in the "immortal fame of Athens, that the very name "makes everything modern shrink from comparison; but, since the days of that glorious "city, I know of none that has approached so "near, in some points, distant as it may still be "from that illustrious model."—p. 364.

Is there an instance, earlier than this, of so direct a comparison between the two cities?

BOSTON. S. A. G.

XVII.—REPLIES.

THE RUSH ANONYMOUS LETTER.—In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, as long ago as July, 1867, is an inquiry as to the evidence on which the authorship of the anonymous letter to Patrick Henry, inculpating Washington, is attributed to Doctor Benjamin Rush. No answer having been given to this very reasonable inquiry, it is the intention of the writer to give one which he thinks is conclusive.

1. The authorship was never denied by Doctor Rush, in his life time, nor has it ever been, by his family, since.

2. Anonymous and slanderous letter-writing was a habit with Doctor Rush. Charles Lee's Memoirs are full of them.

This may be considered the negative evidence. The positive is this:

1. The letter itself is now in existence and is in Doctor Rush's well known writing. It is in the autograph collection of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia, who procured it from James H. Castle, Esq., a well-known member of the bar, who found it, and other papers on the same subject, among the papers of Caleb P. Wayne, the printer of the first edition of Marshall's Washington.

2. On it, General Washington has written these words: "The superscription on the back, from its "similarity, proves that Doctor Rush was the "author of the letter to Governor Henry; and for "that purpose it is filed with it." There is, also, endorsed on it, "Mount Vernon, June 18, "1784, Before perusing the letter, I can take "upon me to declare that, from the knowledge I "have of Doctor Rush's handwriting, I have not "the least doubt but that it was written by him! "WILLIAM GORDON, of Jamaica Plains, Massa-"chusetts Bay."

3. On the first perusal of the letter, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1778, Washington wrote to Governor Henry: "The anonymous letter, "with which you were pleased to favour me, "was written by Doctor Rush, so far as I can "judge from a similitude of hands. This man "has been elaborate and studied in his profes-"sions of regard for me; and long since the "letter to you." He also wrote, the day before: "Being intimately acquainted with the man I "believe to be the author of the letter transmit-"ted, and having always received from him the "strongest professions of attachment and re-"gard, I am constrained to consider him, as not "possessing, at least, a great degree of candour "and sincerity. This is not the only secret, "insidious, attempt to wound my reputation. "There have been others equally base, cruel, "and ungenerous, because conducted with as "little frankness and proceeding from views "perhaps as personally interested." In 1794, he wrote to Henry Lee, to the same effect, without mentioning Rush's name.

Such is the negative and the positive evidence. I add what may be described as cumulative, though it is quite unnecessary.

1. The anonymous letter to Henry bears date at Yorktown, the twelfth of January, 1778. Its contents need not be referred to, further than that it spoke of the Army as a mob without generalship, and praised Gates, Lee, and Conway at the expense of Washington. On the twenty-first of October, 1777, Rush wrote to John Adams, (the letter is now before me): "I have heard several officers who have served "under General Gates, compare his army to a "well-regulated family. The same gentlemen "have compared General Washington's imita-"tion of an army to an unformed mob. Look "at the characters of both! The one on the "pinnacle of military glory—exulting in the suc-"cess of schemes planned with wisdom and exe-"cuted with vigour and bravery—and, above all, "see a country saved by their exertions! See "the other out-generalled and twice beaten; "obliged to witness the march of a body of "men, only half their number, through 140 "miles of a thick-settled country; forced to "give up a City, the capital of a State; and, "after all, out-witted by the same army, in a re-"treat. If our Congress can witness these "things and suffer them to pass without an in-"quiry, I shall think we have not shook of "monarchical prejudices and, like the Israelites

"of old, we worship the work of our own "hands." On the thirty-first of October, 1777, ten days later, he wrote: "The Romans never "trusted the command of their armies to any "man but to the '*Filiciissimus Dux*.' An un- "successful practitioner of physic is always ig- "norant or negligent of his business. You "have Brigadiers in your army who would do "honour to the rank of Major General. Con- "way, etc., is at the head of them."

2. In the anonymous letter to Henry, the writer says: "The author is one of your Phila- "delphia friends. A hint of his name if found "out by his writing, must not be mentioned to "your most intimate friend. Even the letter "must be thrown into the fire. But some of its "contents ought to be made public, in order to "awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country. I "rely on your prudence, etc." The letter of October, to Mr. Adams, thus concludes: "Should "you think it worth while to read any parts of "this letter, it will, perhaps, give some weight "to them if you conceal the name of your "friend and humble servant, B. Rush."

3. But, finally, Doctor Rush, in his life-time, and his family and friends since, have, by direct implication, admitted that he wrote the Henry letter. This is conclusively proved by other documents in the hands of Mr. Dreer, of Philadelphia. They are the correspondence of Chief-justice Marshall and Judge Washington, in 1804, (Doctor Rush living,) with Caleb P. Wayne, the printer of Marshall's Washington, then in the press. It having come to the knowledge of Doctor Rush and his family that the anonymous letter and General Washington's comments on it were about to appear, they supplicated, if not for the suppression of the whole, at least, for the suppression of the General's sharp comments on the writer. Nobody pretended to deny that he wrote the letter: "With respect to names," wrote Marshall to Wayne, "I wish you to be guided by Mr. Wash- "ington;" and Judge Washington wrote: "I "think, with Mr. Marshall, that it will be best "not to insert the name of Doctor Rush where "it is now left blank. This is seldom done in "history, during the lives of the persons con- "cerned, unless in party works." Mr. Wayne, on the eighth of September, 1804, wrote: "I "should sincerely lament were there any dispo- "sition to comply with Doctor Rush's request, "even if the letter was not yet printed. If "done in this instance, every man, who may in "any way be implicated in the course of the "work, would expect his name and certain "parts, perhaps the most material, of his letters "to be omitted. I did not wish to put Dr. "Rush's name to the letter, which is anony- "mous, but only in General Washington's let- "ter, where he mentions him in his reply to "Governor Henry, as being the author. Young "Mr. Rush, attorney-at-law," [*the late Richard Rush*] "has been with me, to get General Mar- "shall's address; I suppose he means to write "in behalf of his father to Genl M—— ——. "The real enemies and the real friends of Gener- "al Washington ought now to be known." The importunity of the Rush family, however, prevailed with the kind-hearted Virginia gentlemen; and, though the anonymous letter was printed, Washington's identification of the author was omitted; and, according to the Chief-justice's explicit direction, 'the omis- 'sion made apparent,' by asterisks. Being free from the Philadelphia influence, and it not affecting, injuriously, any body in New England, Mr. Sparks printed it all, without mutilation, in 1835, in the Appendix to his fifth volume of the Washington correspondence. This is the plain history of the whole affair.

Doctor Rush's bitter hostility to Washington never abated. In 1800, he described him as an infidel and an old fox. In 1790, he wrote to John Adams, that, among the mistakes of our history, was "the incense offered to *one* of the "military characters of the Revolution, who "only acted an executive part, and that, too, "after the foundation of it was laid, in princi- "ples and opinions disseminated by Otis, "Quincy, yourself, Samuel Adams, Dickinson, "and a few others." And he adds: "To pre- "vent my children being deceived by the his- "tories of the day, I have nearly filled a large "quarto volume, begun in 1778," [*the date of the anonymous slander*] "with anecdotes and "characters of the principal agents in the "Revolution. Besides this collection, I have "filled two small pocket octavos with facts con- "nected with characters and events, in 1776 and "1777, during which years I was in Congress "or in the Army." Doctor Rush died in 1813; and though these manuscripts have been furtively shown to several—Mr. Bancroft among the rest—the descendants of the writer have never, in the long lapse of nearly sixty years, ventured to put them in print. When published, they will make manifest that the objects of Doctor Rush's chief malevolence were Washington, whom he secretly assailed in 1778, and, nearer home, Washington's friend, Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, whom, also, anonymously, he attacked in 1782. R.

———

Letter from the Maryland Clergy, 1696. [*H. M.* II. iii., 151].—While I have my pen in hand, you will excuse me for mentioning a typographical mistake in the letter of the Maryland Clergy of 1696. The name, at its close, "Sub-

"MAN," one of the subscribers, should be "TUB-"MAN." His descendants are still among us.

Besides the eight subscribers to the letter, there were seven other clergymen in the Province.

BALTIMORE, MD. E. A.

REPLIES, ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS. [*H. M.* II. v., various pages.]

I should be glad to see the query of Mr. Scott, regarding General Bradstreet's Expedition of 1764, answered; as the subject is one that has excited my interest, for a long time.

I have the narrative of his expedition against Fort Frontenac, in 1758, in which he was accompanied by Captain Woodhull, afterwards General, and mortally wounded at Brushville, on Long Island, soon after the battle of the twenty-seventh of July, 1776. This work is entitled, *An Impartial Account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac. To which are added, A few Reflections on the Conduct of that Enterprize and the Advantages resulting from its Success. By a Volunteer on the Expedition. London: 1759.* Duodecimo. Title-page; reverse blank; and pp. 1 to 60.

Mr. Parkman alludes to most of the sources of information regarding Bradstreet's expedition, in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 449. See, also, correspondence with General Gage and Sir William Johnson; and a "MS. containing "numerous details of his conduct in the Cam-"paign of 1764, drawn up by the Officers serv-"ing under him." This MS. was, lately, in the possession of Mr. William L. Stone, Editor of the *College Journal*.

Mante's *History of the Late War in America*, Book XII., pp. 477 to 542, is almost wholly devoted to the subject of Bradstreet's expedition. Mante was a Major under Bradstreet, in this Campaign.

Morris's *Journal of his dangerous Mission to Pontiac, from Colonel Bradstreet*, also contains some interesting particulars regarding it.

Mr. William M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh, recently obtained a remarkable document, written by Captain Stobo, while a prisoner at Fort Duquesne. It is the original plan of the Fort, with his instructions regarding the strength of the garrison and method of approaches. This, with Gist's MS. Journal and other papers, was sold at auction, at Philadelphia, in 1868. Is it not possible that these very valuable papers, obtained by Mr. Darlington, are part of the store of "*intercepted letters containing his letters and* "*plans*," referred to by your correspondent, and that the rest are scattered?

Mr. Wynne, of Richmond, has also performed a much-desired task, in his collection of the Virginia Historical Society publications. They were so complicated, between the *Collections*, in one volume; the *Historical Register*, in six volumes, or twenty-four numbers; the *Historical Reporter*, in one volume of three numbers; and Volume II. in one number; the volume, by Conway Robinson, of *Discoveries on the Coast of America; The Diary of Washington;* and, lastly, the six Addresses before the Society, that it was scarcely possible to say when one had them complete. I have all mentioned by Mr. Wynne; and I have not seen any not mentioned in his article.

The Magazine types have played some mischief with his article. They make *Grigsby* to be *Grigsly*, and they make Colonel John Stuart's *Memoir on Indian Wars*, to be a *Memoir on Indian Names*.

Now with regard to the suggested errors in the authenticity of the views in the *Historic and Antiquarian Scenes in Brooklyn*. Artists and authors have painted and written much relating to the buildings and localities associated with the military operations in Brooklyn. Unfortunately, their knowledge of them was derived during casual visits, from persons who were more zealous to be useful than anxious to be correct. Mr. Bancroft spent a great part of three days, in visiting the various localities of the long line of battle—more than five miles in extent. He was accompanied by one of the best-informed gentlemen of the Island, himself an antiquary and Civil and Military Engineer; yet Mr. Bancroft frankly admitted that the localities were so changed, the movements so complex, and the reports so obscure, that he declared the topographical description of the battle to be impossible.

Now, there were three tide-mills, all painted *yellow*, so that you may have an original sketch of *a* yellow mill, but not of *the one* referred to, in the reports of the battle—the one burned by Colonel Ward. The view in the *Historic and Antiquarian Scenes of Brooklyn* was taken from an *original sketch* of the Mill, erected in its place, about six years before it yielded to the progress of city improvements.

You question whether De Sille ever built, or even ever saw, the house at New Utrecht. I can only say that you may see in *Documentary History of New York*, a copy of the terms of the contract, with Jacob Hellickers, for its erection. The De Sille house exactly corresponded with the contract, in dimensions and description. De Sille was the chief magistrate of the town of New Utrecht; and would, doubtless, have resided in his own house. Senator Murphy was so well satisfied of De Sille's residence in this house, that he says, in his Memoir of De Sille, prefixed to a translation of his poems: "He resided

"there in 1659, and in 1674, and probably until "his death." I think you will concede that there is no one living who has given so much attention to the lives of the Dutch notables as Mr. Murphy; nor is there a writer, living or dead, more scrupulous in his statements.

With regard to General Woodhull, we have each some material, probably, which the other has not seen. What you may have in the "other room," I cannot even guess: I am confident, however, that if you had read the MS. Journal of Lieutenant Fitch, you and I would never differ regarding that affair.

All of which discussion, replies, and rejoinders, may *Maga* survive a thousand years.

Brooklyn, N. Y. T. W. F.

Publications of The Long Island Historical Society. (*H. M.* II., vi., 251.)—The following list is submitted, in response to "Dick's" enquiry, concerning the minor publications of Historical Societies, as far as that enquiry relates to this Society:

1863. *By-Laws and Certificate of Incorporation of the Long Island Historical Society.* Brooklyn: 1863.

.. *Long Island.* By W. Alfred Jones. Read before the Society, November 5th, 1863. New York: 1863.

1864. *First Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian and Treasurer,* presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1864. Brooklyn: 1864.

1865. *Second Do.* Brooklyn: 1865.

1866. *Third Do.* Brooklyn: 1866.

.. *Early History of Suffolk County, L. I.* By Hon. Henry Nicoll. Read before the Society, November 16, 1865. Brooklyn: 1866.

1867. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian and Treasurer,* presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1867. Brooklyn: 1867.

.. *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society: Volume I.* Journal of a Voyage to New York, and a Tour in several of the American Colonies, in 1679–80, by Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter, of Wieverd, in Friesland. Translated from the original manuscript, in Dutch, for the Long Island Historical Society, and edited by Henry C. Murphy. Brooklyn: 1867. *Octavo, pp. xlvii,* 440. *With twelve lithographic illustrations of Old New York.*

1868. *History and its Sources.* By James Carson Brevoort, President of the Society. Read at the Annual Meeting, May 7, 1868. Brooklyn: 1868.

.. *Louis XVII. and Eleazar Williams. Were they the some person?* By Francis Vinton, S. T. D. Read before the Society, October 23, 1863. N. Y.: 1868.

.. *List of the Principal Illustrated Books in the Library of the Long Island Historical Society.* Brooklyn: 1868.

.. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian and Treasurer,* presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1868. With the President's Address. Brooklyn: 1868.

1869. *Sixth Do* Brooklyn: 1869.

.. *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society. Volume II.* The Battle of Long Island, with connected preceding events and the subsequent American Retreat. Introductory Narrative by Thomas W. Field. With authentic Documents. Brooklyn: 1869. *Octavo, pp. ix.,* 549. *With two Maps and five Engravings.*

1870. *Medical Department of the Library of the Long Island Historical Society.* An Account of its formation, with a Catalogue of the Books. Brooklyn: 1870.

Brooklyn, N. Y. G. H.

Shea's Library of American Linguistics. [*H. M.* II., vi., 251.]—In the absence of any other response, we take from our own copies, the titles of this celebrated series of volumes.

I. *A French-Onondaga Dictionary,* from a manuscript of the seventeenth century. By J. G. Shea. N. Y.: 1860.

II. *A Selish or Flat-head Grammar.* By the Rev. Gregory Mengarini. N. Y.: 1861.

III. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Heve Language,* translated from an unpublished Spanish manuscript, by Buckingham Smith. N. Y.: 1861.

IV. *Grammar of the Mutsun Language,* spoken at the Mission of San Juan Bantista, Alta California. By Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, of the Order of St. Francis. N. Y.: 1861.

V. *Grammar of the Pima or Névome, a language of Sonora.* From a Manuscript of the XVIII Century. Edited by Buckingham Smith. N. Y.: 1862.

VI. *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language.* By Rev. Mic. Cles. Pandosy, Oblate of Mary Immaculate. Translated by George Gibbs and J. G. Shea. N. Y.: 1862.

VII. *Vocabulary of the Language of San An-*

tonio Mission, California. By Father Bonaventure Sitjar, of the Order of St. Francis. N. Y.: 1861.

VIII. *A Vocabulary or Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language of Alta California.* By the Rev. F. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, of the Order of St. Francis. N. Y.: 1862.

IX.* *Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Chinook Language.* By George Gibbs. N. Y.: 1863.

X. *Radices Verborum Iroquæorum.* Auctore R. P. Jacobo Bruyas, Societatis Jesu. Neo-Eboraci: 1863.

XI. *Alphabetical Vocabularies of the Clallam and Lummi.* By George Gibbs. N. Y.: 1863.

XII.—*A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or, Trade Language of Oregon.* By George Gibbs. N. Y.: 1863.

XIII.† *Grammar of the Mikmaque Language of Nova Scotia.* Edited from the Manuscripts of the Abbé Maillard, by the Rev. Joseph M. Bellenger. N. Y.: 1864.

We are not aware of the publication of any other volumes, in this Series.

MORRISANIA, N. Y. H. B. D.

DR. FRANKLIN AND MRS. STANTON.—Shortly after the acquittal of Mr. McFarland, for killing Mr. Richardson, a meeting of women was held in New York, to condemn the action of the Jury. At this meeting, Mrs. E. C. Stanton, a prominent stump-speaker in the Women's Rights party, made a speech, in which she made an attack upon Dr. Franklin, for going to England, and leaving his wife at home to nurse the children, and see them safely through "the spine-jaundice, red-gum, whooping-cough, "measles, scarlet-fever, and fits."

At the time of Dr. Franklin's first visit, after his marriage, to England, his son William had been married for two years; his other son, Francis, had been dead for two years; and his only daughter, Sarah, afterwards Mrs. Bache, was seventeen years of age.

If some women would devote some of the time which they waste upon politics and other subjects outside of their "sphere," to the study of history and biography, they would not make so ridiculous a figure when they mount the platform.

PHILADELPHIA, D

* This volume is erroneously numbered, on the bastard-title, as "VIII." The date will show the error; besides, Mr. Shea's published advertisement of the Series refers to it as "IX."

† This volume is also erroneously numbered, on the bastard-title, as "IX." The remarks submitted, under the title of No. X, as evidence of the error of the printed number of that volume, will apply also to this.

THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—This Society has published, beside its Charter and By-laws, only the volumes of *Collections* and the following tracts: *A Discourse on the Early Constitutional History of Connecticut, delivered before the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, May 17, 1843.* By Leonard Bacon. Hartford: 1843, pp. 24; and *A Historical Discourse delivered before the Connecticut Historical Society and the Citizens of Hartford, on the evening of the 26th of December, 1843,* by Thomas Day, President. Hartford: 1844, pp. 36.

It has occasionally *assisted*, by subscription or purchase, other publications, taking a certain number of copies, for distribution to other Societies. It subscribed for fifty copies each of the first two volumes of the Colony Records of Connecticut; for the same number of Cothren's *History of Ancient Woodbury*, (1854); and for a part of the edition of Phelps's *History of Simsbury, Granby, and Canton.* The last issue of the Charter and By-laws was in 1860, prefixed to the first volume of *Collections* and also printed seperately.

HARTFORD. J. H. T.

XVIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, A. D.*, 1650–1776. Edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D. Privately printed. 1870. Quarto, pp. xvii., 585.

In this sumptuous quarto, one of the most elegant of modern issues from the press, we have the first fruits of the judicious labors, in behalf of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, of the late Rev. Francis L. Hawks, LL.D., whose mission to England, years ago, to collect the scattered documentary evidence of the establishment and early growth of the Established Church, in America, was so successful, has promised so much but been so long unproductive, and is, at last, as far as published, so fruitful.

The body of the work is purely documentary; relates exclusively to the Church in old Virginia; was gathered by the learned Doctor, from the Archives of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, from those of the Bishop of London, at Fulham, and from the letter-books of the Venerable Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and furnishes material for history of the highest importance. "The

"papers comprised in this volume offer the *verba* "*ipsissima* of the men who gave their lives to "the work of founding the Church in a new "world; and, though often betraying personal "or party prejudices, though sometimes written "with sinister ends in view, and, from time to "time, displaying much that the historian would "necessarily or willingly conceal, still these "letters and papers must be examined and stud- "ied by those who would acquaint themselves "with the story of the Church's introduction "into our land."

The volume before us was printed as prepared for the press by the original editor; and, although the body of the work is wholly documentary, it is enriched with notes of great value, as illustrative of the text, and with an Index of ample proportions. It is, therefore, an absolute necessity to every one who would learn of the colonial history of Virginia, whether in its ecclesiastical or its civil relations; and those who are looking into the history of other Colonies, in America, and other branches of the Christian Churches, may usefully run over its pages and glean, therefrom, the scattered material which illustrates, so admirably, the intricate and hidden subjects of their inquiry—we found, for instance, herein, one of the most important illustrations of the most difficult question which we have yet encountered in our enquiries concerning the early history of old Trinity-church in New York.

As the edition of this important volume was less than two hundred copies, and as it was printed almost exclusively for subscribers, it will very soon become a volume of great rarity; and collectors of such works may usefully receive the suggestion that, in the work of securing copies, there is no time better than the present.

2.—*Gulian C. Verplanck; his ancestry, life, and character.* Delivered before the Century Club, April 9, 1870, by Charles P. Daly, LL.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 62.

Mr. Verplanck was descended from one of the earliest and most notable settlers of New Netherland; and, as Judge Daly truly remarks, to him "must be accorded the metropolitan "honor of having been the most distinguished "descendant of the men who, nearly two cen- "turies and a half ago, founded the city of "New York." "It may be doubted," he continues, "if there be any family now extant in "the city, with the single exception of the "Browers, who can trace their connection with "its early history as far back as the one of "which he" [*Mr. Verplanck*] "by direct chain "of lineal descent, was, at the time of his "death, the gifted head."

Judge Daly first traces, in this address, the family of the Verplancks, from Abraham Planck, who married Maria Vinge, through their son, Gulian, and his descendants, to the last Gulian C.; and then, having noticed his "ancestry," he delineates the "life and charac- "ter" of his subject, with great precision and commendable impartiality. Indeed, it has seldom been our good fortune to read an eulogy which has so carefully exhibited both the good and bad points of the character of its subject; and still less frequently have we seen such a paper which has dealt so liberally with facts and so sparingly with mere rhetoric, and that without the least frigidity and, seemingly, with all the ornaments of style which the subject and the occasion required.

We are not inclined to especially contrast this with any other particular paper of the kind; but, we may be allowed to say that, of the three eulogies which Mr. Verplanck's death has produced, this, by Judge Daly, from the evident care with which the details of his subject were studied, and the excellent judgment exercised in the employment of the material thus carefully selected, and the peculiar fitness of the entire structure of the address to the peculiar purpose for which it was prepared, we do not hesitate a moment in stating our entire preference of the paper before us, as decidedly the most appropriate presentation, which we have yet seen, of the peculiar traits of character, as a man, a scholar, a lawyer, a statesman, a judge, and a Christian gentlemen, of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck.

Had the proof-reader looked for "turned let- "ters" a little more diligently, and marked his proofs more carefully, the very handsome typography in which this tract appears would have reflected more credit on the Appletons' press than that establishment will now secure from it.

This edition of the address, numbering "about "a hundred copies" only, was printed expressly for its learned author, and has been privately circulated among his personal friends.

3.—*Genealogical Sketch of the first three generations of Prebles, in America;* with an account of Abraham Preble, the emigrant, their common ancestor, and of his grandson, Brigadier-general Jedidiah Preble and his descendants, by Geo. Henry Preble, Capt. U. S. N. Boston: Printed for family circulation. 1868. Octavo, pp. 4 (unpaged) iv., 5–337.

Like many of his countrymen, Captain Preble has varied the monotony of a professional career—in his case, one which has been less monotonous than most others—by looking into the history of his own family; and that agreeable duty, he tells us, has been his amusement, during his leisure hours, during the past twenty years.

The origin and progress of the mere publication of his results have been marked with a peculiarity which is worthy of a passing notice. In the Spring and Summer of 1868, two short papers concerning, respectively, the founder of the family in America and his grandson, General Jedidiah, were prepared for *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, "without 'thought of their separate publication"; and, subsequently, a few copies of the first of these papers were struck off, separate from the *Register*, for private circulation. Having thus inaugurated a movement, which was evidently an agreeable one, the Captain proposed and carried out first one and then another improvement of his original plan; and, sometimes on the Pacific and sometimes on the Atlantic coast, sometimes commanding at sea and sometimes ashore, at the head of a bureau, he has prepared his "copy" for the press, and signature after signature, in print, have followed each other, unto those whom the author has favored with his friendship, until the end has been reached—the last half-sheet sent to the favored few who had acquired a title to it—and the distant master-workman, by his faithful proxy, at home, has pronounced the work "complete."

The peculiarity of this process might have puzzled a "Philadelphia lawyer"; but the tenacity of the author to his plan of operations, as an author, is worthy of a Preble, even in the better days of the Republic. *First*, there is a memoir of the head of the American family, and a list of, it is supposed, all his descendants, for three generations; *Second*, there is a memoir of General Preble, one of the third generation, with his Diary and Correspondence, during the War of the Revolution; *Third*, as perfect a record as can be made of all the General's descendants, to the present day, follows; *Fourth*, various errors have been corrected, various newly-discovered facts have been recorded, and various Prebles, not yet grouped, have been named and located; and, *Last*, a very complete Index of Names closes the work. All this has been carefully and successfully accomplished; and Captain Preble has not only served his own immediate family connection, by thus tracing the origin of the family and the subsequent descent of its members, but he has also served the student of American history, by preserving and extending the usefulness of various family papers, of the greatest interest, in the volume which he has thus leisurely produced.

This volume, as we have intimated, "is not "published; and only a few copies have been "printed for private distribution, designed to "perpetuate, within and for the family, the mem-"ory of its principal members." The edition numbered only one hundred and twenty-five copies, of which our copy is "No. 123."

It is very handsomely printed, by David Clapp and Son; and it is illustrated by several *fac-similes*, wood-cuts, and portraits—some of the latter being photographs.

4.—*Historical Sketch of the Chamber of Commerce.* 1856 *to* 1870. New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce. Octavo, pp. 2, unnumbered, xiii-clvii.

In 1856, Charles King wrote a kind of a history of this venerable corporation; but it was such a history as might have been reasonably expected from such a historian—a stream cannot rise above the level of its natural head.

In this tract, that apology for a history of the Chamber has been unduly honored with "a con-"tinuation;" and, were it not for the magnificent volume prepared by its recent Secretary, we could wish that some competent hand might be employed in constructing a history which is worthy of the Chamber, below this "continu-"ation," in order that the latter might have a fit foundation on which to rest.

The sketch before us makes no pretensions to elegance of style and, therefore, presents a mere record of the doings of the Chamber, during the past fourteen years, without the least ornament or meaningless display. It is not less valuable, however, because of its matter-of-fact character; and it is not less worthy of its subject, notwithstanding its author was not, probably, an LL.D.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

5.—*Collections of the Vermont Historical Society.* Prepared and Published by the Printing and Publishing Committee, in pursuance of a vote of the Society. Vol. I. Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp, xix, 508.

With the exception of a number of independant tracts, this volume is, we believe, the first extended publication by the Vermont Historical Society; and we earnestly congratulate that body on the solid success which has attended the experiment—may the financial result be as much of a success; and such as to warrant a speedy renewal of the attempt to make itself useful.

After the preliminary papers, devoted to a record of the Society's Charter, By-laws, Membership, etc., the Minutes of those meetings of "The "Green-mountain Boys" which ultimately led to the formation of the State of Vermont, properly finds a place—a series of papers which, for historical importance to every Vermonter, has no existing equal.

Unfortunately, however, in this case, the Society employed *a copy* instead of the *original manuscripts;* and, it has, consequently, fallen

a victim, in several cases, to the incompetency of either its copyist or its proof-reader.

Without noticing the multitude of changes which we have seen in the spelling and capitalization of the words, in the structure of the paragraphs, and in the general style of the work, a merely casual glance at the teachings of the re-constructed record has satisfied us that it is entirely unreliable, as material for history. As evidence of this, we need only refer to the following more important errors, in this very important portion of the volume.

1.—The Warrent for the first meeting, dated, according to this version, "ARLINGTON, *10th* "Dec'r, 1775," was really dated "ARLINGTON, "*20th* Dec'r 1775;" and the third article of the same Warrent, instead of providing "To see if "the Law of New York shall have free circula- "tion where it *doth* infringe on our properties, "or Titles of Lands, or Riots (so called) in "defence of the same," as indicated in this volume, really provided "to see if the Law of "New York shall have free Circulation where "it *doth not* infringe" etc.—a distinction with a difference, which will be useful to those who shall study the temper of the Vermontese of that period, with due attention.

2.—The "Oliver *Everts*" who was one of the Assistant Clerks of the meeting, at Dorset, on the sixteenth of January, 1775, as indicated in this volume, was really "Oliver *Evits;*" and the "James *Hurd*," who served on the Committee to whom the third Article in the Warrent, just noticed, was referred by that Convention, was really "James *Hard*."

3.—The Order in Council, relative to the Grants, referred to in the Remonstrance and Petition which was presented to the Continental Congress, in behalf of the insurgents, by Heman Allen, was really recorded—either accurately or otherwise—in the Minutes of the Convention at Dorset, of the twenty-fourth of July, 1776, as of the date of "the *fourth* day "of July, A.D. 1764:" the re-constructed *Minutes*, before us, presents it as "on the *20th* day "of July, A.D. 1764."

4.—In the same Petition and Remonstrance, reference was made, as duly recorded by the Clerk of the Convention, on the Minutes of the Convention, reference was made to the aggregate body of "Land Traders" whom the Vermontese were then resisting: in the re-constructed *Minutes*, by interpolating the words, "of New York," those who have controlled the volume before us have managed to secure a new weapon for their use, in their contest with the phantoms, *from New York*, which have so long haunted then.

5.—The *official signatures* of the Chairman and Secretary of the Dorset Convention of the sixteenth of January, 1776, which this version of the *Minutes* presents, in the record of the same Petition and Remonstrance, at the foot of the nineteenth page of this volume, *are not in the original Minutes, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;* and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, this strange error, of either the Editors or the Printer of this volume, will serve to destoy the usefulness of the entire entry, and to mislead those who are groping, in this dark subject, for the exact truth of the matter.

6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes:* there is no such reason assigned, in the real Minutes, as written by the Secretary of the Convention.

7.—In the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, "Mr Abraham Ives" really represented "*N.* Wallingford," wherever that town may have been; not "*Wallingford*," as these re-constructed *Minutes* would have us suppose.

8.—In the Westminster Convention of January 15, 1777, this version of the *Minutes* of that body would have us believe that "Lt. Leonard Spaulding" and "Lt. Dennis Lockland" jointly represented "Dummerston," and that the town of "Putney" was not represented in that Convention, by any one: the fact is, that "Dummers- "ton" had only *one* Delegate—"Lieut Leonard "Spalding"—; that "Putney" *was* represented in the Convention: and that "Lieut Dennis "Lockland" was *her* Delegate, instead of Dummerston's.

9.—In the same Convention, "Major *Joseph* "Williams" appeared for Pownal: not "Major "*Josiah* Williams," as represented in this volume.

10.—The re-constructed *Minutes* of the same Convention present a formal introduction of seven lines, to the Report on what is, in fact, Vermont's Declaration of Independence—certainly, as far as Vermont is concerned, an instrument of the first importance, as material for history—the original Minutes of the Convention itself, which constitute the original record of the paper, presented no such introductory matter, nor any other—our friends of the Committee to the contrary, notwithstanding.

11.—In the same important instrument, as originally recorded, a most important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress, certified by the Secretary of that Congress, was introduced, as the foundation of the Conven-

tion's proposed action on that subject: in the reconstructed Minutes, the record of that Resolution is changed in its terms, and the verification of the Secretary is altogether omitted—a curious and significant coincidence.

12.—In the original record of the same important paper, as well, it seems, as in the copy of it which Mr. Slade published in his well-known *Vermont State Papers*, it is said "that "the District of Territory comprehending and "Usually known by the name and description of "the N. Hampshire Grants of Right ought to be "and are hereby declared forever hereafter to "be considered as a Seperate Free and Inde-"pendent Jurisdiction or State by the Name & "to be forever hereafter called and known and "distinguished by the Name of New Connecti-"cut Alias Vermont and that the Inhabitants" etc.: in the volume before us, it is said "that "the district of territory comprehending and "usually known by the name and description of "the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought "to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter "to be considered as a separate, free and inde-"pendent jurisdiction or state; by the name, "and forever hereafter to be called, known and "distinguished by the name of *New Connecti-"cut;* [1] and that the inhabitants" etc.—the blank space being illustrated with a foot-note, informing us that, "here, in the copy in Slade's "*State Papers*, the words 'alias Vermont' "are inserted;" but that "they *could not* have "been in *the original declaration* appears from "the subsequent use of the name 'New Connec-"'ticut,' alone, and from the proceedings in the "Convention of the fourth of June following, "when the name was changed to 'Vermont.'" The manuscript copy of the original with which General Phelps had favored the Society and the published copy of the same which Governor Slade had presented in his *State Papers*, were both before the Committee when it issued this reconstructed record; and we confess we are not acquainted with the principle which warrented the Committee, in the face of the two distinct copies of the original, to not only omit from its version of the *Minutes* the words "Alias Ver-"mont," but to discredit the fidelity of the only text which it employed, by doubting the existence of the words, elsewhere. Such is Vermont history, as written by Vermont historians.

13.—The latter part of the Report, or Declaration of Vermont's Independence, is so perfectly muddled—there are not less than five serious errors, affecting the sense, within the last six lines—that no one, except an expert in Vermontese history, can possibly understand it, accurately.

14.—"Messrs. John Sessions and *Simeon* Ste-"phens" were the two Representatives from Cumberland-county, in the Convention of the State of New York, whom the insurgents, in Vermont, directed to withdraw from that body: "Messrs. John Sessions and *Simon* Stephens" are said, in this reconstructed record, to have thus officiated as such Representatives, in the Legislature of New York, of which State Vermont was then a part.

There are many other errors which we have not space enough to allude to; but we have said enough to show how entirely useless this portion of the volume is, as *an authority* in historical enquiry. It may serve the purpose for which it was probably intended, among those who read the history of Vermont from the Vermontese stand-point; but to those who read history for the purpose of ascertaining what the truth is concerning those, within the recognised territory of New York, who refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens—of those, in fact, who led all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognised authority over them—some other authority will be requisite. These, probably, will not be contented with either Vermont history or Vermont historians, as the the former is now written and as the latter now write.

Following these *Minutes* are re-prints of several ancient tracts concerning the land-disputes, an extended series of papers, illustrative of the history of the Northern Campaign of 1777, and a re-print of Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*—we have not the means to compare the copies of the former with originals nor with complete copies of them: the latter is not so scarce that any one of even ordinary means cannot employ the original instead of this copy; and a comparison of the two will, therefore, be wholly unnecessary—and a meagre Index closes the volume.

We are not insensible of some of the differences of opinion which are said to have led to the re-production of some of the old tracts and Allen's *History;* and we are free to say that we approve the selection of materials, as it stands, rather than that which was originally proposed. The general good judgment of the Committee of Publication, in the choice, *per se*, of offered material, is amply apparent—we wish we could say as much for its accuracy of details, in using what it selected—and the very handsome volume which it has produced, is as creditable to its book-making faculties as it will be acceptable to every Vermonter who shall look into it.

6.—*Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society.* Volume II. Hartford: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. 4, unpaged, 380.

The composition of the Committee in whose hands the Society placed authority for the preparation and publication of this volume—Messrs. Trumbull, Brinley, and Hoadley—was such, that we have reasonably expected, as the necessary result of its labors, an addition to American historical literature of which Connecticut might reasonably be proud; and our expectations have been fully realized. It is, in fact, a volume of rare merit; and it will be welcomed as warmly by the close students of American history, generally, as by those of peculiarly Connecticut and New England topics.

The contents of the volume are, *First*, Mr. Trumbull's exhaustive tract *On the composition of Algonquin Geographical Names*, to a privately printed copy of which, in independent form, we alluded in our number for February last; *Second*, an exceedingly important body of *Papers relating to the Controversy in the Church in Hartford, 1656–9*, mainly from the Lansdowne Manuscripts, in the British Museum, which will serve to throw light on that bitter and eventful church-quarrel—a quarrel which has served not only to illustrate the sad truth that Christians, so called, are not always Christians, in fact, and to vindicate those who have maintained that even a Christian's heart is very often "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked"—and, *Last*, the very important *Correspondence of Silas Deane, Delegate to the First and Second Congress at Philadelphia, 1774–1776*—a series of letters, to and from that widely-abused gentleman, which will serve to illustrate not only his own true character and associations but those of many others, in both Connecticut and the other Colonies, at that period of riot and revolution.

Those who are at all interested in the three distinct subjects which are peculiarly represented in the contents of this volume, will recognise the relative importance, to them, of each of these papers; and they will unite with us in thanking the Connecticut Society for so valuable an addition to the supply of material for history, both special and general, civil and ecclesiastical.

The typography of the volume is worthy of the honorably-known press of Case and Lockwood, of Hartford.

7.—*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.* Vol. IX. Phila. The Pennsylvania Historical Society. 1870.
Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, and others, 1700–1750. From the original letters in possession of the Logan family. With Notes by the late Mrs. Deborah Logan. Edited, with additional Notes, by Edward Armstrong, M. A. Vol. I. Phila.: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1870. Octavo. pp. lix, 380.

James Logan was the Secretary of *William Penn*—not of "the Province of Pennsylvania," as Mr. Armstrong seems to suppose, since no such "Province" then existed—from the Spring of 1699, onward. He came with Penn, from England, in that year; was a member of his household, in Philadelphia; was left in his city house, as his man of business, when he moved to Pennsburg, and in America—when he returned to England—attending to all kinds of business, both for Penn and his wife and children, from "letting John have the coach "ready, and horses put in it, that [*he might*] be "helped home," and the sending of a gallon of linseed-oil, from his store-room, in Philadelphia, to his country-place, to the writing of Proclamations, the collecting of rents, and the purchase of Exchange on England. In short, James Logan was Penn's faithful "man Fri-"day," in America, doing every thing and anything which Penn desired him to do, no matter how menial or how honorable; and he was rigidly devoted to the personal interests and the personal whims of the family whose individual servant he was.

The letters which passed between the master and the man, in such a case, must be peculiarly interesting and important to every earnest student of the history of the Pennsylvania of that period, because the subjects of that correspondence embraced, at once, the germs of unseen empire and the waspish outcroppings of waning *Quaker* feudalism; and, if the Pennsylvania Historical Society has really secured, in this volume, accurate and unclipped copies of all that remains of those letters, or if it will have secured as much, when it shall have completed its issue of the series of which this is the initial volume—of which we are pleased to say, there seems to be a reasonable probability—that excellent but somewhat slowly-moving association will have done for the cause of History, at large, and for that of Pennsylvania, especially, a service, compared with which all its previous services will become utterly insignificant.

We are gratified to learn, as we have learned from one of its officers, that the Society has exercised unusual caution in securing entire completeness and accuracy to this work, notwithstanding the obscurity which the Editor has thrown over that matter in his title-page and Preface—the former claiming the use of "*the* "*original letters* in the possession of *the Logan* "*family*," as the copies used in the printing of the volume; the latter, without qualification, referring, to the use for that purpose, of certain *copies of those papers*, made by Mrs. Logan and now in the possession of *The American Philo-*

sophical Society. The fact is said to have been, notwithstanding this obscurity, that, "with a "view to be entirely correct in printing the Lo- "gan Correspondence, the original letters were "used; and that nothing that Mrs. Logan had "seen should be overlooked, for it might have "occurred that accidental displacement was pos- "sible, the copies made by Mrs. Logan," [*many years ago*] "were also in the hands of the Edi- "tor. By this means, correctness and fulness, 'or, rather the certainty of completeness, were "attained."

It is really refreshing to learn that such unusual pains have been taken to secure not only accuracy but completeness in such a matter as this; and we cheerfully recognize this evidence of good judgment, in Mr. Armstrong and the Society whom he served, and as cheerfully welcome the volume which has been issued under such favorable circumstances.

The volume is a very handsome one, from the press of the Lippincotts.

8.—*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.* Vol. III. Part 1. St. Paul: 1870. Octavo, pp. 138.

We rejoice to see such excellent evidence as is produced in this volume, of the vitality of a correct historical taste in the midst of the bustling, money-making West and of the liberality of the Society in thus presenting the results of that unusual taste and good judgment to the historical world.

The volume before us opens with a translation of so much of the *Relation of Penicant*, a simple shipwright who accompanied Le Sueur, in his early explorations of the West—recently purchased, in Paris, for the library of the Congress—as relates to Minnesota, with an illustrative opening Note of Rev. E. D. Neill. A very excellent *Bibliography of Minnesota*, by J. F. Williams, Esq., the Librarian of the Society, follows; and this is followed by a series of papers, concerning Western men and Western history, from the pens of Mrs. Van Cleve, Revs. S. R. Riggs and S. W. Pond, the Librarian of the Society, and General H. H. Sibley.

In every page of the work, there is evidence, as we have said, of a correct taste, both in the selection of the material and in the mode of presenting it; and the Committee, under whose direction the work has been accomplished, and the intelligent Librarian—whose "W", scattered throughout the volume, very properly indicates whose pen was employed by the Committee—who edited it, under the Committee's direction, have earned the thanks of those working students who shall venture, sometime, to look into the history of that rising Empire.

The volume is very handsomely printed; and, very sensibly, it has been sent out "uncut"—an example which some very knowing-ones, East of the mountains, may very usefully study and imitate.

9.—*The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. Organized* 1867. Circular, of one page.

List of Manuscripts in Binding, No. 1. *April* 1, 1870. Circular, of one page.

.....*No.* 2. *August* 1. 1870. Circular, of one page.

Historical and Archæological tracts. Number One. Battle and Massacre at Frenchtown, Michigan, January, 1813. By Rev. Thomas P. Dudley, one of the survivors. Octavo, pp. 4.

We have pleasure in presenting the above to the notice of our readers, as the small beginnings of what, we trust, will soon become a useful Society, in the historical literary wilderness of Ohio—a State which seems to be as unaware of the fact that she has a history which is worthy of her, as she is evidently insensible of the importance which attaches to that very obscure subject.

In fact, were it not for the disinterested patriotism of Robert Clark, in publishing the feeble literature of the history of the West, that of Isaac Smucker and his humble band of "Pioneers," at Newark: that of the Firelands Pioneers, at Newark; and that of this outgrowth at Cleveland—of which our venerable and respected correspondent, Colonel Charles Whittlesey, is the worthy President—Ohio would present a miserable blank to those who seek either information or support, in their explorations of her Past: and we have the greater pleasure, therefore, in bidding God-speed to those brave men who, even in these humble productions, dare become singular among those—fellow-citizens of theirs, in the third of the sisterhood of Commonwealths—who surround them, thinking only and caring only for money and how they may make it, in order to become, as "millionaires," less useful, than they now are, to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to the State.

10.—*Proceedings of the New York Historical Society on the announcement of the death of Thomas J. Bryan.* 1870. New York: 1870. Large Octavo, pp. 10.

Among the most liberal of the many individual donors to the New York Historical Society, was Thomas J. Bryan, Esq., whose extensive and valuable "Collection" of paintings graces the Galleries of the Society and adds attractions to what, even without it, was, before, one of the most delightful stopping-places for visitors in the city of New York.

It was our good fortune to enjoy an intimate acquaintance with this genial and well-read gentleman, whose cheerful greetings and ample fund of anecdote and information have often served to

revive our spirits and dispel the dreariness of cold historical labors; and his death was not the least of those drafts, on the ranks of those with whom we were intimate, which have made a retrospect of the past two or three years so exceedingly unwelcome.

It was proper that the memory of one who, while in health, had served the Society so well and whose regards for it had ceased only with his life should be duly honored by it; and the tract before us forms the record of the manner in which that sad duty was discharged—a service which, in such a case as this, is always performed with peculiar propriety and marked ability.

The pamphlet is a neat one.

11.—*Constitution and By-laws of the New Jersey Historical Society, as Amended, May* 19, 1870. Newark, N.J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 24.

Beyond the fact that it contains a very complete description of the contents of the "Publi-"cations of the New Jersey Historical Society" —from which, however, every intimation of the publication of any minor publications is diligently excluded—this tract contains only the plan of Government of the Society and a couple of Circulars descriptive of its character and purposes. As one of the Society's publications, apart from all other considerations, we notice its appearance, for the benefit of those who collect such works.

12.—*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.* Second Series. Vol. II. No. 1. 1870. [Newark: 1870.] Octavo, pp. 53

This number of the *Proceedings* contains a record of the Society's annual meeting, in January, 1870, with President Tuttle's elaborate paper on *The Early History of Morris-county*, which was read by him at the May meeting, in 1869.

The character of the *Proceedings* of this Society is so well known and they have so often honored the drafts of the working-men of the historical world that we need give no more space to this installment of them than is necessary to announce its issue and to welcome it to our table.

13.—*A Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, October 27th,* 1870, *Commemorative of the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D.* By John William Wallace, President of the Society. Philadelphia: 1870. Octavo, pp. 64.

The proceedings of the Society, commemorative of the distinguished Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, find an appropriate place in this neatly-printed tract.

Doctor Dorr was a native of Massachusetts; graduated at Dartmouth; studied Law at Troy, in this State; and Divinity at the Seminary in New York; was ordained by Bishop Hobart; served the churches at Lansingburg, Waterford, and Utica, the Board of Missions—as its Secretary—and the church at Philadelphia; employed his pen, not unfrequently, in historical literature; and died, in the latter city, in September, 1869. He was universally respected, both as a man and a Pastor; and the record of his worth, as it appears in this tract, written by one who knew him well, is evidently as just as it is appropriate.

14.—*Medical Department of the Library of the Long Island Historical Society.* An account of its formation, with a catalogue of its books. Brooklyn: Printed by the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

A sketch of the origin and result of the formation of a *Medical* Department in the library of the Society; and an evidence of the judicious activity and consequent usefulness of that earnest and successful association.

This tract will be necessary to all who collect the minor publications of Societies.

15.—*American Antiquities;* read before a joint meeting of the Pioneer Associations of the Counties of Franklin, Muskingham, and Licking, at their celebration of the National Anniversary, at Pataskala, Ohio, July 4, 1870. By Samuel Park, Esq. Terre Haute: 1870. Octavo, pp, 22.

Our respected friend, Isaac Smucker, Secretary of the Licking-county pioneers, "wanted a pa-"per on the mound question;" and he urged Mr. Park to write it—how wisely he did so is no longer questionable.

We do not know who Mr. Park is nor what are his antecedents; but the paper before us is undoubtedly the result of extended and careful observation, of independent thought, and of the exercise of such strong common sense as we seldom see applied, by unpractised minds and pens, to such unusual investigations as this. The effect of this is an entire rejection of the theories of Atwater and his successors that these mounds are either the remains of military works, thrown up by some ancient people of warlike propensities, or the monumental structures which commemorate the departed greatness of bygone individuals; and the proposition, instead, that they are the remains of structures, cast up by a pastoral people, for peaceful purposes—not unfrequently the remains of structures which have returned, like those who occupied them, to the mother earth in which they originated, exemplifying that grave truth that "dust we are and to dust we must "return."

There is no pretence to elegance of style or superiority of intelligence in its author; but, on the contrary, there is a minuteness in his descriptions which indicates a complete knowledge of the patent facts of the subject; while

the clearness of his argument, in support of his simple theories, as clearly indicate his sturdy common sense, his manly independence of thought, and his entire devotion to what he conceives to be the truth of his subject.

We are pleased to see such excellent results of home investigation, in the West; and we can very well afford to make room for home-made theories, if those theories are to be as sensible and as well-timed as this. By all means, let Mr. Park push forward his enquiries in this well-searched repository of hidden truths.

16.—*The Centennial Celebration of the settlement of Bangor, September* 30, 1869. Published by direction of the Committee of Arrangements. Bangor: 1870. Octavo, pp. 4, unpaged, 182.

We are fond of recognizing birth-days, both those of individuals and those of communities. We like to receive the affectionate congratulations, year after year, as our hair grows greyer and our strength grows weaker, of those who habitually cluster around us and bid us "God "speed" on our journey; and we joyfully unite with others, young and old, when "Ma's "birthday" and "the fourth of July" offer an opportunity to reciprocate, as best we may, the greetings which we have enjoyed a few weeks or a few months before. We can understand, therefore, the feelings which, in May, 1869, prompted the burghers of Bangor to keep the centennial of their good city; and we can understand, too, when they afterwards saw what they had done and that it was good, why they endeavored to close the good work by making a fair record of it.

In the beautiful volume before us, we find the record of which we have spoken—a full report, officially published, of that grand recognition of the opening of another century in the career of that good old community which, a hundred years before, had seated itself on the Penobscot —and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it.

The volume opens with a Minute of the preliminary arrangements for the celebration; and a more extended one of the celebration occupies the remainder of it. The day was ushered in with the ringing of bells; and every available conveyance was employed in bringing into the city the thousands who thronged there to witness the proceedings and do honor to the occasion. An extended procession absorbed all that was moveable—military, charitable, municipal, mercantile, aboriginal, firemen, tee-total, educational, mechanical, and social—and that which was not moveable was "there to see," on the sidewalks, and trees, and fences, and stoops, along the entire route of the procession. A tent, on the Common, afforded a place for the exercises of the day; and, after prayer by Doctor Pond, music by the Penobscot Musical Association, an opening address by the President of the day—Hon. G. W. Pickering—and a Centennial Hymn, the Hon. John E. Godfrey delivered the principal address; which was followed by *The Star Spangled Banner*, a poem, and music. The Fire Department subsequently made a trial of its skill, in competition with those of other places; a regatta, in which both bateux and canoes participated, furnished amusement, in the afternoon, to others; a dinner, with the usual flow of speeches, followed, in the evening; and bonfires, fire-works, and illuminations closed the festivities of the day.

The principal address, by Mr. Godfrey, was a rapid, but carefully-written and well-sustained review of the history of the site occupied by the city of Bangor, as well as that of the city itself, from the days of the Northmen, who may have first explored that coast, until the incorporation of the city, in 1834; and it is worthy of the pen which wrote it. There is a commendable caution, in every part of this paper; and we are pleased to see the respect which Mr. Godfrey pays to the rights of his readers, in his careful presentation of his authorities, at the foot of the page, and of his qualified allusion to whatever he cannot thus confirm, no matter how respectable may be the theorist from whom he may have borrowed the suggestion. Thus, he finds no satisfactory evidence to sustain the speculations of those who stand as god-fathers to the theory of the Northmen's exploits, in Maine; and he leaves to others, undisturbed, the enjoyment of those fancies, concerning their pre-Columbian history, for which he can find no satisfactory evidence. He glances at Cabot, Verrazzanno, Thevet, De Monts, Weymouth, De Guercheville, D'Aulnay, Girling, de St. Castin, and Gorges; he relates the story of Westbrook's expedition, in 1722–3; that of Heath, in 1725; the occupation of the country, by Governor Pownall, in 1759; and the settlement of what is Bangor, by Jacob Buswell, in 1769. The gradual progress of the settlement is next carefully described; its older inhabitants are portrayed with scrupulous exactness; and the changing localities are identified and recorded. Altogether, this is one of the best local historical addresses which we have ever seen.

The speeches of Hon. E. L. Hamlin and Hon. John A. Poor, at the dinner-table, were also worthy of the speakers and of the occasion which produced them.

The volume is from the press of B. A. Burr of Bangor, and is a very fine specimen of his ability as a printer.

he New York Genealogical and Biographical Vol. I. No. 4. October, 1870. Published by the [New York: 1870.] Octavo, pp. 25–52.

closing number of the first year's issue of ellent quarterly, published by the New Genealogical and Biographical Society. ıpplemented by an elaborate discourse on *Crommelin Verplanck*, by the enterpris- ıarles H. Hart, Esq., of Philadelphia, success in this new field of industry is espectable.

paper on the Judicial and Legal Condition of itory of Wisconsin, at and after its organization, ew G. Miller, D. A. J. Upham, and W. A. Pren- ommittee of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee Read before the Club, by Judge Miller, July 4, ublished by order of the Club. Milwaukee: 1870. pp. 17.

seldom that a more important tract than ppears; and yet more seldom that one s which will, hereafter, be more eagerly by those who shall desire to trace the of the Judiciary in the United States. clearly-written history, in outline, of the and Bar in Wisconsin, when that Com- alth was yet in embryo; and it ranges ıe beginning until, in 1848, the *Territory* consin ceased to exist and the *territorial* and Bar became things of a by-gone era. e is no display of rhetoric in the simple ve; but it bristles with facts which will, ay, be most eagerly looked for by those ould know more of Wisconsin's early and whose means of acquiring informa- ill be limited to such transient trifles as It is, however, in its present form, a which is sure to be generally overlooked; ose who are interested in such matters secure copies while they may be found, refully preserve them.

hirteenth Annual Session, Proceedings of the in Editorial Association. Held at Oshkosh, ne, 1869. Madison, Wis.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 59.

ımple report of the thirteenth of those ns, in Wisconsin, through which the al pen-drivers of that State become bet- uainted, find temporary relief from their ɔressing daily occupations, and secure harmony of action and greater efficien- ıeir duties.

ıe tract before us, we find not only a of the jollities of the occasion, but a r of other papers—biographical, statisti- l historical—which will richly repay the ɔn of those whose researches lead them ıe early history of Wisconsin and the

20.—*Septuagenarian Dinner.* Report of the Speeches, Poem, and other proceedings at a dinner given June 30, 1870, by the citizens of Pittsfield, Mass., to their townsmen who had reached the age of 70 years. Official Report. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. 48.

It is said that "nothing, since the old Berk- "shire Jubilee, has so stirred the local memo- "ries and, perhaps, gratified the local pride, of "Pittsfield, as did the dinner to the townsmen "of seventy years and upwards, which was "given, at the American House, on the thirtieth "of June last;" and, in this neatly-printed pamphlet, we find a complete history of the interesting affair, from its inception to its happy termination.

It was a delicate tribute of respect to the aged men of the town, thus to honor them; and the demands of the occasion were as admirably met as they were admirably conceived. It was proper, therefore, to place the matter on record, for the information of those who shall come after us; and that duty, too, has been done, with our friend Munsell's help, with the same good taste which seems to have characerized the other portions of the proceedings.

21.—*Address delivered by John T. Doyle, Esqr., at the inauguration of the new hall of Santa Clara College, on Tuesday, August 9th,* 1870. San Francisco: 1870. Octavo, pp. 18.

The excellent author of this address, a friend of our young manhood, acted as the organ of the Faculty in dedicating a new hall to the culture of letters and science; and he availed himself of the occasion to indulge in a retrospective view of the foundation and progress of the ancient Mission of Santa Clara, which the College has succeeded, and to bring before his hearers some of the reminiscences which cluster around that locality.

He contrasted the English and the Spanish systems of colonization, very much to the disadvantage of the former; he glanced at the ecclesiastical polity of the latter, in its colonial system, and its effects on the aborigines; he called attention to the records of the colonization of the country, which are fast decaying, in the chambers of the religious houses of Spain and Mexico, whose members were the occupants of the Missions and the pioneers of colonization; and he broached the idea of a local Historical Society, whose attention should be directed to the examination and preservation of the fleeting records of the Past of the Pacific Coast. He noticed the advent of the Jesuit Fathers, the earliest colonists of California; their expulsion, in 1767, and the substitution, instead, of the Franciscans; and the subsequent entrance of the Dominicans, and the assignment, to them, of the peninsula, as a field for their labors. He allud-

ed, also, *en passant*, to the explorations of the coast line; the entrance of Vizcayno, in 1602, into the harbor of San Diego and the bay of Monterey—doubting, by the way, whether he entered the harbor of modern San Francisco.—The extended series of Missions of the Franciscans, settled under Father Junipero's direction, received his careful attention; and the story of the discovery of the bay of San Francisco; the narrative of the settlement of Santa Clara, in 1777; the continued conduct of the Missions, by the Franciscans, until the advent of American colonization; the revolution of every class of society, on the discovery of gold; the restoration of the Jesuits, in 1852; and the results of the latter change, all pass, in order, in review, before the reader. He eulogizes the Jesuits; attributes to their energetic influences the success of the institution before whom he stood; and closed an admirable and appropriate address with some excellent remarks on the science of education.

We are pleased with this paper—so complete in the chain of its narrative and so decided, and yet so decorous, in its portrayal of the peculiar merits of the Jesuit Fathers—and we hope to see the same practised pen more frequently employed than it has been, hitherto, in the exposition of those events, in the *Far* West, to which he has so cleverly invited our attention.

The pamplet is a very handsome one.

22.—1870. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: with an Appendix.* New Series, Vol. I. A.D. 1870. New York: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1870. Octavo, pp. 479

The Minutes of the first Assembly of the *re-constructed* Presbyterian Church in America—a document which, in the ecclesiastical history of the United States, will always possess an unusual importance and become an authority to which all who shall hereafter assume to write on that subject must necessarily come for information.

Like those which have preceded it, from the same pen, it is a monument of the order which prevails in all that the Stated Clerk, Doctor Hatfield, does, whether in his office or in his study; and it is refreshing to turn from the muddle presented in some Reports, which we have seen, to the clear, and complete, and admirably-arranged papers of this volume.

23.—*The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* Minutes of the Sixty-eighth Annual Meeting, Taunton, June 21-23; with the Report on Home Evangelization and on the State of Religion, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. 136.

An admirably arranged record of the doings of the orthodox Congregational Churc Massachusetts, both in their individua their associated action, for the year 186 the result of the judicious labors of, we su Rev. Doctor Quint of New Bedford, who Secretary of the General Association.

It is an exceedingly important work who desire to write with accuracy, conc either the local histories of the towns of chusetts, or the histories of her churches, lives and services of her clergy; and no l cal library should be without it.

24.—*Minutes of the Forty-fourth annual meetin General Conference of the Congregational Chu Maine:* with the Sermon before the Missionary by Rev. Javan K. Mason, of Thomaston, and the R the Trustees, at its Sixty-third Anniversary, held First Congregational Church in Yarmouth, June and 23, 1870. Portland: 1870. Octavo, pp. 112.

Like the last two works which have under our notice, this—the work of the r hand of Deacon Duren of Bangor—is es to those who shall hereafter desire to as the truth of either the local histories towns, or those of the churches, or the liv services of the clergy, of that portion Union to which it relates. It is the rec the Orthodox Congregational Church Maine, during 1869–70; and is worthy place in that sturdy line of forty-four v which contain the details of the history very important body of Christians.

25.—*Peabody Institute. Mr. Peabody's Letter tember* 22, 1869. *Third Annual Report of the Pr the Trustees, June* 2, 1870. Baltimore: 1870. pp. 50.

A very minute Report of the operati this excellent institution, during the yea ing June 1, 1870.

26.—*Twelfth Annual Report of the Corporatio Chamber of Commerce, of the State of New York, Year* 1869–'70, *prefaced with an historical sketc institution,* 1856–1870. In two parts. Compiled by Wilson, Secretary. New York: Press of the Cha Commerce. 1870. Octavo, pp. clviii, 101, 180.

There are no volumes issued which a greater interest to the *thinking* men country, as well as to the historical st than the annual reports made by the v associations, scattered from Maine to C nia, which are devoted to the promot trade and commerce; and of these, the R of the ancient "Corporation of the Ch "of Commerce of the State of New Yor pre-eminent.

The volume before us, the last of the issued by the Chamber, opens with the h cal sketch to which we have alluded i

tice of privately-printed books; and that followed by the Minutes of the Chamber, m May, 1869, to May, 1870, and by a large mber of special reports on the trade in Sugar, lasses, Coffee, Petroleum, Naval Stores, Cot- , Hides, Leather, Boots and Shoes, Tobacco, y Goods, Wool, Drugs, Iron and Steel, Tea, ., and of statistical tables illustrative of the de and finances of the country. As these severally prepared by the most competent nds, from the most reliable data, their im- rtance cannot be over-estimated; and our ders will perceive the reason for our high imate of the series of which this volume ms an important part.

7.—*The Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, efly described.* New York: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 12.

The Yale University Scheme. The Academic College l The Scientific College at New Haven, in their relations he University. By James D. Dana. New Haven: 1870. avo, pp. 8.

Yale College in 1870. Some Statements respecting the progress and present condition of the various depart- nts of the University, for the information of its gradu- s, friends, and benefactors. By the Executive Commit- of the Society of the Alumni. June 1, 1870. Octavo, 30.

Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College deceased ring the Academical Year ending in July, 1870. [Pre- ted at the Meeting of the Alumni, July 20, 1870.] Oc- o, pp. 335–368.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College, h a statement of the Course of Instruction in the vari- departments. 1870–71. New Haven: 1870. Octavo, 76.

These tracts, all relating to the management, history, and the graduates of Yale-college, ll interest such of our readers as are connect- by pleasant memories, with that institution are concerned in the cause of education. Their contents are designated on the several le-pages.

8.—*Proceedings of the Century Association in honor of memory of Gulian C. Verplanck. April* 9, 1870. New rk: D. Appleton & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 100.

"The Century Club" held a special meeting, n honor of the memory of Gulian C. Ver- lanck," Mr. Bryant presiding and opening proceedings with a brief address. Chief- tice Daly followed, in a carefully-prepared iographical sketch," which we have noticed ewhere, in this number of the Magazine; d that was followed by some very interest- remarks on Mr. Verplanck "as a politic- an;" on "the Sketch-club," from which rung the Century itself; on "Mr. Ver- lanck as a writer;" closing with some ersonal reminiscences," which add greatly the interest of the subject. Mr. Henry C. Dorr, Rev. Doctors Haight, Bellows, and Vin- ton, continued the proceedings; and Judge Van Vorst closed them, by moving the passage of a resolution for their publication.

The volume is an elegant specimen of typog- raphy; if we except the drawbacks of occa- sional faults of proof-reading or correction; and it is beautified with a portrait of Mr. Ver- planck—an unlettered proof, on India paper— which conveys a very correct idea of the ap- pearance of the honored original.

29.—*Celebration at Tammany Hall, of the Ninety-fourth Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independ- ence by the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, Mon- day, July 4th,* 1870. Published by Order of the Tammany Society. New York: The N. Y. Printing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. Title-page and verso, 120.

The Tammany Society is one of the oldest and best-known bodies-corporate in the city of New York—the Republican offset to the Federalists' order of Cincinnati; the controlling authority in the Democratic Party, within the commercial metropolis. This Society usually celebrates "the fourth of July," in its own hall, after its own fashion—an Oration from some prominent member of the Party forming an important por- tion of the ceremony.

Last year, 1870, one of these celebrations attracted to Tammany Hall, throngs of citizens; and, "not in many years before had as many "members of the Columbian Order presented "themselves on the platform, with regalia." Grand Sachem Tweed presided; Grafulla's celebrated Band played; William H. Davis sang *The Standard of Freedom;* the Grand Sachem welcomed the large audiance; the great grandson-in-law of John Jay read the *Declaration of Independence;* Senator Casserly of California, delivered the Oration; John G. Saxe read a Poem on *Old Tammany;* speeches were made by Hon. S. S. Cox and James Brooks; *The Star-spangled Banner* was sung by William J. Hill and the audiance; various letters were read; Governor Hoffman announced as a nominee for the Presidency; and the audiance was dismiss- ed—the Society partaking of "the usual salt "and hominy, with weak fire-water," in the General Committee-room, and the guests and press-gang of a collation, elsewhere.

In the very beautiful volume, before us, we find the record of these proceedings, *in extenso;* and we must say that the Republican party and its remarkable Head Center suffer severely, therein. If Congressman Brooks's application of the Declaration of Independence to the rul- ing powers within our own country, could be placed in the hands of every *thinking* man who is *honest*, it would open some eyes which are not now open; and so, too, with the Oration

and Mr. Cox's Speech, both of which were worthy of their authors.

As we said, the volume is a very handsome one.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

30.—*Register of Cadets admitted into the Military Academy, West Point, N. Y., from its origin to June* 30, 1870. Compiled by Bvt. Major Edward C. Boynton, Adjutant of the Military Academy. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 87.

This little volume is the official Register of *all* the Cadets who have been *admitted into* the Academy, including graduates and non-graduates, with the States whence they were appointed, and the dates of their admission; and the excellent historian of the Point has done a good service to all who have occasion to notice the antecedents of officers and many civilians, by thus placing an accurate record of those who have been educated at the expense of tax-payers, within reach of every one who desires to see it. As a work for convenient reference, it will be an exceedingly useful one to every writer of military history, especially; while the early training of many others—divines and laymen, engineers and politicians—may be found on record herein, for the benefit of those whom it may most concern.

31.—*Minnesota; its resources and progress; its beauty, healthfulness, and fertility; and its attractions and advantages as a home for immigrants.* Compiled by the Commissioner of Statistics, and published by direction of Horace Austin, Governor. St. Paul: Press Printing Company. 1870. Octavo, pp. 72.

A very minute exposition of the advantages afforded by Minnesota, as a place for settlement; and as it is intended for extended gratuitous circulation, in competition with similar works issued by rival States, there is no doubt that Minnesota, in this tract, is made to put her best foot foremost. But, whether or not this is the case, it is a very important "local;" and as, because of its cheapness, it is likely to be overlooked and not preserved, a due regard to the future of this young State should lead all who possess a respect for such floating trifles, to make timely efforts to secure a copy.

It is very neatly printed; and copies may be had of the Secretary of State, at St. Paul.

32.—*Statistics of Minnesota pertaining to its Agriculture, Population, Manufactures, etc., etc., for* 1869. Being the First Annual Report of the Assistant Secretary of State, to the Governor. Made according to Law. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 152.

In this neatly-printed volume, we find one of the most complete statistical compends which we have ever seen, extending over every conceivable subject in which Minnesota figures; filling every conceivable space; and giving dence, in its general make-up and precisio statement, of being as nearly accurate as i possible to make such a work.

It is highly creditable to the Assistant Se tary of State who compiled it; and the S is entitled to respect for having provided fo complete and so useful a yearly volume as t

33.—*Annual Reports of the Board of Education Superintendent of Public Instruction, being the tw fourth Annual Report upon the Schools of New Ho shire. June Session,* 1870. Manchester: John B. Cl State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. 379.

A very minute Report of the various Bo and Officers in whom reposes the duty of o seeing the State schools and higher instituti of learning in the Commonwealth of N Hampshire. It commends itself to the at tion of all who are devoted to the cause of p lic education, as well as to those who are posed to inquire concerning the every-day at home, of New Englanders; while those entertain doubts concerning the much talke superiority of the institutions of that fav part of the world, will not fail to contrast status of the schools and intelligence of N Hampshire—one of the oldest of the six St which form that notable group—as exhib therein, with those of other States, not exhi ed therein, about whom the world hears that is complimentary and of whose surrou ings nothing is told that is praiseworthy.

34.—*First Report of the Superintendent of Publi struction of the State of Tennessee, ending Thursday tober* 7, 1869. John Eaton, Jr., Superintendent Publi struction. Nashville, Tenn: 1869. Octavo, pp. 155, co

This is a very important volume; and s nervous busy-body, whose ambition has led where he had no legal right to go, has colle and presented therein a vast amount of in mation, on a wide range of subjects, whic both interesting and important, even whe has no apparent connection with the subje education, in Tennessee.

It will command attention among educa every where; and, as the record of the be ning of the newly-established school-syste Tennessee, it will continue to be an impor record, for many years to come.

35.—*Acts of the State of Tennessee, passed by the S Session of the Thirty-sixth General Assembly, fo years* 1869-70. Published by authority. Nashville: J Purvis, & Co., Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp

The title-page of this volume indicates character of its contents; and they are so ly like other volumes of Statutes that fu

description of them is unnecessary.

The new Constitution of the State, in independent form, is bound with the Statutes, in the same volume.

36.—*Second Annual Report upon the Geology and Mineralogy of the State of New Hampshire.* By C. H. Hitchcock, Ph.D. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. 37, with a Map.

This tract has been issued in accordance with the Statute establishing the Survey, which authorizes, also, the reservation of the greater portion of the details for the final Report. It is, therefore, very brief; and alludes to only a few leading subjects.

The first subject referred to—and that is quite elaborately discussed—is the proposition, made to the Governor by the Geologist, to prepare a new topographical map of the State, the great value of which will be apparent to every one; and that is followed by allusions, more or less extended, to the measurement of various high positions; to the continued occupation of Mount Moosilauke, during the entire winter—December 20, 1869, until March 1, 1870—by two of the Assistant Surveyors, chiefly for meteorological purposes; to the unusually careful examination of the upper part of Coös-county; and to several minor matters.

As this pamphlet serves only as a passing "report of progress," without presenting any of the great results of the survey, it affords little opportunity for extended comment; and we await, with entire confidence, the completion of the survey, which, unquestionably, will terminate as usefully to the State as it will be honorable to the Surveyor.

37.—*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park, for the year ending December 31, 1869.* New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 187.

"The thirteenth and last" of the Reports of the Commissioners, under whose direction the Park has become one of the most delightful of pleasure-grounds, has been issued and is before us; and the series, which has become exceedingly scarce, has thus been closed. Whether or not the Department of Public Parks will inaugurate a new series remains to be seen.

The volume before us is as beautifully printed and as profusely illustrated as were those which have preceded it; and it records the action of the Commissioners and their employees, in the improvement of the Park, during 1869, with great minuteness.

It forms, in fact, an appropriate termination of the services of the Board; and that body surrenders its authority to those who have succeeded, without having encountered anything, worth its notice, but the general good-will of citizens. May its successors be equally fortunate, both in the ability and success of their administration and in the satisfaction with which their services shall be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the city.

38.—*Journal of the proceedings of the Convention of Delegates elected by the People of Tennessee to amend, revise, or form and make a new Constitution for the State. Assembled in the City of Nashville, January* 10. 1870. Nashville: Jones, Purvis, & Co. Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 467.

In January, 1870, Tennessee ordered a Convention for the revision of her Constitution; and in the volume before us we have the record of the proceedings of that body, supplemented with the Constitution itself, the Act authorizing the vote of the People to call a Convention, the Certificate of its Ratification, etc.

We have not the room which would be necessary to notice, in detail, the action of this Convention; and we content ourself, therefore, with inviting the attention of our readers to the published volume of its Journal and Documents.

39.—*City of New York. Laws of the State affecting interests in the City and County of New York, passed by the Legislature of* 1870. Board of Aldermen, June 4, 1870. Document No. 9. New York: New York Printing Company, Printers to the Corporation. 1870. Octavo, pp. 1181.

Who shall say that the world is not governed too much, when such a body of laws, "affecting interests in the City and County of New "York," as we find in this volume, are passed in one Winter, by one Legislature? Who shall say, too, that a Charter is worth the parchment on which it is written, when such a body of laws as this can be thrust on a single municipality, in open violation of its chartered rights and wholly without its consent?

In this age of political dissipation, however, since *force* has overcome *consent* and *might* has superceded *right*, from the highest to the lowest and from Maine to California, such small favors as this should command thankfulness rather reproach; and we gratefully acknowledge the grace of all, in authority—at the town-hall, the County Court-house, the State Capitol, and Washington—that we have not wholly disappeared in the shape of levies and been wholly forgotten amid the plaudits of partizans to the semblance of greatness which occupies the high places throughout the Republic.

40.—*Geology of Tennessee*, by James M. Safford. A.M., Ph. D., State Geologist, etc. By authority of the General Assembly. Nashville: S. C. Mercer, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. xi, 551, seven plates and descriptions, unpaged.

In 1831, the Legislature authorized a complete survey of the State; and Professor Troost, of the Universary of Nashville, was appointed

State Geologist. He was continued in that office, making nine brief Reports, until 1850; and, in 1854, Professor Safford was appointed to the same office, under the provisions of a Statute which had recently been enacted. In 1856, a small preliminary volume was issued; and, in the volume before us, we have now the perfected results of that prolonged exploration.

As we propose, at an early day, to give a detailed history of these two Surveys of Tennessee, we will not now occupy our space with more than an announcement of the work, for the benefit of such of our readers as are interested in the subject of which it treats.

The volume is a handsome one, illustrated with an excellent map of Tennessee—"the best "geographical map of Tennessee," it is said, "yet published."

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

41.—*Zell's Popular Encyclopedia*, a popular dictionary of English Language, Science, Literature, and Art. By L. Colange, LL.D. In two volumes. Illustrated by over Two Thousand Wood-Cuts. Vol. I. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. 1870. Quarto, pp. iv, 1196.

We have hitherto referred to this excellent work, as it appeared in several Parts; and we return to the subject with the greater pleasure, since the perfected "Vol. I." has enabled us to look at the more complete work and to understand, more perfectly, the design of the editor and the degree of success which has attended his efforts to carry it out.

The Editor placed a great work before himself, when he undertook to make a "popular encyclo- "pedia," of the ordinary class, for an *American* populace; but when he undertook to embrace in his work, *everything* which is capable of being described and classified, the extent of his understanding and the extreme difficulty of carrying out his purpose, within the limits of "two vol- "umes, will be apparent to every one.

In the volume before us, extending from A to Hy, the Editor's plan and his mode of treating it are fully developed; and we find brief, but sufficient, references to, and descriptions and, frequently, pictures of every noticable place, river, mountain, etc., known to our geographers—in the matter of our American geography it is remarkable for its fidelity, which we have carefully tested by turning to the names and finding references to *every* little wayside post-office and passenger-station which we have been able to bring to our recollection—to the various technical terms of Commerce, Art, Law, Divinity, Science, etc., frequently illustrated; to every known quadruped, bird, fish, etc., with descriptions of their habits, and, generally, illustrations of their appearance; to distinguished persons of every age and nation, with brief biographies and frequent portraits; to descriptions of processes of manufactures; to articles of commerce, describing them, their origin, etc.; to "cant-phrases," of all kinds; and, last, but not least, to nearly every word of our language, into which the structure, the different shades of meaning, and examples of its use, are carefully incorporated.

It will be seen that this work is truly a "pop- "ular encyclopedia;" and those who shall admit it into their families, for general use, may dispense, without inconvenience, with all other dictionaries, and gazetteers, and primary treatises, unless in particular instances requiring more than usually detailed examination and notice. Its range of subjects seems to leave nothing unnoticed; its definitions, although brief, are sufficient for all ordinary purposes, in this fast age, and evidently prepared with unusual care and fidelity to the truth; its pictorial illustrations are appropriate and well-executed, and sufficient in number; its typography is a pattern of neatness; and its cost does not prevent it from finding a place in every ordinary household, from Maine to Texas.

The excellent Editor has our hearty wishes for his continued success in his important work; and we shall be glad to learn that the liberal Publisher has been amply rewarded for his judicious and well-directed enterprise.

42.—*A History of the Tenth Regiment, Vermont Volunteers*, with Biographical Sketches of the Officers who fell in Battle and a complete Roster of all the Officers and Men connected with it—showing all changes by Promotion, Death, or Resignation, during the military existence of the Regiment. By Chaplain E. M. Haynes. S. l.: Tenth Vermont Regiment Association. 1870. Octavo, pp. 249.

The Order for the organization of the Tenth Regiment was dated the eighteenth of June, 1862; and the Regiment went into camp, at Brattleboro', on the fifteenth of August; was mustered into the Federal service, on the first of September, with one thousand and sixteen officers and men; left the State, on the sixth of the same month; entered Camp Chase, on Arlington Heights, on the ninth; fought at Brandy Station, The Wilderness, between the Annas, at Cold Harbor, Monocacy, Winchester, Fisher's-hill, Cedar-creek, Petersburg, and Richmond; and were mustered out—four hundred and sixty-four of the one thousand and sixteen—on the twenty-second of June, 1864. It was one of the very best of the Regiments in the service; and its honors were bravely won and as bravely sustained on the bloody fields to which we have referred.

In the beautiful volume before us, for which we are indebted to our esteemed friend, J. G. Elder, Esquire, of Lewiston, Maine, the services of this Regiment are modestly, yet fully, recorded by its Chaplain; and we have seldom laid

down a volume with the perusal of which we have been so completely satisfied, whether in its style or its completeness, as we have been with this.

As a specimen of typography, too, it is very superior; and the mechanics of Lewiston, where it was printed, have just reason to be proud of it.

43.—*The Universe*: or, the infinitely great and the infinitely little. By F. A. Pouchet, M.D., etc. Translated from the French. New Edition, revised by the author. Illustrated by 343 engravings on wood and four coloured plates. From drawings by A. Faguet, Mesnel, Emile Bayard, and J. Stewart. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. xx, 818.

The author of this magnificent volume tells us that his "sole object, in writing this work, was "to inspire and extend, to the utmost, a taste "for natural science;" and, in that good work, he has gone everywhere, and attempted to show that "Nature, everywhere, affords matter for interesting observations. The animal and the vegetable worlds, and the earth and the heavens, "appear by turns upon the scene;" and he has produced, not a learned treatise, but a simple elementary study, conceived with the idea of inducing the reader to seek in other works for more extensive and more profound knowledge. Nearly three hundred and fifty beautifully-executed engravings illustrate the elegant text; and, considered as a whole, it is one of the most beautiful of volumes; and there is no one which is better suited for those who are accustomed to read for instruction and to reflect on what they read.

44.—*Presbyterian Re-union;* a memorial volume. 1837–1871. New York: Dewitt C. Lent & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii. 568. Price $3.50.

The division of the Presbyterian Churches in America, into the "Old School" and the "New "School," some thirty years ago, will be remembered by many of our older readers: the re-union of the conflicting parties, one of the effects of the prevailing tendency to consolidation, in every department of now-a-day's life, will be remembered, as an occurrence of the past few months, by the youngest of our friends.

There was something so bitter in the separation that it was proper that there should be something more lovely in the consolidation; and it was proper, too, that there should be a testimonial and a record of that re-union, in order that unborn generations may understand how sad it is to live in discord and how delightful to see how Christians love one another.

In the volume before us, we have such a record of this notable event, or, rather, of this series of notable events, from the pens of such competent writers, as its importance calls for; and the peculiarity of its structure has added to its value, as such a record, ensuring for it the greatest possible accuracy, in all its parts.

Thus, the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., presents a *Historical Review of the Church (Old School) since 1837*, and the Rev. Jonathan T. Stearns, D.D., presents a similar *Historical Review of the Church (New School)*; the Rev. William Sprague, LL.D., presents a series of biographical sketches of notables in the Old School churches, and the Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, D.D., presents a similar series of sketches of notables in the New School; the Rev. William Adams, D.D., LL.D., presents a history of Re-union, in its origin and processes; the Assemblies of 1869, of both Schools, are described by the Rev. Melancthon W. Jacobus, D.D. and the Rev. Philemon H. Fowler, D.D.; the Rev. G. S. Plumley describes the Assemblies of 1870, and the process of Re-construction, past and future; and the Rev. John Hall, D.D. speculates concerning *The Future Church*, and tries to define duties, and makes bold to foretell results. In an Appendix, Rev. Doctor Irving presents the *Statistics of the Church (Old School Branch)* and Rev. Doctor Hatfield presents those of the Church, (New School Branch); the Rev. James H. M. Knox, D.D., presents sketches of the Committee by whom the work of re-union was transacted; a number of documents follow; and a moderate index closes the work.

In such an array of able writers, each describing events with which he was most conversant, there seems to have been furnished the most reliable guarantee of strict accuracy of statement and the greatest impartiality; and we cannot perceive how an authoritative work, on this important subject, and, at the same time, an interesting one, could have been more certainly secured than by such a process, from such pens. We are assured—we speak the opinions of others who are better acquainted with the facts which are herein recited than we, ourself, are—that the novel experiment of joint authorship has been eminently successful; and that such a memorial has been lifted up, before the people, as is worthy of the occasion and of those who commemorated it.

Typographically, the volume is a very handsome one; and we shall be glad to learn that the excellent young house which has produced it has been liberally recompensed for its commendable enterprise.

45.—*Collections on the History of Albany, from its discovery to the present time*, with Notices of its Public Institutions, and Biographical Sketches of Citizens deceased. Vol. III. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Royal Octavo, pp. viii, 498.

We have hitherto noticed the successive issues of this elegant work; and we have nothing to

add to what we have already said of the high character of the matter, as material for history, which it contains, and of its beauty as a specimen of the perfection to which modern typography has attained in Albany; but we must protest, as we do, against the reproduction, in its pages, of the ancient records of the Colony, translated by Professor Pearson, which have been already printed in a separate volume of no greater beauty than this, and sold, because of its small edition, at more than double the price at which this second edition of it is sold.

There is a right and a wrong way of doing things; and the publication of books is not outside this general rule. When these records were issued and purchased by Collectors and Students, at a high price, they were not told that the same work, in just as good a dress and *supplemented with other matter to a greater extent than itself*, would soon be issued, as a portion of his current *Collections of the History of Albany*, by the same publisher, and at the same price; and we maintain, and we appeal to all who are conversant with such matters, as judges between ourself and Mr. Munsell, to determine whether or not usage and right have not been violated in the reproduction referred to.

It may be true that Mr. Munsell did not *legally* bar himself from such a re-production, by any specific promise that he would not re-print the records; and he may say that he has not, therefore, violated any acquired right, in thus re-printing them; but we insist that usage, in this case, has established the right of purchasers, when no reservation has been made of the privilege to re-print; and that that usage and its consequent right cannot be violated without wrong-doing, by any one, even by our honest, hard-working, ill-paid, and deserving friend, Joel Munsell.

Need we cite examples? "The Club" did not copy-right its publications, and its volumes, therefore, were open to the public, to be plundered or reproduced at will; yet the torrent of contempt which was thrown upon "The Franklin Club" of Philadelphia, when, in order to make something out of the eager demand for that volume, it re-produced the *Melvin's Journal* which "The Club" had issued, is known to many others than ourself; and we remember, too, without the least dissatisfaction, the eager anxiety which was manifested and the earnest protests which were sent to us, when we informally indicated our reasonable desire to re-produce the *ninety* copies of our *Putnam* which, besides those belonging to others, were burned in the fire in Beekman-street, New York, although the original number of two hundred and fifty would not then have been restored and no one would have been affected, unfavorably, except those who had purchased copies at advanced prices, because of its increased scarcity.

We insist, therefore, that those who buy copies of books of this class, at high prices, shall be protected from re-issues, *at any rates*, by the same publisher, unless the right to make such a re-issue shall have been originally reserved; and we shall not hesitate to condemn every one who, within our knowledge, shall violate this commendable usage.

But to the volume before us. The first half is occupied with the *Records*, of which we have written: the last half of various papers, concerning Albany and Albanians, which will usefully serve every one who has the least desire to look into these very interesting subjects.

The volume is profusely illustrated; and as a specimen of typography it is very superior.

46.—*An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith, during his Captivity with the Indians, in the years* 1755, '56, '57, '58, and '59. With an Appendix of Illustrative Notes. By William M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo. pp. xii, 190. Price $2.50.

This volume is the fifth of *The Ohio Valley Series*—that elegant series of western books, published in the West—of which we have hitherto written in these pages.

It is a narrative of a captivity among the Indians, "in which the Customs, Manners, Traditions, Theological Sentiments, Mode of Warfare, Military Tactics, Discipline and Encampments, Treatment of Prisoners, etc.," as they were practised by the Delawares, nearly a century and a quarter ago, are described; and it is enriched with appropriate Notes, sufficiently numerous and amply sustained by competent authorities, from the pen of our respected friend, William M. Darlington, Esq., of Pittsburgh. A good Index closes the volume.

The author of this narrative was a Pennsylvanian; born in 1737; married in 1763; led the Black-boys in 1763 and 1769; a Lieutenant in the Boquet Expedition, in 1764; served in the Army of the Revolution, in which he attained the rank of Colonel; was a member of the General Assembly of Kentucky; and, having been licensed to preach, became a Missionary among the Indians. He died in Kentucky, in 1812.

The narrative of such a man, concerning what he actually saw and endured, would be interesting under any circumstances; but in such a case as this, wherein his story extended over the history of what is now the third State of the Union, during a term of years, it necessarily possesses unusual interest to those who now occupy that territory and to all students of American history, the world over.

We do not suppose that any one will imagine

that such a narrative will do more than portray the observations of the author, concerning the Indians, as they were, *in Ohio, at the time he lived among them;* nor that the description contained therein will accurately set forth the manners, etc., of the aborigines, as they were before the whites approached their hunting-grounds and infused new ideas into their limited codes of religion and politics. Nevertheless, such works are locally interesting, and the careful student cannot prudently pass without examining them; and the excellent Publishers have done well to re-produce it, with Mr. Darlington's Notes, as a part of their *Ohio Valley Series*.

We often wonder, by the way, if "the Ohio "Valley" really sustains the Publishers of this excellent series, in the good work which they are doing so admirably for the History of the West; and we sometimes venture to fear that their enterprise is not sufficiently rewarded by those for whose especial benefit that enterprise has been employed. These volumes are so important to all who would know her History, that the West should amply reward the spirited Western house which has issued them; and we earnestly beg that the fate which, in the East, has befallen so many who have endeavored to serve those who would look into the details of our country's history, may not befall the Publishers of *The Ohio Valley Series*.

47.—*A History of Oregon*, 1792–1849, drawn from personal observation and authentic information. By W. H. Gray of Astoria. Published by the Author for subscribers. Portland, O.: Harris & Holman. 1870. Octavo, pp. 624.

The early history of Oregon presents the record of as much of a struggle for power by the rival Missions which had been sent there as that of Kansas presents of contests between rival political parties; and it is remarkable that peace was secured in that new country, under such circumstances.

This volume opens with the history of the Columbia-river, and carries it through the settlement of Astoria, to 1849. It was written by one of the earliest American settlers in that part of the Continent, the secular Agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and the detailed descriptions, sustained by copies of hitherto unpublished documents, could not have been written, with so much minuteness, except by an eye-witness and active participant in the proceedings referred to. Indeed, if there is any fault to be found with the work—of which fault-finding *we* shall not be guilty—it will be because of the painful minuteness and the decided tone of independence with which it has been written, and of the elaborate citation of unpublished documents with which the narrative has been established.

It is, in short, less a history than a storehouse of material for history, from which the historian may draw, at will, even the smallest articles required in the construction of his edifice; and it is, therefore, a volume of the first importance to all who would learn the history of the States on our Pacific Coast.

It is printed in tolerably neat style, on poor paper, by Alvord of New York.

48.—*The Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the primitive organization of the Congregational Church and Society, in Franklin, Connecticut, October 14th, 1868.* New Haven: 1869. Octavo, pp. 151.

A historical Address delivered in Franklin, Connecticut, October 14th, 1868, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town, and the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Ecclesiastical Organization. By Ashbel Woodward, M. D. Second Edition. New Haven: 1870. Octavo, pp. 102.

As these two volumes relate to the same subject, we have placed them under one head in order to save the repetition which would be necessary, were we to notice them separately.

The town of Franklin, one of the secluded spots of Connecticut, occupies territory in the Narragansett country which was purchased in 1659, settled in 1660, and distributed in 1663. The inhabitants were organized into a separate Ecclesiastical Society in 1716; and incorporated during the same year. The first meeting-house was finished in 1729; and the first Church, "co-ordinate with the Society in the manage-"ment of religious affairs," was organized, and a Pastor ordained, in October, 1718.

It was the anniversary of that Ordination which was celebrated in 1868, and recorded in these volumes; and that celebration was made by the inhabitants of the town, in the manner of a reunion of the Sons and Daughters of Franklin, those who had wandered being invited to return and those who had remained performing the part of hosts.

The Lieutenant-governor of the State presided on the occesion; Mr. Gilman prayed; an Opening Hymn, by Miss F. M. Caulkins, the historian of Norwich and New London, was sung; our good friend, Doctor Ashbel Woodward, welcomed the incomers; the Reverend Doctor Arms read the Scriptures, *Isaiah* xxxv., and prayed; Doctor Woodward delivered an Historical Address; singing followed; then a Historical Sermon, by Reverend Franklin C. Jones; Reverend E. C. Jones prayed; singing, again, varied the services; and, then, an amply-supplied Collation. After dinner, an Anthem was sung; letters from absentees were read; a Poem was read by A. G. Chester, of Buffalo; the choir sang; speeches, short and pithy, were delivered by Reverend T. L. Shipman of Jewett City, Rev. Hiram P. Arms of Norwich Town, Rev. Anson Gleason of the

Choctaw Mission, Rev. David Metcalf, Rev. W. H. Moore, Rev. J. R. Avery of Groton, Rev. J. W. Backus, Rev. G. J. Harrison, Thomas D. Stetson, and Rev. Jesse Fillmore; Rev. Anson Gleason prayed; the choir sang; the benediction was pronounced; and the celebration was among the events of the past.

In the first-named of these volumes, all these services are minutely recorded. Doctor Woodward's excellent Address, on the Civil History of the Society and Town, being supplemented with elaborate Notes, containing the original Indian Deed of Norwich, which also embraced Franklin; an examination of the various Indian names, by the master-hand of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull; a list of the original Proprietors of Norwich; separate notices of the principal original settlers of Franklin; a list of College-graduates from Franklin; sketches of the Clergymen "who "have been raised up in Franklin," and of the Physicians and distinguished individuals who have hailed from there, which are peculiarly valuable; and Mr. Jones's Sermon, with its brief supplement, is also well-written and important as material for history. The Poem was much better than such productions generally are; and the short addresses, as far as they are reported, were appropriate and well-received.

In the last-named of the volumes, we have a re-production of the report of the preliminary meetings, the opening proceedings of the anniversary, and the Historical Address by Doctor Woodward. It was printed, principally for private circulation, in an edition of two hundred and fifty copies only; and it is a little taller and issued in a little better dress than the other.

Both these volumes are illustrated with a neat map of "Norwich West Farms"—now Franklin—"1663-1725" and several portraits; and both are very neatly printed.

49.—*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.* By James Anthony Froude, M.A. Reign of Elizabeth, Volumes V and VI. [*of the entire series, XI and XII.*] New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. [XI.] 702; [XII.] 658. Price $1.50 per volume.

We have so often and so emphatically noticed this series of volumes, that little is left unsaid; but our readers will be interested in the information that the work is now complete, both in the Library and the Popular editions; that both are deserving the most liberal support; and that the edition before us, especially, is at once a marvel of neatness and cheapness. Every library, public and private, should possess a copy of one of these editions; and the remarkable shaking which he has given to some portions of English History, as we formerly read it, should not be allowed to escape the notice of any who profess to be intelligent.

50.—*The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians.* By Edmund de Schweinitz. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp.

David Zeisberger was born at the village of Zauchtenthal, now a station on the railway from Cracow to Vienna, in Moravia, on the eleventh of April, 1721. He was descended from members of the Bohemian Brethren; and, when five years of age, was carried by his refugee parents into Upper Lusatia, in order to avoid the persecutions in Moravia. In 1736, his parents emigrated to Georgia, leaving him in Saxony; but, some years after, with the assistance of General Oglethorpe, he followed them to the New World. When the Brethren's settlement in Georgia was broken up, during the Spanish War, Zeisberger accompanied Peter Boehler to the settlement made by Whitfield, at the "forks of the Delaware" and, afterwards, to the spot where Bethlehem now is. Subsequently, he devoted himself to the Indian Mission; was sent to the Mohawk Country, in order to learn the language; was arrested as a spy; was a guest and pupil of King Hendrick, at Canajoharie; was again arrested, carried back to New York, and cast into prison; was appointed, in 1745, an associate of Bishop Spangenberg, in his mission to negociate with the Iroquois, for the transfer of the Mission from Shekmeko to Wyoming; was adopted into the Onondagas, with the name of "Ganousseracheri"—*on the pumpkin;*—was sent to Shamokin, in 1748, as Mack's assistant; was one of an embassy to Onondaga, in 1750; visited Europe, in the same year, in behalf of the Church, in order to report to Count Zinzendorf, the character, difficulties, and necessities of the Mission; was appointed, by the Count himself, "perpetual Missionary" to the Indians; visited Shamokin and the region of the Susquehannah, as far as Wyoming, in 1751; again visited Shamokin, in 1752; and was appointed to Onondaga, in the same year. He visited New England, in 1755; North Carolina, in 1756; Wyoming, in 1762; was sent, as resident Missionary, to Machiwihlusing, in Bradford-county, Pennsylvania, in 1765, and, in 1766, as a messenger to the Cayugas. In 1767, he visited the Indians living on the Alleghany-river; was sent there as a Missionary, in 1768; visited Ohio, in 1770; settled there, in 1771; visited the Shawnees, in 1772; actively participated in all the border troubles, between the Indians and the Whites, until the opening of the War of the Revolution; greatly influenced the Indians, during the troubles which ensued;

returned to Bethlehem, in 1781; was married to Susan Lecron, on the fourth of June, 1781; returned to Ohio, with his wife; was carried prisoner, by the Wyandots, to Detroit; returned to the Sandusky, where he built a church and effected a settlement; was removed to Detroit, in 1782; settled New Gnadenhutten, in Michigan; attempted to organize a new mission settlement on the Cuyahoga, in Ohio, but, in consequence of the Indian troubles, without success; removed, with his Mission, to Canada; returned to Ohio, in 1798, and founded Goshen; where he seems to have continued until the seventeenth of November, 1808, when he died, after a faithful service, as a Missionary, of sixty-two years. He was more than eighty-seven years of age; and his literary labors had been, also, of the first importance to the historian and the ethnologist.

A Memoir of the life and labors of such a man, if faithfully and judiciously written, must be peculiarly important, as a contribution not only to the ecclesiastical but to the civil history of Pennsylvania, Western New York, Ohio, and Michigan, and not only concerning the early settlement of the country, by the whites, but its previous occupation by the Indians; and we have pleasure in saying that the volume before us seems to fill, with admirable completeness, the demand which any one may reasonably make, in such a case. The preparation of a *Geographical Glossary*, at the close of the Memoir, in which are "the names of those Indian towns, early set-"tlements, forts, rivers, and creeks" which are used in this work, was a happy idea; and its extreme usefulness, for reference, will commend it to every student of the history of the country, during the period referred to.

But it is not alone by reason of the character of this volume as a Memoir of the life and times of Zeisberger, the Missionary, that this volume has arrested our attention. It contains, too, one of the most interesting sketches of the character, history, etc., of the Indians, from 1497 to 1620; an admirable pen-picture of the Colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, as they were in 1745; an elaborate essay on the government, manners, customs, character, and religion of the Delawares and Iroquois, as they were in the days of Zeisberger; an interesting survey of the Moravian Missions, 1549–1745; various important items concerning the early settlement of the West; etc., all of which cannot be safely overlooked by those who notice those subjects.

We have hitherto alluded to the marvellous services rendered by the Missionaries of the Moravian Church—services which can be compared, in their disinterestedness, earnestness, and sufferings, only with those of the early Jesuits—and we have learned more of them, and our interest therein has been increased, by our perusal of this exceedingly interesting work. Our readers will share with us in our estimate of the importance of the volume, if they will take the trouble to look into it.

51.—*A Collection of the Proverbs of all Nations.* Compared, Explained, and Illustrated by Walter K. Kelly. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869. 16mo., pp. viii, 232. Price $1.25.

In this very beautiful volume, the proverbs of various nations have been diligently collected; and they have been compared, explained, and classified therein, and amply indexed, making the collection available for immediate use.

It is decidedly the best collection of proverbs that we have yet seen; and the beauty of its typography will secure a welcome for it, wherever it shall appear.

52.—*Light at Evening time*, a book of support and comfort for the aged. Edited by John Stanford Holme, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 352.

Certainly one of the most welcome volumes for the aged, whether considered in the character of its well-selected contents or in the beautiful, bold faced, large-sized type with which it is printed.

The purpose of the Editor has been to assist the aged in the performance of their duties and in the enjoyment of their Christian privileges; and he has done so by presenting a series of brief articles, from the most eminent authors, of all countries, and in the greatest variety both of matter and form. Nothing has been admitted "which is not eminently evangelical in its senti-"ment and nothing offensively sectarian in "doctrine."

We are pleased to perceive that the volume is inscribed to our friend, Peter Balen, Esqr., whose name will be recognized, the country over, as that of the upright merchant and the consistent Christian gentleman.

53.—*Life and Correspondence of George Read a Signer of the Declaration of Independence with notices of some of his contemporaries.* By his Grandson William Thompson Read. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 575.

This title does not accurately convey to the reader the real character of the volume before us, which is, in fact, a minute history of the times in which George Read lived, in the recital of which that gentleman's part in the drama is modestly and not too elaborately described, as merely incidental to the great movements in which he participated.

It is true, that the narrative repeats very much with which every intelligent reader is already very perfectly familiar; but there is not much of

even that portion of our country's history which does not, therein, enjoy some illustration, from a hitherto unpublished letter, from a family tradition, or from an examination of published material which is not readily accessible. The volume before us, therefore, as a whole, will be exceedingly useful to those who would know more of the *inside history* of the times, from the opening of the War of the Revolution until the establishment of the new system of Government, in 1789; and to those who would know more of the history of the State of Delaware, during that period, than they can readily find, in print, elsewhere, this volume will be found to possess unusual interest.

The narrative, it is true, may be tedious to some, because of its careful notice of what may seem to have been very little matters; but we like it all the better for this, as every other careful student of the history of those times will; and we thank the author, too, for the elaborate Notes with which he has supplemented the several Chapters, enabling him to throw into distinct articles, the material which he could not have introduced into the text without confusing, and thereby destroying the usefulness of, the narrative, to the general reader. We thank him, too, for the presentation of the original material on which his narrative mainly rests—the hitherto unpublished correspondence of Mr. Read with his contemporaries, outside as well as within the State of Delaware. The general reader may thereby test the author's ability and integrity, in the work which he has undertaken; but the plodding student of the history of those times, caring less about this more circumscribed use of it, will resort to it, in all time, hereafter, as one of the most important collections of original material, illustrative of the revolutionary period of our country's history and of the men who figured in it.

It will not be supposed that errors have not crept into such a work, written, as it has evidently been, at a distance from the larger libraries of the cities and those who are found near them; and we need only allude, as a notable instance, to the elaborate note, on "The signature of the Declaration of Independence," occupying page 229, of the volume, the whole of which is based on an error—the Declaration was *not*, as Mr. Read supposes and says in this Note, "signed July 4th 1776," but some time after that date, when that celebrated instrument had been amended, because of the accession of New York, who had not voted, either for or against the measure, on the fourth of July.

It is to be regretted, too, that a work which contains so many details, and refers to so many persons has neither a Table of Contents nor an Index; and its usefulness will be less marked and less generally recognised because of this very unaccountable omission.

Typographically, this volume is a very handsome one, tempting the reader by its beautiful pages almost as much as by the importance of their contents.

54.—*A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson, with elegant and illustrative extracts from her writings in prose and poetry.* By Elias Nason, M. A. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. 212.

Mrs. Rowson was the daughter of an officer of the Revenue Service, in Massachusetts, while that community was a Colony of Great Britain; and the loyalty of her father was followed, under the sanction of the insurgents' Government, by the robbery of his property, his exposure to hard usage and poverty as a prisoner, and his banishment to Halifax. She went to England, with her father; endured many hardships, from poverty; became a Governess and a writer; married a Band-master, in the Guards; with her husband and his sister, went on the Stage; was brought to America, with her husband and sister-in-law, as members of Mr. Wignell's Chestnut-street Company, in Philadelphia; thence went to Boston, as a member of the Company belonging to the Federal-street theater; changed the stage for a School and became famous as a teacher, at Medford, Roxbury, and Boston; was the favored one of the gentility of New England, as a teacher of young ladies; and died in 1824.

She is best known, in her authorial capacity, as the author of *Charlotte Temple;* but her pen was one of the most prolific of its kind; and her works embraced both prose and poetry.

In the beautiful volume before us, Mr. Nason has carefully noticed the various phases of her eventful career and her numerous writings; and his readers have been favored with extended specimens of the latter, some of which are very well written.

The volume is very handsomely printed.

55.—*Directory of Booksellers, Stationers, Newsdealers and Music Dealers and List of Libraries in the United States and Canada.* Complete to November 1, 1870. New York: John H. Dingman. 1870. Octavo, pp. 456

This is a volume which will be found very useful to every one who has intercouse, or who desires to have intercouse, with "The Trade," in either of the departments referred to in the title-page; and the list of Libraries, at the end, will be found extremely useful to all who are bibliographically inclined.

It is the work of a young man, of great personal worth, who serves Charles Scribner & Co., the well-known New York publishers, in a responsible position; and we have reason to believe that the utmost credit is due to him for accuracy, in

the preparation of the work. To all unto whom the author appeals for support, we most heartily commend him and his volume.

56.—*Songs of Home*, selected from many sources, with numerous illustrations from original designs, by Fenn, Hennessy, Griswold, La Farge, Macdonough, Hoppin, Boughton, Barry, Etc., Etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Small quarto, p. 176.

The second of the series of elegant volumes in which the *Folk Songs* are re-issued—the *Songs of Life*, issued last year, having been the first, and *the Songs of the Heart* and *Songs of Nature*, which are promised for future issue, concluding the work, in this form.

The high character of the text of this volume—selected, as it has been, from the very best writers—and the extreme beauty of the illustrations—the handiwork of the most talented of our artists—are combined, in this volume, to produce one of the most appropriate, as it is one of the most beautiful, of the gift-books of the season.

It is from the Riverside Press; and in that fact will be found a sufficient reason for its beauty.

57.—*Books and Reading; or, what books shall I read and how shall I read them?* By Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. viii, 378.

The questions asked in the title-page of this work are so exceedingly important to every body, that we turned over the leaves of the volume with great expectations, not doubting that we should be wisely answered, by one who is, himself, so distinguished among the learned men of the land. But, we are sorry to say, Doctor Porter's has said *too much* in his answers to those questions: the great world is in too much of a hurry, as it gobbles down its morning-papers while it is riding down town on the horse-cars, to wade through nearly four hundred pages in order to learn *what* it shall read and *how* it shall read them: it has not the "time" to do so nor will the operation "pay."

There is no doubt that what Doctor Porter has said, in this octavo, is very good, *per se:* there is no doubt that those who shall read it will be entertained, elegantly. But why could not the Doctor have *answered his own questions* more directly and more usefully, because with fewer words and more practical good judgment?

There could have been no more useful service, by a Professor of Yale, to the swarm of busy bees which covers our wide-spread country, than to tell it just *what books to read*, and *why*, and just *how* they should be read. But that service has not been rendered in this volume; nor will the crowd of anxious ones, whose leisure is only after it has supped, venture to wade so far, and in such deep water, to ascertain if Scott's, or Clarke's, or Gill's Commentaries on the Bible, or Gordon's or Lossing's histories of the American Revolution, is the best, and wherein the one surpasses the others, and how either shall be read, when read, at all.

Let some practical, every-day man answer the two questions which Doctor Porter has offered; and let him answer them amply. As much greater service will then have been rendered to practical, every-day men—and others will not need Doctor Porter's instructions—as a mountain is greater than a molehill.

When will our Collegians learn wisdom—we had almost said, common-sense?

58.—*On the Trail of the War.* By Alexander Innes Shand, Occasional Correspondent of *The London Times*. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 84. Price 35 cents.

This work is nothing more nor less than the recollections of a Correspondent of *The Times*, "on the *trail* of the War" which is now convulsing Europe—not on the *front*—and it deals, therefore, less with the active operations than with the results, and consequences, and *debris* of the struggle.

It will find many readers among those who are watching the contest; and we have no doubt, from the hasty glance which we have given it, that it will amply repay the perusal.

59.—*My Apingi Kingdom: with life in the Great Sahara, and Sketches of the chase of the Ostrich, Hyena, etc.* By Paul Du Chaillu. Numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 254. Price $1.75.

There are no more attractive volumes before the young public than those from the pen of this popular author; and we can readily understand, therefore, the reason for their success. Crammed with stories of adventures in the wilderness of Africa—with stories of danger, such as few have ever encountered, and stories of hair-breadth escapes, as if by miracles—they arrest the attention of every one who dares to open them; and the reader's interest in the narrative is not allowed to flag, for a moment, while he is hurried, insensibly, to the end of it, regretting, when he gets there, that there are no more lions nor tigers to terrify him and no more wonders of manly daring to be amazed at.

Typographically, the volume is exceedingly attractive.

60.—*Wentworth's American Hardware & Metal Trades Directory.* Comprising a complete list of the Manufacturers, Importers, Wholesale and Retail Dealers, Commission Merchants, Brokers, and Artisans in all the baser Metals and all Goods manufactured from them, in the United States. Price $6.00. Boston: Wentworth & Co. 1870. Quarto, pp. 487.

Our esteemed young friends, the publishers of this volume, are widely known as publishers of Directories, and Registers, and Gazetteers; and their enterprise entitles them to as much of our admiration as their accuracy secures of our confidence and regard.

The title-page of the volume describes the contents and character of the work; and little remains for us to do, in this respect, but to remark that the names and addresses of all Agricultural Implement makers, Anchor-smiths, Bell-founders, Brass founders and finishers, Boiler and Car-wheel makers, Coppersmiths, Cutlers, Gas-fitters, Dealers, Drain-pipe makers, Emery workers, File-makers, Fire-brick makers, Furnaces, Forges, Glue-makers, Hardware manufacturers and Dealers, Founders, Hose-makers, Lead Pipe makers, Machinists, Brokers and Dealers in Metals, Nail-makers, etc., throughout the Union, followed by the Cards and Advertisements of those who advertise, are arranged in the order of States and made as convenient for speedy reference as they very well can be.

The printing having been done by Rand & Avery, Boston, we need say nothing of its neatness—they send no unworkmanlike job from their office—and as this is the first Directory devoted to the American Hardware and Metal Trades, we earnestly hope that our young friends may be encouraged to renew it, hereafter.

61.—*The Writings of Anne Isabella Thackeray.* With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 425.

The daughter of Thackery has written several short sketches and some brief stories, all possessing great merit; and in this neatly-printed volume these have been brought together. They are very readable; and will serve to while away an hour of leisure, very agreeably.

62.—*Introduction to Anglo-Saxon.* An Anglo-Saxon Reader, with Philological Notes, a brief Grammar, and a Vocabulary. By Francis A. March. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 166.

This very beautiful book should go into the hands of every one who aims to be considered as merely *learned*, without regard to the usefulness, in every-day life, of the learning which he cultivates. If "discipline" is wanted, this volume will furnish it quite as well and more usefully than Roman and Grecian languages, whose very pronunciation is a matter of doubt, as to its accuracy, between rival and discordant parties. If philological knowledge of the English language is to be regarded of any importance, among our young men, the Anglo-Saxon cannot be properly disregarded.

The volume before us is intended to combine all the material which is requisite for beginners in the study of this ancient tongue; and it contains, therefore, a Reader, a Grammar, and a Vocabulary. Of course, we are unable to pass on its merits; but its professed object is an excellent one, in some respects, and it has our best wishes.

63.—*Morning and Evening Exercises;* selected from the published and unpublished writings of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Edited by Lyman Abbott. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 560.

This volume contains a series of short "exercises"—readings, for morning and evening devotional services—selected, as the title-page indicates, from the writings of the distinguished Pastor of the Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn. Each of these exercises is a short, crispy, and practical sermon, in miniature; each presenting some single thought, in the most forcible language; and all of them written in a style and with such illustrations as must arrest the attention, even if they do not convince the judgment, of the most thoughtless reader. The collection will be a welcome one for the purpose of family worship.

64.—*An Index to Harper's* New Monthly Magazine, *Volumes I. to XL.: from June,* 1850, *to May,* 1870. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 433.

Who does not know something of the value of an Index; and who has not, before now, laid aside, in despair, some excellent work, simply because, for the want of an Index, he could not find just what he had been looking for?

We have before us an Index of a series of forty volumes, into which have been crowded, during twenty years, thousands of articles, from hundreds of pens, on every conceivable subject, and very often of great value and worthy of re-perusal. The labor of preparing such an Index has been immense; but its usefulness cannot be described, nor will that usefulness ever be less than it is now.

Every paper which has appeared in *Harpers' Magazine*, since its beginning, is indexed under its title, and often under other initial words; and it appears again under the name of its author and in the group of subjects to which it belongs. The illustrations are indexed by their titles, under the head of the article which they illustrate. The various items of the editorial

department are fully indexed; and the Travels, Hunting-scenes, Customs of Countries, and Arctic Adventures, in all their variety, are seperately indexed; as, too, are all that relate to strange peoples and partially-exploded countries. In short, it is as perfect as such an Index can be made; and it is a fit accompaniment of the first forty volumes of the excellent work which it describes.

It is very neatly printed, *on one side*, only, of the paper.

65.—*Adventures of a Young Naturalist.* By Lucien Biart. Edited and adapted by Parker Gilmore. With one hundred and seventeen illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 491.

One of those volumes for young people, after the pattern of those written by Chaillu, which have become so widely known and so generally sought.

It differs from Du Chaillu, however, in this, it relates to Mexico instead of Africa, and it describes the adventures and observations of a young naturalist, accompanying his father on a tour of observation, instead of the startling adventures of a single hunter, accompanied only by his servants and his dogs.

It is an exceedingly attractive volume, both because of the character of its text and the beauty of its illustrations; and it is well calculated to secure the admiration of those for whom it was published.

66.—*Address. The present relations of Parties. Duty of the Republican Party to adjust the questions with other Nations, brought out by the Rebellion, and to protect American Fisheries against British aggression.* By Benjamin F. Butler, Music Hall, Boston, Nov. 23, 1870. Marden & Rowell, Printers, Lowell. [1870.]

There has been much said about this *Address*; and our readers are somewhat acquainted with its tenor and temper. We shall not be expected to follow the author in his wanderings, nor to controvert his contradictions of himself and of the truth; but we must say that if this *Address* is to be taken as a fair sample of the products of General Butler's celebrated brain and tongue, that gentleman is very much less of a lawyer, a statesman, and a man than we had supposed him to be. He seems to have never learned, unless he has since forgotten, the rudiments of American governmental science; and it would be well, it seems to us, before he shall undertake to teach others, to teach himself.

67.—*The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, K.G., G.C.B., Etc.* With Selections, from his Diaries and Correspondence. By the Right Hon. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, G.C.B., M.P. Volumes I. and II. Phila.: J.B. Lippincott & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp, (I) 377; (II) 380.

There have been few, among the leading statesmen of the world, who have occupied more space in the history of their times than Lord Palmerston, who was, successively, Secretary at War, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Home Secretary, and Prime Minister of Great Britain, and, for many years, her controlling genius.

In the two volumes before us, we find what is evidently only the beginning of what is unquestionably an authorised memoir of that distinguished man, from the pen of one of his most intimate friends, who has enjoyed, in his labors, the advantages afforded by information obtained from the family and private papers of the deceased; and, therein, we have a survey of the political affairs of Europe, as seen from the Foreign Office, in London, to the fall of the Whig Cabinet, in 1841. Succeeding volumes of the series will necessarily embrace the record of the noble Lord's last term of service, as Foreign Secretary; the whole of that as Home Secretary; and the nine years service, as Prime Minister, which were the crowning honors of his life, all of which will indicate how important the work is to every one who is at all interested in the history of Europe, and of America, too, during the past century.

These volumes are a pattern of neatness in book-making, which may be usefully followed by some who make more pretensions than do the publishers of this work.

68.—*Suburban Sketches.* By W. D. Howels. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 234.

Evidently the work of one who has lived in the suburbs; and whose eyes and ears have been open while he lived there. Indeed, no one could have written the sketch of *Mrs. Johnson*, if he had not lived in the suburbs; seen the sights and heard the sounds which prevail there; encountered the vexation of servant-girls of both the classes referred to; and paid as dearly for the whistle as his pocket-book has permitted. The cold comfort dispensed to the one-armed soldier, on the door-step, too; and the old tavern, at Charlesbridge—probably a picture of a once existing spot, in Cambridge—the life on the horse-cars; and many others, are so true to the facts—as every one who has lived either in Charlesbridge, or Morrisania, or any other suburb, can testify to—that we can sympathise with the victim, in the one case, because we have too often shared in his experience, while we can testify to the accuracy of his sketches, in others, because all *suburban* realities, whether in Charlesbridge or elsewhere, are cut off the same piece and are exactly similar in character.

The volume is a very handsome one—a product of the Riverside Press.

69.—*Puss-cat Mew, and other Stories for my children.* By E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M. P. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 317.

This beautiful volume contains a number of stories for children—fairy-tales, in most instances—which will be found very attractive to the little-ones of the family.

It is very neatly printed and the illustrations are well adapted to illustrate the exciting text of the stories.

70.—*The Student's Manual of Oriental History. A Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the commencement of the Median War;* by Francois Lenormant and E. Chevallier. In two volumes. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. Crown octavo, pp. (I) xx, 539; (II) xii, 395.

The "Manuals," which occasionally come before us, are among the most useful of the issues from the press; and, in this busy age, when every body is in a hurry, the concentrated information which they contain and so handily present to the practical reader, render them indispensable in every library and family circle.

The two volumes before us relate to a subject which is not very often alluded to, in every-day life, and not, therefore, prominently before the world; yet it possesses sufficient interest to be kept in view, in that form which shall be most convenient for immediate use, in the shortest period of time. The primitive races—antediluvian and pre-historic—the Israelitish, the Egyptian, the Assyrian and Babylonian, the Median and Persian, the Phœnician, and the Arabian nations successively pass before the reader, presenting, successively, the principal incidents of their history and the most prominent actors therein; and briefly, but with great clearness and precision, displaying enough of the details of that history to supply every ordinary demand and guide those who shall desire to know more of the subject, to the most reliable sources of information. They are volumes which may usefully find places in every library; but, most of all, in those family libraries and work-rooms of literary men, where information is wanted in its most concentrated form, there will they be most useful and, therefore, most acceptable.

The workmanship of the volumes is English—they were printed and bound in London—and the beauty of the typography will make them even more welcome than they would have been merely because of their intrinsic merits.

71.—*The Children's Crusade.* An Episode of the thirteenth Century. By George Zabriskie Gray, New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1870. Small quarto, pp. xiii, 238, Price $1.75.

The author says, truly, that "there are some "*minor* episodes in history that have not received "the attention which they seem to merit. Histor- "ians have been too much occupied with events "of greater importance, to stop and explore "these by-ways as they passed them." It is so in the history of our own times and our own country; and it is undoubtedly true of the times which have long since become old and of the countries which are moss-covered and falling into ruins.

The volume before us presents what seems to be the history of such an episode—one which has been generally overlooked and even when not entirely overlooked, only incidentally referred to.

The superstitious pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which characterized the Middle Ages; the occupation of Palestine, by the Mohammedans; the clarion notes, arousing Christendon to arms, for the rescue of the Holy Land, with which Peter the Hermit made himself distinguished, for all time; the succession of wonderful Wars, in which, with a devotion and persistency that are unique in history, host after host of Europe's best blood assembled, fought, and died; the exhaustless ranks of Asiatics which hurled back, one after another, the successive hosts which moved against them, from the North and West; and the triumphant issue of the contest which crowned the banners of Moslem, and left the Sultan the master of the bloody field, are all well known to our readers; but many of them may not be aware of the social and religious condition of Europe, at that period, nor of the means which were employed, by interested parties, to arouse the wearied populace—already staggering under the weight of burdens imposed by successive Crusades, and bleeding at every pore, from successive disasters in the same hopeless cause—to fire, again, the Northern heart, and to bring another army into the field.

One of these means—the organization of armies of *unarmed children*, principally German and French, girls and boys, led by youngsters of ten or twelve years old, and marching toward Rome and the coast, arousing the passions of the wearied masses and exciting them to renewed exertions, for the rescue of the holy places from the clutch of the infidels who occupied them—seems to have surpassed, in the ingenuity of the genius which invented it, if not in its results, all the modern means of exciting an unwilling people to fresh deeds of daring and to new sacrifices. Notwithstanding all *these* traits, the historians of that period have scarcely referred to the matter; and only in scattered fragments has the strange record of the circumstances come down to the present day.

In this volume, the author has gathered those fragments from the thirty or more rude *Chronicles* which have borne them, piece-meal, down

he stream of time; and we have, therefore, as arious and as interesting a volume and as novel n addition to the current histories of those times, s can be readily conceived. To all whose tastes ead their attention to European history, of the eriod referred to, this volume will offer unusual ttractions.

The peculiar neatness of the volume will commend it to all who like to look on handsome books.

72.—*Wonders of Bodily Strength and Skill, in all ages and all countries.* Translated and enlarged from the French of Guillaume Depping, by Charles Russell. With numerous illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 338.

The Bottom of the Sea. By L. Sonrel. Translated and edited by Elihu Rich. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xx, 402.

Wonderful Balloon Ascents: or The Conquest of the Skies. A History of Balloons and Balloon Voyages. From the French of F. Marion. With illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xvi, 218.

Three more volumes of the popular *Library of Wonders*—a series of volumes for popular reading, the success of which affords good evidence of the merits which they possess; and of how much they are enjoyed by the knowledge-seeking portion of the people.

73.—*Ancient Classics for English Readers.* Edited by Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A.

—*Homer. The Iliad.* By Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Small duodecimo, pp. vi. 148. Price $1.

—*Homer. The Odyssey.* By Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Small duodecimo, pp. vii, 186. Price $1.

—*Herodotus.* By George C. Swayne, M. A. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Small duodecimo, pp. vi, 189. Price $1.

—*The Commentaries of Cæsar.* By Anthony Trollope. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Small duodecimo. pp. vi, 182. Price $1.

—*Virgil.* By Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871. Small duodecimo, pp. viii, 190, Price $1.

—*Horace.* By Theodore Martin. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott & Co. 1871. Small duodecimo, pp. xi., 208. Price $1.00.

This is a series of convenient little volumes each of which contains an outline sketch of the work whose title it bears—a system of teaching the facts and fables of the classics to the busy throngs who are rushing down the stream of Time, *against Time*, which will commend it as earnestly to them as it will to those whose treacherous memories no longer respond to their wishes, when they would call up their once familiar *Iliad* or *Ænead*, and who will now be enabled to refresh their recollections without too heavy a draft of time and labor.

The Editor of this novel series has certainly performed a good service for all who read English literature. The want of early opportunities, in some, and the absorbing cares of everyday life, in others, have certainly left a vacuum where there should be a familiarity with the details of ancient history and fables, in the present knowledge of the greater number of our people; and these brief outline narratives, each presenting the *dramatis personæ* and the leading incidents of an author, will enable the first, without undue labor or loss of time, to become sufficiently acquainted with what, before, he was entirely a stranger to, and the last to recover what, but for some such labor-saving volume as this, he would have lost for ever.

We may reasonably expect, as a consequence of this novel onslaught on the old-style volumes which have hitherto dammed the streams of classical literature, and of the consequent freshet of Grecian and Roman literature, that another flood of Homers and Virgils, Ithacas and Syracuses, Hectors and Ulysseses, Sempronіuses and Plutarchs, will very soon deluge the new countries, West of the Mississippi, as Central New York was once deluged when her limited capital in the classics was unduly cheapened; and it is not unlikely, so familiar will these volumes make the great names of other days to those who are now strangers to them, that every ignoramus will hereafter have an Ulysses or a Penelope, a Pompey or a Dido, on his family record, and become the parent of, if not a race of heroes, the parent of pigmies who shall bear the names of heroes.

The volumes are very neatly printed—we fancy they are of English manufacture—and they will, unquestionably, become very popular.

74.—*The History of Rome* by Theodor Mommsen. Translated with the Author's sanction and additions by Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D., with a Preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New Edition, in four volumes. Volume IV. with a complete Index to the work. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. 768. Price $2.00 per volume.

The volume before us closes the series, embracing the period from the death of Sulla to the battle of Thapsus, beyond which portion of his subject the author has not yet proceeded with his work.

The high character of this history has been so generally recognised that the completion of it will gratify many who have awaited it with impatience.

It is very neatly printed, on tinted laid paper.

75.—*The Old Masters.* The Princes of Art: Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers. Translated from the French by Mrs. S. R. Urbino. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. iv., 340.

This very beautiful volume opens with an *Introductory* descriptive of the Fine Arts, general-

ly, and of each department, specifically, in the latter of which, especially, the history of each is rapidly glanced at. Following these, are separate series of biographical sketches of leading Architects and Sculptors, from Phidias to Canova; of leading Painters, from Eumaris to Salvator Rosa; and of two leading Engravers, each series illustrated with portraits.

These sketches are quite elaborate and assume to be quite critical in their character; and they appear to be very well calculated for the purpose for which they were published—the instruction of the youth of our country, concerning the various departments of the Fine Arts and those who have secured honor in them.

As we have said, the volume is a handsome one.

76.—*A Guide Book of Florida and the South, for tourists, invalids, and emigrants.* With a map of the St. John-river, by Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. Philadelphia: George Maclean. 1869. 16mo. pp. 136.

The purpose of our excellent friend, in the volume before us, is to give the visitor to Florida such information as will make his trip more useful and more pleasant. In the very useful service which he has thus undertaken, Doctor Brinton has used not only his own notes, taken during an extended tour through the peninsula, but those of a large number of correspondents, tourists and residents; and we have pleasure in commending his little volume to the notice of our readers.

We are glad to notice, in the historical portion of the work, that a very important error in the published date of Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida—1513, instead of 1512—has been detected and corrected in this work.

There is in it a very neat map of St. John-river; and the whole is a very neat specimen of book-making.

77.—*John Ploughman's Talk*; or, Plain Advice for Plain People: By C. H. Spurgeon. New York: Sheldon & Co. [1870.] 16mo. pp. 177. Price 90 cents.

A plain proverbial "talk," for plain people, in which the Preacher presents a series of great truths, with great aptness and, sometimes, peculiar quaintness of style. It is adapted, by its peculiar structure, to the wants of plain, uneducated people; and we have no doubt that its sharp incisive sentences will sometimes make impressions, among such, where more polished admonitions would be entirely disregarded.

78.—*The Tone-masters.* A musical series for young people. By the author of *The Soprano*, etc. Illustrated. Mozart and Mendelssohn. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 193.

This is the first of a series of musical works, for the instruction of the young, concerni great masters whom musicians delight to their best works, the circumstances under the latter were written, and their constr and peculiar excellencies. Such a series a novelty in juvenile literature; but if it be carried out as carefully as it has beer menced, it must be productive of bene those for whom it is intended.

The volume is neatly illustrated and printed.

79.—*The United States Patent Law.* Instructio to obtain Letters Patent for new Inventions: inclu variety of useful information concerning the Ru Practice of the Patent-Office; * * etc., etc. By M Co. New York: Munn & Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. 10

A perfect little manual for all who business with the Patent-office and all have dealings with inventors and authors tive to their inventions and writings. It work of our friends, the proprietors o *Scientific American*, whose high characte success afford ample guarantees for fair de to all who shall seek their assistance.

80.—Almanacs. *The Illustrated Annual of Phr and Physiognomy.* By S. R. Wells. New York Wells. Duodecimo, pp. 68. Price 25 cents.

An excellent almanac for the household well calculated, for the sake of its teachi practical household information, to enj confidence of all *thinking* housekeeper heads of families.

—*The Old Franklin Almanac, No. 12, for 187* A. Winch. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 70. Price 10 cents.

This almanac contains a great variety ceedingly important information, among are Chronological Tables of Events, in E and America, and Necrological Tables, pean and American, for 1869–70; lists c cers of Federal and State Governments It is, decidedly, the best almanac for 187 we have yet seen.

2.—Miscellany.

—Under the title of *The Public Records Colony of Connecticut, October, 1706, to O 1716, etc., Hartford, 1870*, Charles J. H State Librarian of Connecticut, has issued volume of his laborious and accurate ser the Colonial Records of Connecticut.

—Rev. E. T. Corwin, the historian of th Reformed Dutch Church, is engaged on a *plete Genealogy of the Corwin family*, an sires all the assistance, in the way of ma which anybody, everybody, can send to His address is "Millstone, Somerset-c

'New Jersey;" and let there be no coldness on he part of any one who can throw any light on he subject.

—A complete historical record of the Civil War, ompiled from Southern newpapers, and extending from December, 1860, to December 25th, 868, has been offered for sale by the owner, o the Charleston Library Society. It is comprised in thirty-seven volumes, each of which is urnished with an index.

—We are happy to learn that Mr. J. E. A. Smith is hard to work upon the second volume f his *History of Pittsfield, Mass.*, with a fair prospect of its completion during the coming ummer.

—There is a rumor that Admiral Porter's orthcoming *History of the American Navy*, will e printed as a public document, to accompany he annual Reports of the Department!

—The New York Historical Society's annual olume is in the printers' hands; and will be eady about the first of March, next.

The same printers have in hand, also, the nniversary Address, recently delivered before he Society, by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, nd the paper, read before the same body, by enson J. Lossing, Esq., commemorative of the ioneer wood-engraver, in America, Doctor nderson.

XIX.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE PILGRIMS' COMPACT.—CELEBRATION OF HE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERARY OF ITS ADOPTION.—Yesterday was observed y the New England Historic Genealogical Socie-y, as the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of ie adoption of the Compact, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. In commemoration of that event, ie Society met at lower Horticultural Hall, at ree o'clock, P.M., to hear an address by J. WINATE THORNTON, A.M. About five hundred perons were present, including eminent antiquarias from other States. Upon the platform we oticed, among others, Rev. Doctor Caswell, resident of Brown University; Hon. Henry P. aven and Rev. Doctor Fields, of New London; overnor Washburne, of Maine; Rev. Doctors irk, Miner, and Dexter, of Boston; Hon. eorge S. Hiliard, Hon. Richard Frothingham, id other prominent members of the Society.

The Hon. Marshall P. Wilder presided, and troduced the proceedings with the following marks:—

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-ASSOCIATES:—We are assembled to celebrate, by the services of this day, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the civil compact by our "Pilgrim Fathers, on board of the *Mayflower*—"a compact within whose bosom nestled the "germ of religious freedom and of Christian "civilization—a germ which has budded, blos-"somed, and borne fruit for the healing of the "nations, and a civilization which has spread "from our Eastern to our Western shores, embrac-"ing not only our own, but extending to other "Continents, and which, we believe, ultimately "will revolutionize the Empires of the earth. In "accordance with these sentiments, the New "England Historic Genealogical Society have "ordered the observance of this day, that a "record of its proceedings might be transmitted "to the generations which are to follow us."

A fervent prayer was offered by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, after which Mrs. Heman's beautiful poem, on the *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*, was sung by the audience. Mr. Thornton was then introduced, and read the more interesting portions of a long historical address, which he had prepared, and which is to be published soon.

[THE ADDRESS.]

Riding rough November seas, two hundred and fifty years ago, a stained and weather-beaten ship, freighted with Christian families, hovered on this desolate coast, waiting till the dawn should give anchorage in less tempestuous waters, within Gosnold's Cape Cod. There, in the roadstead of what is now the harbor of Provincetown —the true landing of the Pilgrims, in New England—the cabin of the solitary *Mayflower* witnessed one of the most important events in civil history, the compact of November 11–21, 1620—

[THE COMPACT.]

"In y^e^ name of God, Amen. We whose "names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of "our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e^ "grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ire-"land, king, defender of y^e^ faith, &c. haveing "undertaken for y^e^ glorie of God, and advance-"mente of y^e^ Christian faith, and honour of our "king and countrie, a voyage to plant y^e^ first "colonie in y^e^ Northerne parts of Virginia, doe "by these presents solemnly & mutualy in y^e^ "presence of God, and one of another, covenant "& combine our selves togeather into a civill "body politick, for our better ordering & pre-"servvation & furtherance of y^e^ ends aforesaid; "and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and "frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, "acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, "as shall be thought most meete & convenient "for y^e^ generell good of y^e^ colonie, unto "which we promise all due submission and obe-"dience.

"In witnes whereof we have hereunder sub-

"scribed our names at Cap Codd y^e 11 of Novem-
"ber, in y^e yeare of y^e raigne of our soveraigne
"Lord, King James, of England, Franc, & Ire-
"land y^e eighteenth, and of Scotland y^e fifty
"fourth. Ano Dom. 1620."

Mr. Thornton then began a rapid review of the political and ecclesiastical events and their historical inter-dependence, which culminated in 1620, on these shores, and of the vast beneficent results and influences flowing out of that event, and hallowing the Pilgrim's land, to all times and peoples, as the cradle of civil and religious liberty.

As Dissenters, the sins of the Puritans were rather of omission than of action. The reformers and their precursors, Huss and Wyckliffe, were like skirmishers on the enemy's frontier, engaged in light combats, at a distance from each other; but the first to organize hostilities against Rome, the first General, in the field, to combine the forces in aggression and systematic war, was John Calvin. Rome never felt a more staggering blow than that inflicted by Calvin's policy of quick and thorough destruction of its ecclesiastical pageantry, imagery and symbolism. Mr. Thornton then sketched the varying relations of the Roman Catholic Church to the English Government, from the reign of Henry the Eighth down to the colonization of America. The line of contrast between Jamestown and Plymouth, he said, will show two conflicting civilizations. The Jamestown Colonists were sent out by a Corporation, under the Royal Seal, for gain, more as if criminals than volunteers, to be governed by a code of Draconian severity, more like that of an army or penitentiary than of civil life. The Plymouth Colonists were not a corporation, but were knit together by a voluntary combination. Without the Royal Seal they were volunteers—free, self-dependent, self-reliant, self-governing, under their own laws and their own officers, under a Constitution adopted and signed in a Convention of the "people, in whom fundamentally "all power lies," said Mr. John Cotton, in 1620. Thus it appears that, at Jamestown, the Colonist was a servant, at Plymouth, a citizen. In one was cherished the feudal sentiment of contempt for labor and a social degradation of the working-man, ever fruitful of ignorance, indolence, barbarism, woe, and general decay: in the other, labor was honorable and honored, making the North a field of intelligent industry, virtue, temperance, and frugality.

Stopping long enough with our liberty-loving and hospitable Dutch cousins to borrow their free schools, the Pilgrims hoisted sail for the New World; and, with the three essentials, good blood, the open Bible, and free schools, they began Plymouth, in 1620. Mr. Thornton next referred to the treason of Oldham and Lyford, at Leyden, by which the Pilgrims were deprived of their Pastor Mr. Robinson; and to the fact that they founded Massachusetts Colony at Cape Ann. He traced the course and results of prelatic dislike to Plymouth independency, just in its embryonic state prefatory to organization. The plot failed; the new Colony was at once leavened by Plymouth ideas and influence; and Massachusetts was soon reported in England to be a "nursery of schismatics." The spirit of intolerance even defeated itself. It exiled the Puritans to Holland where they prayed and studied the Scriptures, undisturbed; it followed them to Plymouth, and was foiled there; it planned Massachusetts, as a hostile Colony, and was foiled there; it got a Commission of more terrible power than ever Islam could endure, and again it was foiled; then the Pilgrims, turning upon the aggressors, led both Bishop and King to their scaffold, and created the English Commonwealth of independence.

In the records of the Pilgrims, no sentiment is brought into more beautiful relief than their steadfast trust in the providential government of God. In this connection, Mr. Thornton referred to the guidance of the Pilgrims to the northern shores, after which he spoke of the exile of John Cotton, and the influences which he brought to bear upon the Colony. He next spoke of the influence which New England thought had, in rescuing Old England from the moral death of Popery. American pamphlets, which disseminated the sentiments of the New England churches were imported, and thus the heresy which had been expelled from England returned with the increased strength of a trans-atlantic civilization. The publications of Cotton, Hooker, Norton, and Mather were circulated throughout England and produced a mighty effect. Only an examination of the mass of New England learning, on the fundamental principles of Government, drawn out by the incessant demands of English inquiry, can show how emphatically New England became the political seminary for republicanism in Old England. Let it be remembered that, by the reiterated declarations of her contemporary enemies, these New England doctrines, expounded by New England pens and illustrated by New England practice, became the political platform in the Army and in Parliament, and so shaped the destiny of England. Another important fact in the history of toleration, was the residence in New England, of Milton's friends. In the critical period of 1642, the patriots of England sent to New England for the personal presence and counsel of her chief men, desiring them to come with all speed. New England gave to the Commonwealth, in England, that consummate man of affairs, the sinewy, resolute, honest, efficient, Hugh Peters. The Presbyterian champion, Robert Baylie, of Glasgow, in 1645, lamented

"that this unhappy love toward liberty, where-"unto the Independents have lately fallen, makes "them to entreat the Magistrate to let alone reli-"gion." Mr. Thorton brought forward a mass of testimony showing how great was the influence exercised by the Puritans upon the politics of England. In the concluding portion of the address, Mr. Thornton briefly sketched the development of the Puritan ideas into the free government of this country.

The meeting was concluded by the singing of the Doxology, and the Benediction by the Rev. Doctor E. N. Kirk.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 22.

Good luck to him.—We vary our usual practise, in order to meet an extraordinry case.

Our foreman and esteemed friend, Mr. Isaac D. Ayres, has purchased one-half of the old *Lansingburg Gazette* establishment, and assumed the control of it; and we proudly allude to our intimate relations with him, for some years past; cheerfully bear testimony to his worth, as a man, and his professional ability, as a printer; and earnestly pray for his complete and continued success and comfort, in his new office and his old home, now and until he shall have finished the work which is before him and been summoned to his better reward.

Stop Thief!—The autograph letter which Dr. Benjamin Franklin sent with the library that he presented to the town of Franklin, Massachusetts, we regret to say, is missing. It has been accessible till within a few years, but was probably borrowed by some one and lost. When will the American people learn to take care of such mementoes of distinguished men? They are becoming more and more rare, and soon none will be left unless they receive better treatment.

The St. Clair papers.—By the efforts of the *Western Reserve Historical Society*, of Cleveland, the State of Ohio has, at last, come into possession of the correspondence and other manuscripts belonging to the late Major-general Arthur St. Clair. The price paid was two thousand dollars. There are forty-one letters of Washington, many of Paul Jones, Knox, Gates, Lafayette. Schuyler, Lincoln, Hancock, Read, Wayne, Greene, Hancock, and other revolutionary celebrities. The collection is particularly rich in letters of French officers of the American Army.

As soon as properly arranged, indexed, etc., the papers will be placed in the State Library, at Columbus.

Niagara.—It is a standing tradition of the Niagara Indians, shared to a great extent now by the white people in the vicinity of the Falls, that the "Great Spirit," or Thunderer of Waters, must have, annually, four victims sacrificed to his power. Curiously enough, a year seldom passes during which at least four persons are not drowned, either in the Falls or the whirlpool, below. This year, an old man of more than seventy years stepped into the breakers, above the Falls, and, loosing his hold, was swept over the frightful cataract. At De Vaux College, a student, daring his companions to wade into the whirlpool, was sucked into its terrific eddies, and instantly disappeared, to be seen no more. A few days afterward, a drunken father adventured with his two children and a reprobate companion, into a boat, above the rapids, and, in their drunken orgies, the little ones were thrown out and drowned, though the two drunken wretches escaped. So far, therefore, the Indians believe, implicitly, in the fourfold sacrifice; and each year's disasters confirm their belief.

Longmeadow.—The old oak in Longmeadow, Mass., under which, tradition says, the Indians made their Treaties with "Major John, the wor-"shipful," and others of our forefathers, has fallen, at last. Green to the last was its crown, though it was mere punk from bark to heart, and it is a wonder whence the leaves had drawn their sap. It was a magnificent monarch, nearly twenty feet in circumference, and with splendid spread of limbs, in its prime. It lived conscientiously, as long as it could, for it had been made the southern terminus of the prospective Longmeadow-road, from this city, and it would fain have remained, the solitary witness that such a road was once projected. But the delay has been too lingering, and it fell quietly, at last, struck by no tempest, but yielding gently to fate.

The villagers have inherited the noble tree's devotion, and its remains are left as they fell, in the faint trust that the Commissioners may build that road ere the trunk has moldered into dust.

New York Historical Society.—This venerable and respectable body celebrated its sixty-sixth Anniversary, on Tuesday evening, the thirteenth ultimo.

A crowded house, such as the Academy of Music seldoms presents, listened to an elaborate paper by Hon. Charles Francis Adams; and set speeches, more or less sensible and useful, were spoken by William Cullen Bryant and other distinguished historians.

So We Go.—Miss Martha J. Lamb, a pleasant

author of juveniles, and also of a history, has been made a member of the New York Historical Society. Of course some of the conservative male members looked sheepish, when she was admitted —almost as much so as when, in the face of their conservatism, that respectably zealous institution, in behalf of historical *working*-folks, admitted to a Corresponding Membership the excellent Miss Eliza M. Quincy, daughter of President Quincy; and almost as much, too, as when it as sagely concluded, *only because they were women, not to elect*, when requested to do so, the not less widely-known and widely-honored Miss Francis M. Calkins, the patient historian of Norwich and New London, and Miss Mary L. Booth, the equally worthy historian of the City of New York.

OBITUARY.—Our honored friend and frequent contributer, Rev. EDWARD BALLARD, D.D., of Brunswick, Maine, Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, and widely known, both in the Church and in other associations, departed this life, suddenly, on Monday, the thirteenth of November last.

—The ink was scarcely dry, on the last paragraph, before another of our personal friends, WILLIAM GOWANS, the widely-known bibliopole of Nassau-street, New York, was added to the list of those who have gone before us.

He was a native of Scotland, where he was born on the third of March, 1803, and came to America, with his father's family, in 1821, landing at Philadelphia, and proceeding, thence, to Crawford-county, Indiana. He returned to New York, in 1824, where he opened a store, in a small way, at 121 Chatham-street. Gradually, but surely, he extended his business, accumulating means and stock in trade, until his was the leading antiquarian bookstore in the country and widely-known to every book-buyer.

He was returning home from Bangs's Auction-room, on Wednesday, the twenty-third of November, when he fell, insensible, in the street; was picked up by the police, and removed to the Station-house; thence taken to the Hospital, at Bellevue; thence to his home, in Second-street; and without becoming conscious, he died on Sunday, the twenty-seventh.

His death will be lamented by all whose intimacy enabled them to know his worth, as a man, and his kind disposition.

—And yet another. BUCKINGHAM SMITH, Esq., of St. Augustine, Florida, whose pen has often contributed to our pages, and whose reputation, as a close student of the annals of earlier American History, is world-wide, was picked up by the police, in University-place, New York, insensible, on Wednesday evening, January 4th; carried to the Station-house, in Mercer-street, where he was kept until Thursday; thence to Bellevue Hospital; where he remained, insensible, until Friday, the sixth instant, when he died.

He was born, it is said, in Georgia, but removed to Florida, many years ago, and has resided there, when at home, ever since. He has occupied, it is said, a seat on the Bench and one in the Senate of Florida. He has been Secretary of the American Legation at Madrid and Chargé d' Affairs in Mexico; and his reading, in history, was chiefly concerning the Spanish and Italian voyagers.

We hope to present, in an early number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, a sketch of the life and writings of Mr. Smith, by a competent hand; and we defer, until that time, what we desire to say concerning him.

One after another, our personal friends and fellow-laborers are taken away—Willis, Houghton, Simms, Ballard, Smith, during the present year—and the world becomes more and more dreary and uninviting. How soon shall we, too, be summoned to enjoy the rest which the world has not yet afforded to us?

—That touching and tender poem, *Over the River*, although first printed thirteen years ago, is still familiar in the minds of many, who will regret that the authoress, Mrs. A. C. Wakefield, of Winchendon, died recently. This lady was known to the public, ten years ago, by her maiden name, Nancy A. W. Priest. Her own lines have now a new and painful signification :—

> "And I sit and think when the sunset's gold
> "Is flushing river, and hill, and shore,
> "I shall one day stand by the water cold,
> "And list for the sound of the boatman's oar;
>
> "I shall watch for a gleam of the flapping sail;
> "I shall hear the boat as it gains the strand;
> "I shall pass from sight with the boatman pale,
> "To the better shore of the spirit land;
>
> "I shall know the loved, who have gone before,
> "And joyfully sweet will the meeting be,
> "When over the river—the peaceful river—
> "The angel of death shall carry me."

—Mrs. Laura Wolcott Gibbs, who died on the tenth ultimo,. at her residence, No. 261 Greene-street, New York, in the seventy-seventh year of her age, was the daughter of Oliver Wolcott, Comptroller and Secretary of the Treasury under Gen. Washington, and the mother of George Gibbs, the distinguished ethnologist and historian of "the administrations of Washington "and Adams."

The husband of Mrs. Gibbs was the distinguished mineralogist, George Gibbs, of Newport, who was the first American who cultivated a taste for natural science in this country. He collected a cabinet in Europe, and, returning home in 1807, placed it in Yale College for the free use of the students. It was purchased for the College, in 1825, for twenty thousand dollars.

THE

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I.—MILITARY LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE WAR.

An Address delivered before the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y., February 23, 1869.

By General H. W. Slocum.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

When I consented to address this Society, on some topic connected with the recent War, I had not settled in my own mind upon any particular line of thought, to which I would invite your attention. I knew that, by you, as by every intelligent audience that can be assembled in our country, almost anything connected with the War would be received with deep interest. I thought I might be able to entertain you for an hour, in delineating the characters of some of our leading Generals, with whom it has been my fortune to serve; or, perhaps, I might awaken still more interest by recounting to you some interesting incidents, connected with the struggle, which have come under my personal observation. Upon reflection, however, considering the character and objects of your Society, I have concluded that something more than mere entertainment will be anticipated by you. The peculiar traits of character of all our leading Generals have been portrayed by those who are far more capable than I am of executing such a task. The story of every Campaign and every Battle has been told by the Historian and the Orator—the story, in some instances, being truth tinctured with a little romance; and, in others, being almost pure romance, tinctured with the slighest grain of truth. It is to be hoped that the time will come when the Historian will be able to separate Truth from Falsehood, and give to posterity a far more accurate account of our great War than has ever yet been published.

I believe, that, notwithstanding all the loss of life and treasure inflicted upon us by the War, our country has been the gainer by it. In sweeping the curse of Slavery from the land, and in conferring upon the South free institutions, in reality as well as in name, we shall be more than recompensed for all our losses.

But in view of the great advantage every nation gains from becoming powerful in a military point of view—being able to protect its subjects and defend its rights—our experience during the War should be of great value to us. This advantage we shall reap in proportion as we shall frankly and honestly discuss our errors and endeavor to profit by the lessons of experience.

I have concluded, therefore, to ask your attention to a few of the evils to which I think we were subjected during the War; and, although I do not anticipate that all of you will concur, in all respects, with my views, I am confident you will not accuse me of attempting to entertain you by glossing over our errors, nor by pandering to the prejudices of those who believe that "it is folly to talk of organizing victory," and that "it is wisdom to rely for success upon the "God of Battles and the justice of our cause," without regard to discipline or organization.

It is very difficult for any person to fully realize the wonderful changes that have taken place in our country, during the past eight years. When we picture to ourselves the state of affairs existing at the commencement of the Rebellion, we feel that an age has intervened—we cannot realize that so many pages of history have been written within these few brief years.

Eight years ago, the slaveholder was living in luxury—exerting a controlling influence in every branch of our Government—and his sons were filling an undue proportion of the positions of trust and honor, at home and abroad. To-day, the majority of them are in absolute penury—many of them seeking asylums in the hated North or in foreign lands. In the commercial world, the traders of the South were courted and flattered, until they not only boasted of their control over the merchants of the North, but they openly published "black lists," containing the names of the few who were to be proscribed by this aristocracy, for the crime of differing with them in opinion as to the divine origin of Slavery and the blessings likely to accrue from its extension. To-day, not one in a hundred of

this class of Southern men are in business—they have passed away, with their black lists, and their places are filled by Northern and Western men.

Ten years ago, the Institution of Slavery was at its zenith. In 1858, Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, in a speech, referring to the Institution of Slavery, contrasting, as I now contrast, the past with the present, asked: "What was the "opinion of the South, in 1833, as to Slavery? "Washington," said he, "had then emancipated "his slaves; Jefferson had bitterly denounced "the system; the South believed Slavery to be "an evil—nay, even a sin. She attempted to "apologize and excuse herself." "But," said he, with an air of triumph, "a few bold spirits "took up the subject and compelled the South "to investigate it; and what is the result? The "South now regards it as one of the main pillars "and controlling influences of modern civiliza-"tion, and is prepared to maintain it, at every "hazard. The Rock of Gibraltar does not stand "so firm on its basis as our Slave system. In "the past quarter of a century, our slaves have "doubled in number and more than doubled in "value. The very negro who, as a prime labor-"er, would have brought four hundred dollars, "in 1828, would now, with thirty years more "upon him, bring eight hundred dollars." Such was the contrast, as pictured by Senator Hammond, in the position of the Institution, as it existed in 1828, with its position in 1858; and the picture certainly exhibits a most wonderful advance in strength and apparent stability.

But could the Senator have extended his vision but eight brief years, he would have witnessed a far more wonderful contrast. The prime laborer, who had advanced in value from four hundred dollars, in 1828, to eight hundred, in 1858, had made a still more surprising advance. The slave of 1858 was the law-maker of 1868!

To a soldier, the changes which have taken place in our country, within the past ten years, in a military point of view—the sudden development of our strength; the conversion, as it were, in a day, of a nation ignorant of the arts of War, loving and devoted to the arts of Peace, into a nation of soldiers, capable of coping with any of the great military powers of the earth—are as striking changes as those to which I have alluded.

From the close of the War with Mexico to the breaking out of the Rebellion, our people had given little or no attention to military matters. The small force, consisting of less than ten thousand men, known as the Regular Army, had been employed in guarding our Western frontier. While, at the South, the probability of a conflict with the North was a subject of constant discussion, and preparations for it had been going on, in many localities, for years prior to the War, here, at the North, no danger was anticipated, and the War broke upon us unexpectedly and without the slightest preparation, on our part. Even after the capture of Fort Sumter and the call for troops, no serious trouble was anticipated by the great mass of our people. The scenes enacted at our rendezvous for volunteers, the manner in which the officers of our Regiments were selected, and the jocularity with which our young men left their homes, all proved, conclusively, that few, if any, of these Volunteers realized, or were in any manner prepared for, the great work which Providence had devolved upon them.

Among the officers of the Regular Army, particularly among those who had been stationed at the South and had observed the spirit of the people, a more sober and far more correct view of the situation was taken. They witnessed the manner of organizing the Volunteers with distrust and alarm, for they could not believe that Regiments, in which the highest and most responsible positions were usually bartered away to men without any knowledge of the art of War or any qualifications for their high trusts, could ever be made effective troops. The Government, at the same time, under the advice, I believe, of Adjutant-general Thomas, adopted the unwise and absurd policy of keeping the Regular Army intact, and of preventing any of its educated young officers, then in service, from leaving their old Regiments and giving to the Volunteers the aid of their experience and knowledge of military matters. On the other hand, the Volunteer could not appreciate the necessity of the severe discipline insisted upon, in the Regular service; and, under the influence of incompetent and ignorant officers, he soon became prejudiced against the only class of men in the country qualified to take charge of and lead him safely through the terrible ordeal in store for him. One of the first scenes the men of my Regiment, and of the Fourteenth Regiment, which was organized in this City and was in the same Brigade with my own, were called upon to witness, tending to give them an idea of the severe discipline to which troops, in time of War, were liable to be subject, was the infliction of severe corporeal punishment upon a soldier of the Regiment commanded by General Sykes, of the Regulars. It occurred in an open field, on our march to Bull Run, and was witnessed by hundreds of Volunteers, who plainly exhibited their hatred of what they deemed unnecessary cruelty. With such feelings existing between the two organizations, with no preparation on the part of the Volunteers and but little on the part of the Regulars, in obedience to newspaper orders, we

marched out from Washington, "onward to "Richmond." Those only can realize the condition of our Army, at that time, who can recall the incidents of this memorable Campaign and the Battle with which it closed. The crowds of curious and impertinent spectators who accompanied and often rode through our ranks; the long and fatal delay of Hunter's column, on the morning of the Battle—a delay occasioned by a few baggage-waggons, which should have been miles in rear—the many ludicrous, yet sad, scenes, on the field; the heroic, but fruitless, gallantry of separate Regiments, each attempting, in detail, the accomplishment of a work which required the combined effort of all; the dread, on the part of our men, of those terrible "masked batteries" and "the fierce Black-"horse Cavalry," neither of which ever had an existence, except in the imaginative brains of our newspaper reporters, all help to fill up the picture. The influence of our officers over their men and the state of our discipline is best illustrated by an incident which occurred on the field, in the heat of the battle. An officer, who has since become very prominent and well-known throughout the country, was then in command of a Brigade, on the Right of our line. While riding over the field, he discovered a soldier concealed in a hole in the ground, which was of just sufficient dimensions to afford him shelter. The General rode up to him; inquired as to his Regiment; and ordered him to join it, at once. The man, looking him full in the face, placed his thumb upon his nose, and replied, "No, you don't, old fellow, you want this hole "yourself."

I believe the plan of this Battle to have been well-conceived, notwithstanding its disastrous result. We were compelled to take the offensive against troops in position, and upon a field, the topography of which was unknown to nearly all our officers. Notwithstanding these facts, successes would have been achieved but for the impatient spirit which hurried us on, without the slightest preparation. Of the march, the Battle, the rout, and the disorderly retreat to Washington, the description given by William H. Russell was not greatly exaggerated. It was far more truthful than many of the descriptions given by the reporters of our own papers. Who has forgotten the newspaper accounts of the conduct of the celebrated Fire Zouaves—of the prodigies of valor performed by them—of their bayonet charges—of their heroic assaults—of the fearful destruction inflicted by them upon the enemy—and, finally, when the order to retreat came, of the great difficulty experienced by the officers in forcing "these gallant, but blood-"thirsty lambs," as they were called, to cease fighting and commence retreating? We all remember these accounts, and many others of a similar character; and yet, every intelligent officer, who was on the field, knows that this Regiment dispersed at the first fire, and so thoroughly was it dispersed, that it was from that day never again known as a military organization.

This Campaign, and every subsequent one, of the War, taught us that the rough element of our cities—the prize-fighter—the veteran of a score of street-fights, does not necessarily make the most valuable soldier. On the contrary, many a pale-faced boy, who, from a sense of duty, has left school or counting-room, to join our Army, has exhibited a degree of endurance on the march and of bravery on the field, seldom equalled by the rough element of our cities.

The close of the first Campaign found us once more in our tents, around Washington, defeated and humiliated, with an enemy, exultant and flushed with victory, again within sight of the Capitol of our country. Now, a more sober and sensible view of the situation was taken, by the country at large and, particularly, by those who had so eagerly sought the ranks of our Army. We had suffered a most humiliating defeat; but we had learned the first and most valuable lesson of the War. All now began to realize the magnitude of our undertaking. All felt that the task before us was one frequently attempted, but seldom accomplished—the task of conquering, upon their own chosen ground, vast armies of brave men, fighting, as most of them believed, for the honor of their homes and firesides. There was less conceit and arrogance on the part of ignorant officers—less of the braggadocio spirit on the part of the men. Even the most ignorant began to realize the importance of military knowledge, skill, and thorough preparation, if not of thorough discipline. While our troops were in this mood, sobered, but not wholly disheartened, and while the Government, the people, and particularly the army, were looking for a military leader, a young General came among us, who, of all the officers with whom I have ever met, was, in my opinion, the best qualified and the best adapted, in every respect, for the work to be accomplished—the work of organizing an army and of inspiring it, not only with a love for its Commander, but a love for discipline—that officer was George B. McClellan.

Soon after he assumed command, drunkenness and rioting in the streets of Washington disappeared. The offenders, highest in rank, were selected as examples of the punishment certain to follow a violation of orders. Worthless officers began to disappear from our midst; drills and

inspections were the order of the day. Before he had been in command six months, he had gained a place in the affections of his men, so deep and so firm, that no subsequent misfortune could destroy it, while his army had gained a degree of confidence in itself, and an *esprit de corps*, which it never lost.

The humiliating Campaign of 1861 was followed by three dark years of trial—three such years as could only result in the utter destruction of the country or in its emerging from the darkness, renewed in strength and purity, prepared to enter upon a new and brighter career. It was a period which tested, to the uttermost, the faith and patriotism of our people. Although occasionally relieved by a ray of light and hope, springing from successes achieved—such as those at Donelson, New Orleans, and Vicksburgh—yet, in the main, it was a season of adversity—one of those periods

> "That give mankind occasion to exert
> "Their hidden strength, and throw into practice,
> "Virtues that shun the day and lie concealed
> "In the smooth seasons and the calms of life."

To the Army, the trials of these three years were a military school, better adapted to furnishing the country with true soldiers than all the Military Academies that have ever been established. The value of these lessons of experience and the extent of the improvement in the organization and efficiency of our armies can only be appreciated by those who took part in the closing as well as the opening Campaigns of the War. We had learned the value of concert of action—the necessity of co-operation—not only of each Corps of each separate Army, but the co-operation of all our Armies scattered over the vast theatre of operations. We had learned how to make long campaigns without burthening ourselves with long trains. Officers, who at first required large hospital-tents for their accommodation, were now content with a small tent-fly—and if occasion demanded, they could dispense even with that—while the private soldier carried his only shelter in a small package, strapped to his knapsack.

At the close, our medical officers preferred, for the sick and wounded, the pure air of the tent to the close wards of the City Hospital.

The improvement in arms kept pace with the improved organization and discipline. The miserable, unfinished, and almost worthless Austrian musket, in the purchase of which a few men, professing intense loyalty, had given more attention to the interests of their pockets than to that of our Army, had given place to the admirable breech-loaders.

The spade, once in such disfavor at the North, that a General, by simply ordering it to the rear, in disgrace, won from our press and people more applause than had ever been accorded to any General for battles won—this disgraced and vilified implement had once more made its way to the front, and, was to be found at the head of every column, not only of the Army of the Potomac, but of every other Army and every Corps in the country; and in the closing Campaign of the War, Grant, Sherman, or Sheridan, in the presence of the enemy, would as soon have thought of sending, to the rear, his ammunition, as his spades.

The advantages of the Signal Corps had become apparent, and the system reduced to a state of perfection. The value of the Telegraph, too, in military operations, had become fully appreciated; and its operators were with our Generals, in all their advances—the construction of lines often keeping pace with the march of our troops. The construction of Railroads for our own use and the destruction of those in use by the enemy had both been reduced to a science.

In the Spring of 1864, the effort, on the part of the authorities, in Washington, to direct and control all the operations of the armies in the field, was formally abandoned. It is well known, that soon after General Grant assumed command of all our armies, Mr. Lincoln, addressing his Secretary of War, said: "You know we have "been trying to manage this War, thus far, with-"out success. I promised General Grant, when "he accepted his present position, he should not "be interfered with, in his military plans and op-"erations, by mere civilians. I think we shall "be obliged to let him have his own way." This frank acknowledgment, on the part of the President, and his faithful adherence to the promise made to General Grant was worth more to the army and the country than any other act of Mr. Lincoln's life.

The Press, too, had become less a power for evil; for, although its orders for "Onward" movements, even at the close of the struggle, were frequently as mandatory as at its commencement, yet these orders had less weight with the Administration and far less with the Generals in the field. If it was still capable of stirring up strife at the North, as to the merits or demerits of officers or Corps in the field, yet, in the Army, thanks to the boldness of Grant and Sherman, it had been shorn of a portion of its power.

It is but just to say, that here, at home, in keeping alive the spirit of patriotism and in aiding the Government in securing men and money, the Press accomplished much good; but the effect of its course on our Armies, in the field, was injurious, from the commencement of the War to its close.

Early in the Spring of 1863, a correspondent of one of the leading daily papers of New York published statements as to the strength of Sher

man's command, contemplated movements, etc., which it was important to keep secret. Finally, he openly abused Sherman and some of his officers, highest in rank, and his letters were published, and the papers containing them were soon distributed in the camps. Upon being remonstrated with, he openly defied Sherman, saying to him, "We, newspaper men, are a fraternity, "bound together by a common interest, and we "must, and will, write down any man who "stands in our way." By order of General Grant, he was banished from our lines; and, subsequently, all correspondents were ordered away by General Sherman. The one to whom I have alluded appealed to the President, asking him to compel General Grant to revoke his order and permit him once more to accompany the Army, whose Commander he had defied and threatened with the power of the Press, if he dared to stand in his way. His application was denied; and, from that date to the close of the War, there was less villification of officers—fewer open attempts to destroy the confidence, not only of the country, but of the Army, in our military leaders.

The Press of our country is a great power—one which no man, in either public or private life, can well afford to combat; and yet, he who attempts to point out the evils which beset the path of our Armies, during the recent War, will exhibit great cowardice or great ignorance of his subject, if he fails of designating the action of the Press as one of the greatest of these evils. It is an evil felt, in time of War, by every country in which the Press is as free and as powerful as it is with us.

A very able military writer, Lascelles Wraxall, who has published a work, entitled, *The Armies of the Great Powers*, in commenting upon the Campaign in the Crimea, says: "Another great "grievance, under which the English Army suffers, and which, so long as it is permitted to "continue, must impede any successful operations, is the unbridled discussion by the Press, "of all military movements during a Campaign. "Far be it from us, to wish to lay any fetters on "the Press, or to ignore the advantages derivable "from a thorough ventilation of all reform "questions; but we honestly think that when "matters are carried to such a pitch as before "Sebastopol, when General Codrington was "compelled to issue a General Order to prevent "the publication of most important secrets, the "efficiency of the Army must be materially injured by such indiscreet publicity. Even the "Duke of Wellington was fearfully tormented "by newspaper correspondents, and we find in "his dispatches repeated allusions to the subject; "but what would he have said to the swarm of "self-constituted critics, who beset our Army in "the Crimea and sent home the most absurd re"ports to delight the reading public, as to the "inefficiency of our Generals? These letters "found their way back to camp, in printed "form, and were admirably adapted to enhance "the spirit of insubordination among our men. "What an effect it must produce among soldiers, "when they read, in journals of large circulation, "that such a commander, in the Crimea, was like "the ass in a lion's skin, or that another was not "worth his salt; and yet we remember reading "worse than this, during the War. Such a state "of things, when the bravest officer is exposed "to the effect of personal malice or dangerous "calumny, can only demoralize an army and "thoroughly destroy that *esprit de corps* on "which success in the field mainly depends. We "believe, and most military men will join in the "belief, that 'Our own Correspondent' helped "the Russians greatly more than his own country. "The minutest details of camp life were nar"rated, and even news published of future ex"peditions, and the probable movements of the "Campaign. * * * The Emperor Napoleon "displayed a further proof of his great ability, "when he compelled the French Press to be very "discreet in its revelations about the Army and "its movements in the Crimea and the Baltic. "The action of Marshal St. Arnaud, forbidding "all newspaper correspondents accompanying "his Army, was a measure that merited the un"bounded applause of all reasonable men in the "Allied Armies; yet, a portion of the British "press dared to threaten him with its wrath on "account of it. If Lord Raglan and General "Simpson had possessed the moral courage to "lay down the same rule and scorn the abuse of "the newspaper world, they and their troops "would not have been so often exposed on the "pillory and given up to the ridicule of a scan"dal-loving people, which was the only return "they got for their good-natured weakness. * *

"But if a portion of the Press did a great "deal during the War, to weaken discipline among "our troops and injure the Army, in every possi"ble way, this was much more the case with a "party in Parliament, pandering to notoriety at "any price. Newspaper articles do not, after "all, possess the weight of speeches, uttered by "popular men, in Parliament; and these certainly "did their utmost to destroy all confidence in "our Army. * * * * A General, command"ing, who, while he is standing in the presence "of an enemy, is compelled to hear such things "as were uttered about Lord Raglan and his "successor, cannot possibly secure the necessary "confidence of his men, and must, at last, lose "confidence in himself. * * * *

"And then, again, that notorious Roebuck "Commission—did it not subvert all ideas of

"military honor and discipline? Officers were "compelled to appear before a Committee of "civilians and publicly express their opinion as "to the merits of their superior officers. If the "originators and defenders of this inquiry could "have heard, as we did, the sarcastic remarks of "the French officers, or learned the openly ex- "pressed disgust of all those who bore no special "love for England, they would not have permit- "ted such a disgrace to their country to go on. "We will not here pause to allude to the bitter "feelings which such a procedure evoked among "those gallant men who take a pride in the ser- "vice, for we think that there is but one opinion, "now existing among all reasonable men, as to the "utter impolicy of such a Commission having ever "been entrusted with such dangerous authority."

I have quoted from this excellent work more freely than I should have done, but for the fact that, by the substitution, throughout the Chapter, of the Press of the United States for that of England, Congress for Parliament, and the Committee on the Conduct of the War for the Roebuck Commission, the entire Chapter, although written prior to the Rebellion, becomes an admirable criticism upon some of the great evils with which our Army was afflicted, during the War.

But, notwithstanding all our errors, all our disasters, we have given proof to the world that a Republic can carry on a great War—can suppress the most formidable attempts at its destruction. The prompt response of our people to the calls for men and money, the readiness with which the Volunteers submitted to the severe discipline necessary for military success, their quiet and orderly return to their homes, and the resumption of their former peaceful avocations, gave conclusive proof that we need no great standing army.

The young men, now in our fields and workshops, stand ready, at a moment's notice, to obey the call of the Government; and if the prominent actors in the late struggle will discard public opinion and the clamor of demagogues, and frankly and honestly point out the weak spots in our armor—place upon record, their views as to our errors in raising, organizing, and equipping an Army—and, if these errors can be corrected, we shall not again be called upon to pay so dearly for the lessons of experience.

I think that nearly all military men will agree that, should the Government again be forced to call out the Volunteers, the selection of officers, even to the lowest in rank, should be left to the General Government. Promotions and the power of conferring special rewards, such as that of brevet rank, should be made upon the field, by the General in command, instead of being delayed, as at present, till years after the close of the contest, and then made upon recommendation of politicians who never saw a battle-field—the modest and usually most deserving being left unrewarded, while the self-seeking and those possessing political influence are covered with unmerited honors.

Veteran Regiments, when reduced in numbers, should have been filled up and kept in the field, instead of being disbanded to make room for new organizations, under inexperienced officers. In arms and equipments, our experience has suggested many improvements which will undoubtedly be adopted, as rapidly as possible.

If military knowledge and power is as valuable to a Government as is usually conceded, by all foreign nations, then, even upon this ground, alone, we have much to recompense us for the thousands of valuable lives and the hundreds of millions of treasure lost in the recent War.

The final Campaigns of each of the great Armies into which our forces were mainly divided, were of a character calculated to recompense the veterans engaged in them, for all their toils—all the sufferings and disappointments of their past four years' service.

Sherman's "Grand March to the Sea"—a march, which we were told by the ablest military critics of Europe, would, if successful, add a fresh Chapter to the theory and practice of modern warfare—an attempt at which, the South professed to sneer and rejoice—predicting its utter and humiliating failure—a Campaign, the novelty and boldness of which startled and alarmed many of our own friends—one during which, although the soldier was compelled, by night as well as by day, to labor and suffer great hardship, but which was still a season of real happiness to all who took part in it—a portion of life to which they will always revert with pleasure. It is true, that each day brought its burthens, and these at times seemed hard to bear. Sleeping on the damp earth, after a long march, in a cold rain, during which every article of clothing was drenched, or laboring all day, in a swamp or river, in the construction of bridges or roadways, and sinking to rest with the damp clothing clinging to the person, was calculated to make one dream of and long for the comforts of his home and fireside. Yet our men were cheerful and hardy; and trials under which, at the commencement of the War, they would have given up in despair, were now borne without complaint.

The complete confidence of the entire Army in its great leader; the admirable order and system which prevailed during the march; the success with which all obstacles were overcome; the novelty of being in the heart of the enemy's country, where our troops had never before penetrated; the universal joy with which the Army was welcomed by the slave population—old and

young, male and female; the terror of those who had hailed, with joy, the outbreak of hostilities, under the impression that they, at least, were safe—far beyond the reach of the strong arm of the Government—these things, with good health, fresh air, a plenty of exercise, with many a good meal obtained without money and without price, with just enough fighting to give spice and zest to the march—all combined to render it the romance of soldiering, and to make it, what our closing Campaign should have been, the most novel, the most successful, and the most memorable Campaign of the War.

The final Campaign of the Army of the Potomac was, in every respect, worthy of that Army, and of the unfaltering patriotism and bravery that had characterized all its history. An Army which, from the fact of its field of operations being in the immediate vicinity of the Capital, had been subjected to more criticism, more interference on the part of politicians and the Press, and had endured more changes of commanders than any other Army—an organization which had fought more desperate battles and lost, in killed and wounded, more men than all our other Armies combined, and, through it all, had preserved its good name and its fidelity to the cause—this Army, too, in its final Campaign and in the results accomplished, was amply rewarded for all its sufferings. For four years, the objective point of this Army had been the city of Richmond, where were congregated the Chiefs of the Rebellion. More than once, within sight of its spires, it had been compelled to turn back for the defense of our own Capital. On the twenty-ninth of March, commenced the series of great battles which were to result in the accomplishment of that for which this Army had so long struggled—the fall of Richmond and the surrender of the Army upon which the hopes of the rebels had been at all times based. To have had this great result accomplished, without severe fighting, without the loss, on both sides, of thousands of gallant men, would not have been in keeping with the past history of the struggle between the two Armies operating in Virginia. A week of hard marching and harder fighting resulted in the final surrender; and the veterans of the Potomac, in company with their brothers from the West, who, starting in Kentucky, had swept through nearly every rebel State, now made its way northward—passing over the historic and bloody fields of Cold Harbor, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court-house, Fredericksburgh, and Bull Run, where so many gallant comrades were sleeping their last sleep—they returned to our Capital, laden with well-earned laurels. The Army which, in 1861, had returned to Washington, in disgrace—the scoff of our enemies, at home and abroad—now returned, conscious of its strength and power—each soldier's heart filled with that pride and joy which can be realized only by him who, having given up home, family, and friends, and for years endured the dangers and hardships of a soldier's life, now finds his work completed—his country saved—and himself the recipient of a nation's gratitude.

II.—REMINISCENCES OF "THE WEST."

By Henry O'Rielly.

[When arranging a Course of Lectures for the "Roches-"ter Athenæum and Young Men's Association," of which I was President, I invited the Hon. Gabriel Furman, of Brooklyn, then (1841) a State Senator, to favor us with some Discourses on the subject of American Antiquities. His compliance with the request gave much public satisfaction, as will readily be imagined by people familiar with his character and capacity.

As a slight token of the interest excited by his Antiquarian Lectures, it was deemed appropriate to present him with some memorial of "old times" in Rochester; and I readily yielded, for this purpose, an *oaken walking-staff*, which I had caused to be made from half-burnt timber saved from the conflagration of the first framed dwelling erected at a locality in the centre of what is now the flourishing City of Rochester. The date of the ancient structure from whose embers the brand was taken, reached into antiquity as far back as the year 1810—the memorable year in which De Witt Clinton, then a young Senator, made an exploring tour, along with General Stephen Van Rensselaer, Gouverneur Morris, and two other gentlemen, as Commissioners, appointed by the Legislature, for examining the routes then proposed for the "mad project," as many people considered it, of Canal Communication between the Hudson and Lake Erie—a project, by the bye, which even Clinton was induced to examine only a few months before, he having declined, till then, to read Jesse Hawley's Essays which first formally proposed the great enterprise, which Essays General Micah Brooks had tried, vainly, to induce him to examine, in the Winter of 1808–9; and even Thomas Jefferson frankly said, of it, he thought the project undertaken "a hundred years too soon."

The year and the dwelling are also memorable, locally, from the circumstance that, during that season, it was in a tree, beside that pioneer house, that a burglarious bear took refuge, when Enos Stone, father of the first white citizen born on the tract, shot the intruder and saved his provender from further ursine depredations—of which, and of the humble dwelling from whose timber the oaken staff was made, a pictorial record is preserved in the frontispiece of a book, issued by me, in 1838, entitled *Settlement in the West, or Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*—for Rochester was, even so recently, considered, by so many eastern people, as being rather too near the back woods—verging on the outskirts of civilization.

The interest connected with the subject of Mr. Furman's Lectures manifested itself, in various ways, about that time, and occasioned some correspondence with the Senator, the results of which were handed to me, for use, in any further publications I might make. Two of the replies of Mr. Furman were addressed to the Hon. Frederic Whittlesey, then Vice-chancellor of the State; and as the contents of them may not be uninteresting, even now, I annex them, hereto, as presented to me by that gentleman.

New York, Jan. 7, 1871. Henry O'Rielly.]

[Judge Furman's Letters.]

I.

Albany, November 25, 1841.

Hon. Frederick Whittlesey:

Dear Sir: I have examined with much care the ancient coins which you sent me from Mr Ward * some few months since, as having been

* Levi A. Ward, former Mayor of, and yet resident in, Rochester.

found in the neighbourhood of Rochester; and am satisfied they are early French coins, probably of their Colonial emission. Both the English and French, at a very early period, after the settlement of their American Colonies, issued a series of coins for the currency of their settlements —many of which are very curious, more so indeed, than the coinages of the Mother Countries. I now have a copper coin, about the size of a Cent, which was ploughed up about 20 years since, in the town of Bergen, New Jersey, on which is the inscription, "Franc-Colonies," and the date of 1722; which was one of those French Colonial coins. And I saw a few days since in the Museum of the Albany Institute, a Stone found at a Spring in the town of Pompey in this State, having on it a Serpent around a tree, and the date of the accession of Hadrian VI. to the Pontificate, 1522, * and the French name of Leon De Laun—which, with the Coins, &c. found in the Western part of our State, undoubtedly furnish the evidence of the establishment of French religious missions among the Five Nations of Indians, very soon after the first colonizing of the Canadas by that Nation. The Valleys of the Ohio, and the Mississippi, now have existing many interesting proofs of the French enterprize, and of their religious missions, scattered throughout their whole extent down to New orleans.

An examination of the French claims to this country, and of the course they pursued to establish and perpetuate their dominion here, is a very interesting enquiry. By looking at the first volume of Sanson's Great Atlas, published at Antwerp, in Elephantine folio, about 1735, (I now quote from recollection, having the book at home, but not before me,) you will find a Map of North America, published by the French; which shows that they claimed all the country extending from the Canadas down to the Mouth of the Mississippi, and up to the gates of Schenectady; and they built their Forts and trading Posts throughout that whole country. This French policy continued growing and strengthening even as late as the year 1755, when the eyes of the British Government seem to have been opened to the strong necessity of resisting those encroachments, or their Colonies would soon be confined to a comparatively very narrow strip of land bordering on the Atlantic Coast— And in this latter year a work of much merit, and authority, written by Dr. Millar, was published in London, shewing the extent and effect of that policy of the French nation. This enlightening of the views of the British Administration on that subject, was owing to the proceedings of the First Congress ever held by the American Colonies, which met at Albany in the preceding year, 1754. The Journals and records of that Congress are supposed to be lost, but I am rather inclined to the belief that they are now existing among the public records of Louisiana; for M. Alex. Vatemare at the meeting held at the Capitol to facilitate his great and valuable project of National exchanges of books, &c. stated through Hon. John C. Spencer, that he had found a short time previous in New orleans, the Journals of the first Congress in America; but his knowledge of the record did not enable him to speak definitely in the matter. How it came there I cannot conceive; but think an investigation should at once be made as to whether such a record exists or not; and if it does, the original, or a copy, should be procured and deposited in the office of our Secretary of State— Please present my thanks to Mr. Ward for his kindness in sending me those Coins, and also my best respects to him.

With great respect
I am Dear Sir yours truly
G. FURMAN

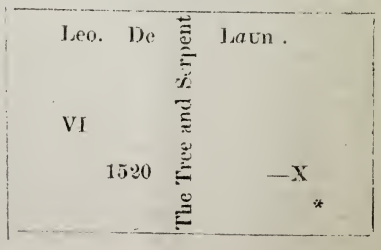
[*Addressed:*]

Hon.
FREDERICK WHITTLESEY
Rochester
New York–

II.

DEAR SIR:

In looking last evening over a copy of my letter to you under the date of November 25th last, I discovered that in my description of the stone found in Pompey in this State I had been led into an error by following an account which I had taken from the lips of a gentleman who had seen it some time since, instead of my own, which I had copied from the stone itself. As there are already two or three erroneous descriptions of this stone published to the world, I feel no disposition to add to the number, and therefore give you the following, as the correct inscription, which I have this morning again compared with the original. It is as follows:



* Mr. Furman, in his next letter, corrected an error in the foregoing statement, as will be seen hereafter.

* Where this asterisk is, in the figure, there is, on the stone, a figure, resembling a bud or spear-head, which we cannot imitate.—ED. HIS. MAG.

We have here indeed the true chronology of the Pontificate of Leo X.; and it may be thus read "Leo, the 6th year of his Pontificate 1520." I am inclined to think it was more probably the corner stone of the little Chapel erected by the French Colony than a funeral monument as none others of the kind have been found; and that the other name upon it is that of the founder of the Church or rather Chapel. The name of "Laun" is so much worn, as to render it obscure, yet I am satisfied from two examinations of the inscription, that this is the name, or as near as can now be made out.

Otherwise all that I have stated I am satisfied on re-examination is correct.

If I had supposed that you, or L. A. Ward Esq. felt any interest on this question, I could furnish you from my library in manuscript, and print, if at home, with abundance of evidence proving the establishment of French Colonies in the Western part of this State and in the Valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi;—many facts in that head are within my reach even at this place from some of my Notes and Memoranda which I take the liberty of forwarding you —

Governor De Witt Clinton in his Memoir on the Antiquities of Western New-York a pamphlet of about 25 pages which has now become very scarce and difficult to be procured—states, that, a settlement of the French was made in the town of Pompey in 1666.– He says, that, "at the "request of Karakontie, an Onondaga Chieftain, "a French Colony was directed to repair to his vil- "lage for the purpose of teaching the Indians the "arts and sciences, and endeavor, if practicable, "to civilize and christianize them"—that "this "little colony remained for three years in a very "peaceable and flourishing condition, during "which time much addition was made to the es- "tablishment, and among others a small chapel, "in which the Jesuit (from whose Journal Gov. Clinton derived much of his information,) "used "to collect the barbarians and perform the rites "and ceremonies of his Church"—Matters continued on this footing until 1669, when a party of twenty three Spaniards arrived there, guided by some of the Iroquois, by way of the Mississippi, and up the Ohio and Alleghany Rivers to Olean point, in search of a Northern lake whose bottom they supposed to be covered with silver from the Indian's description: "Having arrived "at Onondaga lake and the French Village, and "finding no silver, they seemed bent on a quarrel "with the French, whom they charged with hav- "ing bribed the Indians, so that they would not "tell them where the silver might be found"– Such things may appear to us as improbable, but to those who are conversant with the Spanish adventures during the early settlements of America, and the extravagant and wearisome expeditions which they made, led on by the fables of the El Dorado, which they expected to find realized in the Western Continent; and the horrible amount of crime and loss of human life with which their pursuits after the precious metals were attended, or who have read the Journal of the Voyage of De Acugna in South America, and Southey's Account of the Expedition of Orsua and the Crimes of Aguirre will not want faith in this statement.–

Finally, it was agreed that an equal number of Frenchmen, and Spaniards should go in pursuit of this treasure.– While on their route the Indians began to suspect some design in the strangers to deprive them of their country which jealousy was greatly increased by "the Spaniards "telling the Indians that the only object of the "French was to tyrannize over them," and "the "French on the other hand asserted that the "Spaniards were laying a plan to rob them of "their lands"— The Indians held a private Council, and determined to rid themselves of both: And having obtained assistance of the Oneidas, and Cayugas, on All Saints day, 1669, a little before day break, "the little Colony, "together with the Spaniards, were aroused from "their slumbers by the discharge of fire arms, and "the war whoop of the savages.- Every house "was immediately fired or broken open, and "such as attempted to escape from the flames "were killed by the tomahawk; and not one of "the Colonists or Spaniards were left alive to "relate the sad disaster"–

This history accounts for many appearances, about this section of the country, which excited the wonder of the present race of inhabitants when they first settled it. They found the marks of former cultivation, in a second growth of trees, so evident as to attract the attention of every one, and has continued from that time to the present a frequent topic of conversation, although few have attempted to explain the cause. This second growth extends many miles and is rendered the more prominent from being surrounded by the original forest of old large timber– And in ploughing & other excavations made in that space, there have been found fragments of Earthenware, of iron implements of husbandry, and also parts of guns and other warlike articles– The remains of a blacksmith's forge has also been discovered; and about thirty years since in making some excavations in that tract, a farmer turned up a piece of metal, which had the appearance of having once been part of a Church bell– This was found not far from the period of the discovery of the inscribed stone I have before mentioned but as no one had any idea that a Church had before existed there, little was thought of it, and I think no care was taken for its preservation—it was undoubtedly

a relic of the bell used in that ancient Chapel of the French Colony–

On the subject of the French policy of surrounding the English Colonies with a cordon in forts and trading posts, the proceedings of the First Congress at Albany in 1754, exhibit the matter in a very strong light. After taking into consideration the situation of the English settlements, they represented in a Memorial to the Crown——"That it was the evident design of "the French to surround the British Colonies; to "fortify themselves on the back thereof; to take "and keep possession of the heads of all the im- "portant Rivers; to draw over the Indians to their "interest, and with the help of such Indians "added to such forces as were then arrived, and "might afterwards arrive, or be sent from Europe, "to be in a capacity of making a general attack "on the several Governments; and if at the same "time a strong naval force should be sent from "France, there was the utmost danger that the "whole Continent would be subjected to that "Crown."

As I have before stated, in my previous letter, numerous traces of French enterprize are still to be seen throughout the great Valleys of the Ohio, and the Mississippi, in their ancient settlements,— in the language, manners, and customs of the people– Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania, was one of this line or cordon of forts and trading posts, and a very formidable one it was for many years to the English Colonies– Another portion of that great cordon still existing, is the Village of Cohokia, in Illinois; in which is a Church built by the French settlers in 1698, having "battled with the storms "of more than a Century"– The bell which hangs in its tower, was brought from France more than a Century and a half ago, and still, or until recently, on every Sabbath morn calls upon the inhabitants to render praise and thanksgiving to that Benificent being to whom they owe all their blessings, as it had done for ages past– (This fact also proves that the French Colonists had bells in their churches in their early settlements in this country.) Numerous other instances might be cited but it is useless, a traveller cannot pass through that country, or any other person read the descriptions of the same, without according to the truth of my remark.

It is a curious and valuable historical fact, not generally known, that Thomas Jenkins Esq. in 1763, submitted to the British Ministry a project to prevent the emancipation of the American Colonies, and to retain them forever in their obedience to the Crown– His first proposition was, the keeping on foot most of the troops then in America, and which were disbanded, or recalled at the peace. The forts which were scattered along the Indian frontier, and which were afterwards demolished, or abandoned, were to be preserved, New ones were to be erected on the Coast, *ostensibly* against the invasions of the French. The lands granted to the veterans were always to be within the precincts of a Fort, which on the frontiers especially, must very soon have formed respectable military townships — Jenkins was well acquainted with America, from a residence of considerable length in Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, and he also had some employment in the English army which conquered Canada; which enabled him to become conversant with the operation of the French policy; and it was their scheme somewhat modified which he thus proposed to the consideration of Lord Bute and his associates. Providence, however, so ordered matters, that the English ministry did not regard this project with any favor—and by rejecting it, facilitated the onward progress of the American Revolution —

If I was at home with my books about me, you might have a much more enlarged view of the French settlements in this country—it may be however, that I have already given you more than will be read with interest. My excuse is, it is a question which has long excited my attention; and sometime since I collected many facts on this head, and arranged them in some order. of which, however, I am not now able to avail myself, which has been the reason for the desultory mode in which I have conveyed you this information – Present my respects to Mr. Ward– With much respect

I am Dear Sir yours truly
G. FURMAN

ALBANY, Dec. 15– 1841—

[*Addressed*]
Single sheet
To
Hon. FREDERICK WHITTLESEY
Rochester
Monroe County
New York

III.—THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF MONTEREY, CAL. JUNE 3, 1870.*

The celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the planting of the Cross at, and the foundation of the City of, Monterey, the ancient Capital of the State of California, was celebrated,

* We are indebted to our neighbor and friend, John Savage, Esqr., for the material from which we have made this very complete report of the Celebration of Monterey's one-hundredth birth-day; and Father Hudson has also laid us under many obligations by sending the manuscript of his Oration, in order to make the report more complete. Both these gentlemen will please accept our sincere thanks.–EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

with great ceremonials, on the third of June, 1870.

"This *Fete*," says the Monterey *Democrat* of June 11th, "passed off exceedingly well. In "addition to the population of the town, a great "many visitors were present and participated in "the ceremonies, all entering heartily into the "spirit of the occasion and being fully alive to "the significance of the event which they were "commemorating.

"Monterey is the Jamestown of this coast: on "the rock, in front of the quaint little Custom-"house, built in Mexican times, first leaped "ashore hundreds of the present inhabitants of "the State, who, since, dispersing through every "part of its territory, have laid the foundation "of a great empire. This is a classic spot, asso-"ciated, in the minds of the people of the State "now living and to come, with all the historical "events which have signalized the establishment "of civilization in one of the fairest though "among the latest of its possessions. The site of "the town is exceedingly beautiful and all its sur-"roundings are picturesque and pleasing, every "natural object on which the eye falls being "lovely and graceful. In front of the town, "sweeps the broad and crescent-shaped bay "which, for centuries, has been known to navi-"gators as affording one of the securest and "easiest-reached havens, in which might lie, "with perfect convenience, any conceivable "amount of shipping.

"To the religionist, the place possesses the "deepest interest: here was planted, for the first "time, on these shores, the sacred emblem of his "faith; and in sight, still, are many monuments "erected by devout and earnest men, whose only "thought was service to their God and to their "fellows. To poet, historian, and statesman, no "other place that looks westwardly over the "Pacific, possesses an equal interest; as the years "go on, it will be visited as a sort of Mecca; and "Monterey will continue, through all time, the "object of tender regard and something like "veneration."

The following account of the interesting event —one of the most noticeable historical occurrences on the Pacific Coast—is compiled from the reports furnished to the leading journals of San Francisco.

Some time before, it seems, an invitation had been extended to the Pioneer Associations of San Francisco, Sacramento, etc., to assist in the celebration; and ample preparations had been made to honor the coming event, with due importance. We admit a portion of the early correspondence, on this subject, to indicate how heartily the Pioneers of the State enlisted in the movement, as well as to preserve the historical material which we find in it.

[*From the President of the Sacramento Pioneers.*]

"SACRAMENTO, May 30, 1870

"HON. P. A. ROACH, CHAIRMAN, ETC., SAN "FRANCISCO.—DEAR FRIEND: Yours of the 13th "inst., addressed to me as President of the Sac-"ramento Association of California Pioneers, in-"viting the members thereof to unite with those of "the San Francisco Association and others, in cele-"brating, at Monterey, on the 3rd of June, the "Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of "that city, was laid before our Association, at its "regular monthly meeting, held on the 28th "inst.

"Many of us, circumstances permitting, "would be pleased to be with you, on this rare "and interesting occasion. For the Pioneers of "1849 to stand upon the ground hallowed by the "tread of the Pioneers of 1770, headed by the "good Father Junipero Serra, a full century after "those brave men startled the wilderness by "their presence, would, indeed, be glory to the "living; but to stand there, gathered from afar, "from every clime, and tongue, and nation, to "celebrate this Centennial, will be an honor to "the memories of the dead. And we cannot over-"honor them. They were the Pioneers of Pion-"eers, on this western coast. In comparison with "theirs, our fame is nothing. We came to seek "gold; they came with nobler aspirations—to "erect an empire, not only of domain, but of "religion, of learning, and of law. Theirs be "all the honor and the glory. Let us, on that "day, bow in reverence to their memories.

"To these Missionary Fathers and their frugal "foresight, are we mainly indebted for the fact "that, to-day, our State is the wine-press of the "Nation. From them, have we learned the vir-"tue of irrigation; and to their influence may, in "an eminent degree, be ascribed the credit that we "found the native Indians in such meek subjec-"tion that they were not in the least trouble-"some.

"Sincerely hoping that this Centennial, which "you have thus auspiciously inaugurated, may be "maintained by our children and our childrens' "children, as the ages roll by, and that Monterey "will sacredly preserve in her archives the histo-"ries of these periodical events, I have the honor "to remain, with profound respect,

"Yours, affectionately,

"JAMES MCCLATCHY.

"President Sacramento Association "California Pioneers."

As the movements of the San Francisco Pioneers formed a portion of the noticeable events of the occasion, our report will follow their progress, from that city to Monterey.

[From the *Alta California*, June 5., 1870.]

"DEPARTURE OF THE PIONEERS.—At half-past

"six o'clock, on Thursday evening, [*June 2nd*] "there stood on the decks of the steamer *Senator*, "a band of pioneer citizens of California, com- "prising representatives from Sacramento, Marys- "ville, and other interior towns. They were "representative men, too, and amongst them "over a dozen veterans, who migrated hither "long before the discovery of gold on these "slopes. Captain Steele, one of the guests, set- "tled here as early as 1825. One-third of the "passengers were invited guests, and one fourth "of the entire number lady pioneers, or lady "friends of the members of the Society. The "banner of the Association and the American flag "were conveyed aboard, and the old Mexican "flag was hoisted to the peak. In all; there were "three hundred souls aboard, when the steamer "left Folsom-street Wharf. In the absence of "President Chenery, Charles D. Carter was "selected as acting-President. Philip A. Roach "was the Chairman of the Committee of Arrange- "ments, and throughout the excursion exerted "himself to render the trip in every way agree- "able.

"Major General Ord, although unable to "accept the invitation of Mr. Lull of the Com- "mittee, responded to it, not only by note, but by "paying the steamer the compliment of thirteen "guns from Alcatraz, as she steamed by the "fortress. General Ord, in his note of declina- "tion, mentions the fact of his being stationed "at Monterey, amongst a people generous, culti- "vated, and hospitable; and that his sojourn "there was a delightful one. Everybody aboard "the *Senator* had made up their minds and pre- "pared their bodies for a gay time. The Band "of the Twelfth Infantry was called into requis- "ition, by the dancers, before the Presidio was "reached; but the slight swell off the Fort sum- "marily stopped this fun, and, by the time the "bar was crossed, a few bed-clothes were tumble- "ed by the qualmish. The sea was smooth, "however; the sunset meal relished by nearly all; "and the mild moonlight evening kept the poet- "ically inclined on deck, until the midnight "hour.

"Just as the sun peered above the Santa Cruz "hills, the light-house rounded into view; and "in a few moments the staunch old steamer was "beautifully brought alongside the pier, and "the thriving seaside town of Santa Cruz con- "tained within its limits the floating colony of "the *Senator*. A tarry of two hours, here, enab- "led the passengers to 'do' the place satisfacto- "rily. The early start sharpened the appetite for "the excellent matutinal meal, at once bountiful "in quantity and well cooked. And here we "must declare that the *cuisine* suffered at the "tongue of no grumbler during the absence of "the vessel from this port."

A dispatch to the *Bulletin* of the third of June, says: "The steamer *Senator*, with the excur- "sionists from San Francisco, arrived at Santa "Cruz, at five o'clock this morning. The sail "down the coast was delightful, the sea being "calm and the weather clear. But few were "sea-sick. The number of passengers exceed- "ed the sleeping accommodations; and those "who remained up kept the rest awake with "their boisterous merriment. A large number "of passengers went ashore at Santa Cruz, where "the steamer stopped two hours, and started for "Monterey at half past seven o'clock, taking a "large delegation of Santa Cruz pioneers and "citizens. The music of the Twelfth Infantry "Band of nineteen pieces was a grand feature of "the voyage.

"Several lady correspondents of California and "Eastern papers were on hand, including one "who came with the Boston party. John Sav- "age, the Irish patriot, is one of the guests of the "Pioneers.

"Philip Roach of the *Examiner*, who was Alcalde "and Mayor of Monterey, in 1849, and represent- "ed it in the State Senate, is Chairman of the "Committee of Arrangements. Charles R. Bond "marshals the Pioneers, who are here in force, "with their silver and gold bear-badges and "Society banner. Several representatives of the "San Francisco journals are along."

We take the following account of the reception at Monterey, the procession, and addresses, chiefly from the *Alta California* and the San Francisco *Examiner* of the sixth of June.

As soon as the gallant old steamer was made fast to the wharf at Monterey, Charles R. Bond, acting Marshal of the Association, announced the programme.

"Order of Proceedings.

"Grand Marshal and his Aids.

"First Division—Military Companies and "Bands.

"Second Division—California Pioneers; Stev- "enson's Regiment, officers and men.

"Third Division—Orator of the day; State "and Federal officers and file; ex-Prefects, "Alcaldes, and Mayors; City and County officers.

"Fourth Division—Civic Associations.

"Fifth Division—Whaling Companies.

"Sixth Division—Public Schools.

"Seventh Division—Visitors and Citizens, on "foot.

"Eighth Division—Citizens, in carriages and on "horseback.

"At twelve M., a signal gun will be fired, at the "church, to form procession there.

"Order of March.

"From Church to the front of Albrego's house;

"thence to the corner of Pearl and Washington-
"streets; thence up Pearl to Alvarado-street;
"thence down Alvarado-street to the Custom-
"house; thence crossing the bridge to the pic-
"nic grounds.

"On arrival at the bridge and picnic grounds,
"a signal gun will be fired.

"An Oration will be delivered, about three, P.
"M.; notice of which will be given by firing a
"signal gun.

"The Pioneers of Monterey will form a Com-
"mittee of Reception.

"Aids to Grand Marshal—J. D. Callahan, E.
"W. Mills.

"Division Marshals—First Division, J. R.
"Leese; Second Division, R. McKee; Third
"Division, W. S. Johnson; Fourth Division, T.
"G. Lambert; Fifth Division, Capt. Pray;
"Sixth Division, R. B. Warren; Seventh Divis-
"ion, L. F. Brown; Eighth Division, H. Mills.

"BADGES.

"Grand Marshal—Red Scarf.

"Aids to Grand Marshal—Blue Scarfs.

"Marshals—White Scarfs.

"Other Aids will wear a red ribbon tied on
"the left side of the coat, in button hole.

"B. V. SARGENT, Grand Marshal.

"MONTEREY, May 30, 1870."

At this moment, the Monterey Pioneers, a stalwart body of fifty-six men, were observed, drawn up as a Reception Committee, on the wharf, each bearing the regalia of their Order. In their ranks was borne a large American ensign, and also the first banner of the City of Monterey, at its organization. It was designed by the lamented "Squibob," who was, at one time, stationed here. His humor is exhibited by the motto, "Anda," "Go ahead!"

The Banner of Monterey was borne by B. F. Kooser, of Santa Cruz, the oldest Pioneer present, and the American flag, by J. C. Piercy, of San José.

Now the Pioneers formed a hollow square. The last Prefect of the District, Don David Spence, welcomed the guests, generally, most cordially by a neat speech and his singing *Auld Lang Syne*, in excellent voice for a man of threescore years and ten. The crowd, a large portion of whom were ladies, joined in the chorus. It was a monster out-door concert.

Milton Little, President of the Monterey Pioneers, in a brief speech, welcomed their Brother Pioneers.

Charles D. Carter, Esq., acting-President, introduced Philip A. Roach, who responded in behalf of the San Francisco Association. He stated that his Society had accepted the invitation with sincere satisfaction. This was an event that deserved commemoration of all Pioneers in the State. Consequently every organization in California had been invited; and delegations from all of these were present. Their officers had written their acceptance in words that had been given to the public through the press; the sentiments conveyed a high appreciation of the labors of the Missionary Fathers. They had taught the Indian to plant the olive and the vine and to build churches; had trained them to be docile; and, in various ways, to render themselves serviceable to the early Pioneers.

After other remarks, the speaker, in conclusion, pointed to the Cross and said, "Behold in
"yonder glen, on the western marge of this Conti-
"nent, the sign under which the Missionaries
"came to conquer. Inspired with the determina-
"tion to do their duty to God, they sought to raise
"the poor creatures amongst whom they came, to
"a knowledge of the goodness of their great Cre-
"ator and to teach them such useful arts as they
"were capable of learning. All here can bear wit-
"ness how well they succeeded. The Cross has
"been more powerful than the Sword. It solves a
"problem in which our national reputation is in-
"volved. The funds contributed by individuals
"to carry on this noble work are retained by
"Mexico. Could those funds be obtained and
"given to Missionary Fathers, the triumph of
"the past would be exceeded by the victories of
"the future.

"The Cross is where Viscaino stood: it is
"placed where Serra blessed the soil: we stand
"before it, to-day: may it remain there for ages,
"to guard Monterey from evil, pestilence and
"famine."

The procession then formed, the Band preceding and playing national airs. Next fell in the officers; and the ladies sandwiched between the first and second-class Pioneers. The crowd marched up Alvarado-street, both sides of which were planted with young and vigorous Monterey pines and cypress saplings. The houses—nearly all of which, on this side, as on all of the streets, are built of adobe, and many are spacious and elegant residences—on the present occasion, were dressed in a holiday garb, the brilliant green of the foliage contrasting magnificently with the dazzling whiteness of the houses.

After halting, for a brief period, at Harris's Washington Hotel, which was covered from cornice to sidewalks with evergreens, the procession moved to the old Church of San Carlos de Monterey. This sacred structure displayed the American, Spanish, and Mexican ensigns.

The Church is cruciform and a perfect bijou of elegance. It was densely crowded. A Te Deum was executed by the choir, accompanied by the Santa Cruz Band. The High Mass was sung by Padre Ambris, assisted by several clergymen from adjoining districts. This Father is the Pas-

tor of San Antonio. He came to California with the first Bishop of the Diocese, then composed of Baja and Alta California. Since then, a period of nearly thirty years, he has been exercising pastoral duties.

In early days, the Mission of San Antonio de Padua was one of the most important, in wealth and the number of its neophytes. It is yet, owing to the labor of his own hands, aided by the remaining Indians, kept in a good state of preservation.

The remaining services, at the Church, were a sermon, in Spanish, by Father Rubio, who also made a few remarks in English.

The other clergymen present were Fathers Casanova, Curran, Mahony, Hudson and Rubio.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the grand procession commenced forming at the Church, under the general management of B. V. Sargent. The names of the Aids were Doctor Callahan and E. W. Mills. Division Marshals, J. R. Leese, R. McKee, W. S. Johnson, T. G. Lambert, Captain Pray, R. B. Warren, L. F. Brown, and H. Mills.

The programme was carried out, fully and faithfully, as published. One of the distinguishing features of it was a beautifully decorated car, containing girls clad in white, and representing the different States and Territories. The children are pupils of the Public Schools, under the management of Robert B. Warren, Mrs. Batcheldor, and Miss Phillips.

The equestrians in the procession attracted much attention, by their splendid horsemenship. The mounted Marshals performed their various duties, promptly and satisfactorily. The California carriage of the olden time, and such as has been used in Monterey until very recently, was revived with the procession. This was a ponderous cart, with wooden wheels, and drawn by an ox. The shafts were hickory poles, and a harness of raw hide. The occupant was a handsome American lady, who, as a young girl, crossed the plains in a somewhat similar vehicle, eighteen years since, in the long period of six months. To-day, the iron horse travels in the Pioneers' path, and makes the trans-continental journey in six days instead of consuming half a year.

On the arrival of the procession at the grove, on an eminence overlooking the Bay, groups selected shady dells, whilst others might have been seen gathering wild-flowers, and enjoying the magnificent sea view and the finny tribes disporting in its placid waters.

Extending through a long portion of the grove, was a table spread with viands of a most substantial character and native wines, which were partaken of with a zest heightened by the long march and stimulated by the ocean breeze. It seemed as if every resident of the country had contributed to make an old-fashioned *merienda*, a complete success.

The large attendance of native California dames and maidens was the theme of general remark. Many of the old ladies were present, to do honor to the early Fathers who had given them secular and religious instruction. To show their sympathy with the celebration, a number of venerable matrons came from distant points, to attend it.

At three o'clock, an immense crowd convened around the rostrum. The President of the Day, Don David Spence, a Pioneer of 1824, called the meeting to order. After music, by the Santa Cruz Band, Father Hudson, of Gilroy, delivered the Oration of the day, which we have the privilege of presenting, from the original manuscript, which Father Hudson has kindly transmitted for our especial use.

[ORATION.]

"It relieves me of considerable anxiety to be-
"hold the numerous assembly with which I am
"surrounded, because it gives me sufficient evi-
"dence of the interest you take in the proceed-
"ings of to-day. It tells me, that it is not left
"for me to awaken interest—an undertaking for
"which I would hesitate to pronounce myself
"competent. I feel that you have been unhap-
"py in your selection of a speaker for this
"occasion; but I confess that I am proud of the
"honorable position to which you have assigned
"me. I am proud, as a Minister of God, in
"putting my hand to the work, be that hand
"ever so feeble, when there is a question of com-
"memorating such heroic efforts for the spread
"of Civilization, for the reclamation of man-
"kind, and for the propagation of Christian
"Doctrine, as those which we are assembled to
"commemorate, to-day.

"We read the history of the Propagation of
"the Faith; we gather, from the monuments of
"Christianity, which exist in the various quar-
"ters of the globe, information of the gigantic
"efforts which have been made by individuals,
"and of the wonderful efforts which their exer-
"tions produced. If we give ourselves time to
"reflect upon the circumstances under which
"some of these efforts were made, and upon the
"difficulties which these circumstances must
"have thrown in the way, we will stand aston-
"ished at the results which have been achieved.
"Even in this nineteenth century, in which we
"live, we are ready to give men credit, as ben-
"efactors of their kind, when, through their
"agency, some result, calculated to promote
"the general well-being, is produced. This is
"all right, and it would be ingratitude to act
"otherwise. But, if we be so grateful to our
"modern benefactors, to men who have pro-

"duced beneficial results, not single-handed, "my friends, but with all the surroundings of "Civilization, with each individual of an en- "lightened community contributing his mite "towards facilitating the work of the leading "spirit, and, therefore, sharing with him in the "merit of his productions; if, after all this, we "consider ourselves so deeply indebted to the "inventive genius, to the laborious artist, to the "ripe scholar who devotes his acquisitions to "to the refinement of the society in which we "live, to the devoted Missionary who announces "the glad tidings of the Gospel which has such "a benign influence upon the society: if, I say, "we be so grateful to these benefactors, notwith- "standing that they accomplished their work "with comparatively little sacrifice, what "should be our feelings towards those heroes "of antiquity, who, with axe in hand, cleared "their way through the pathless defiles, through "the otherwise inpenetrable thickets of Cali- "fornia, in order to establish Religion and "Civilization, of which we are now the inheri- "tors; in order to plant, by the sweat of their "brows, the very trees, the fruit of which our "people are enjoying; in order to make known "to us the existence of this garden in which we "live, this favorite land in whose behalf a "bountiful Providence has acted with so much "liberality?

"But, in order to understand the sacrifices "made by the men to whose memory we are "assembled to do honor, to-day, let us follow "them, a little, through the rough paths they "had to travel, in exploring and settling the "then unknown regions of California.

"As early as the year 1603, the Spanish Ad- "miral, Don Sabastian Viscaino, visited the "harbor of Monterey. On the site of the town "in which we are now assembled, at that early "date, the Royal Standard of the Cross was "erected. The Holy Sacrifice of the new law "was celebrated, under the shade of a spread- "ing oak, which stood at the mouth of a ravine. "The Admiral, having taken note of the harbor "he had discovered and its surroundings, not "being so equipped as to be able to colonize or "settle the place, withdrew, with his compan- "ions, in the hope that steps would be taken, "immediately after his return, to send the "blessings of Religion and Civilization to the "native Indians, who were as much present to "the all-seeing eye of our Lord, as they, them- "selves, of the Caucasian race, were, when He "issued the command to 'Go and teach all na- "'tions,' although the blessings flowing from "obedience to that command had reached them "so long before.

"The holy apostle, St. James, who brought "the glad-tidings of the Gospel to Spain, must "look down with complacency, no less than my "own glorious patron, St. Patrick, on the work "of his spiritual children, in the Propagation of "the Faith of Christ. Wherever the Spanish lan- "guage is spoken, and it is widely diffused "over the face of the earth—perhaps the most "widely of European languages, if we except "the English—and, in many places where it is "not spoken, the spiritual children of St. James, "from every quarter of the peninsula which he "evangelized, are to be found engaged in the "same holy work, obeying the same divine pre- "cept which fell upon the ears of the Apostles, "when our Lord and Saviour spoke the words "'Going, therefore, teach all nations.' The Cas- "tilian, the Andalusian, the Arragonian, and the "Catelonian, from the snow-capped Pyrrenian "mountains to the sunny vineyards of Granada, "Spain has sent forth her Soldiers of Christ, "armed with the Cross, to fight the battles of "their Lord. The history of South America, "the history of Mexico, the history of Califor- "nia, the history of the event which we are "assembled to commemorate, to-day, all bear "ample testimony to the truth of what I say. "But let us have a few facts; because, after all, "they are more substantial things than words.

"After that one solitary visit, by Don Sa- "bastian Viscaino, in 1603, the sand-hills of "Monterey were not again pressed by the foot "of the white man, for the long period of one "hundred and sixty-seven years. It was not "forgotten, however. Every syllable of infor- "mation concerning it was carefully preserved: "and so accurate was that information, and so lit- "tle effect had that long lapse of years upon the "appearance of Monterey, that those who final- "ly established Religion and Civilization, here, "recognized it, at first sight, as the place de- "scribed by Admiral Don Sabastian Viscaino, "one hundred and sixty-seven years before.

"On the twelfth day of March, in the year "1768, Father Junipero, whose name is so "closely connected with the settlement of Mon- "terey, started from San Blas, on his way to "Lower California. On the first day of the "following month, he arrived at Loretto; and, "continuing his journey, he reached his desti- "nation, in Lower California, on the sixth of "the following July. Whether the object of "Father Junipero's journey was to meet the "Visitor General of New Spain, who arrived in "Lower California, at the same time, or not, "does not appear. Subsequent events, however, "would seem to warrant such a conjecture. This "Visitor General, Don José Galves, came with "royal order to send an expedition to settle the "port of Monterey or, at least, that of San Diego.

"After an interview between Father Junipero "and the Visitor General, in La Paz, expeditions

"were started, both by land and by sea, to settle "the above-named places. Each expedition was "divided into two companies. The two ships "which carried the two companies of the sea "expedition, were the *San Carlos* and the *San* "*Antonio*. They brought with them, the mate- "rials, both spiritual and temporal, for the ac- "complishment of the work they had in hand. "On board, were three Missionaries, sacred vest- "ments for the altar, farming implements, and "agricultural seeds. These were PIONEERS, my "friends; and those who have associated them- "selves, under the title of '*Pioneers*,' are fulfill- "ing a noble duty when they take advantage of "every opportunity of doing honor to these, "their noble predecessors.

"The first destination of these ships was San "Diego; and each had orders that the first ar- "riving should await the coming of the other, "for twenty days; and, in case of its not arriv- "ing at the end of that time, they were to leave "there a sign of their arrival, and then continue "their journey for Monterey.

"The land expedition, consisting of two divi- "sions, also started, at the same time, in pursuit "of the same object, and with the same orders "regarding the stay of the first arrival for "twenty days: the leaving there a sign; and "their proceeding, in quest of Monterey.

"With the second division of the land expedi- "tion, came the never-to-be-forgotten, in Mon- "terey, Father Junipero, who, in union with "Father Juan Crespi, was destined to administer "to the spiritual wants of the future Mission, of "Monterey. The first division of the land ex- "pedition brought with them two hundred head "of cows, bulls, and oxen; and here, my "friends, is the germ, this is the starting-point, "of stock-raising in California.

"The work is fairly begun: the expeditions, "both by land and by sea, are wending their "way, northward. Let us bid them, 'God "'speed,' and pass before them, in thought, to "San Diego, to await, there, the first arrival.

"In the mean time, however, the land expe- "dition will have performed a great work. On "the thirteenth of May, 1769, after having "travelled from the twenty-first of March, they "arrived at Villacatá, in Lower California, "where they halted; and, on the following "day, the fourteenth, they established the Mis- "sion of San Fernandes. They divided their "farming implements and left forty head of the "cattle. But they had no time to loose: more- "over, this work did not seem to come within "the range of their orders; and, notwith- "standing that it was Penticost Sunday, on "which they established that Mission, a time, "as every Catholic knows, of great festivity in "the Church, they resumed their journey, the "next day, in search of San Diego. But, while "we have been talking, and a month before the "establishment of the Mission of San Fernan- "des, the ship *San Antonio*, on the eleventh of "April, arrived in San Diego. She remained "twenty days, according to instructions; and, "having put up the appointed signal, to show "that they had been there, they were about to "set sail, when the *San Carlos* hove in sight. "By the first of July, of the same year, 1769, "all that had started from La Paz, both by "land and by sea, except those who were left "in charge of the Mission of San Fernandes, "were once more gathered together in San Diego.

"After a couple of weeks spent in recruiting "their strength and in deliberation, an expedi- "tion, by land, was despatched in search of "Monterey. This expedition was composed of "Governor Gasper Portalá and his servant; "Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomes, "and two Indians, of Lower California, as their "servants; Captain Fernando Renera, the sec- "ond commander of the expedition, with twen- "ty-six soldiers; Pedro Fages, a Lieutenant of "a Company of Catalonians, of seven men, all "that were left to him, able to travel; and an "Engineer, Don Miguel Constanzo, with five "teamsters and fifteen Indians to open roads "before the party.

"On the sixteenth of July, two days after "the departure of the above expedition, the "formal establishment of the Mission of San "Diego took place. The system adopted by "the Spanish Government, and which was in- "violably adhered to by the Missionary Priests, "in their dealings with the native Indians, was "one of kindness. Attractions and bribes, "rather than threats or punishments, were the "means adopted, to induce them to bend to "the yoke of Civilization. Following this "plan, the Fathers who administerd the affairs "of the Mission gavethe Indians clothes and oth- "er commodities, valuable in their estimation. "These presents excited the cupidity of the "natives, so that in thirty days after its estab- "lishment, the infant Mission of San Diego, "had to defend itself from an attack, in which "one of the defenders fell and four were "wounded. Among the latter, was one of the "Fathers.

"But let us follow the land expedition "which started in search of Monterey.

"We shall not recount of this trip, which "would be tedious for an occasion like this. "But you will have some idea of the toil "through which they must have passed, when "I say that, after a journey of six months and "ten days, from the fourteenth of July, 1769, "to the twenty-fourth of January, 1770, they

"returned to San Diego, without having "found the object of their search.

"Those who have travelled the stage-line, "from this point to Los Angeles, can form "some idea of what it was to pioneer that "road. They can understand, at once, the "necessity there was of sending a party ahead "of them, to clear the road.

"This expedition actually came to Monterey, "and returned, with the impression that the "sandhills, in the neighborhood, had taken the "place of the harbor described by Admiral "Don Sabastian Viscaino. But the future "Capital of California was not to remain much "longer in oblivion; neither were the intrepid "pioneers to be discouraged by former revers-"es. February and March were allowed to "pass; and, on the sixteenth of April, the *San* "*Antonio*, with Father Junipero on board, set "sail. The following day, a party started by "land, guided by Father Juan Crespi and "Governor Portala. To this last expedition "is due the honor, not of discovering, but of "recovering, Monterey. On the twenty-fourth "of May, after thirty-seven days travelling, "this land expedition arrived in Monterey; "and, in seven days after, on the thirty-first, the "*San Antonio* sailed into the harbor.

"Both parties recognized the place from the "description given of it by Admiral Don Sa-"bastian Viscaino. They had no difficulty in "finding the tree, now more venerable by the "growth of one hundred and sixty-seven "years, under the shade of which the Holy "Sacrifice of the new law had once been "offered; and, the Holy Mysteries were again "celebrated beneath the shade of its spreading "branches, which were, thenceforth, to afford "shelter to a Christian people, instead of being "a silent witness of idolatry and savage life.

"Three days more, and we have arrived at "the glorious third of June, one hundred years "ago, the day of the establishment of the Pres-"idio and Mission of Monterey.

"This, then, became the starting point of "future expeditions which brought news of "Santa Cruz, San Francisco, San José, Santa "Clara: every spot of the bay, from Alviso to "its northern extremity, was explored; and the "accounts that were given of these places show "a high appreciation of them, by the men who "found them.

"Here, in this town, were signed the papers "of annexation, which added another star to "the America flag, and not the least brilliant.

"We are, therefore, assembled in a time-honor-"ed City; a City with which there are grand "recollections connected; and which still, in her "old age, is the Capital of an important County. "She holds a position which, with energy on the "part of her citizens, may yet cause her to be "respected. She may be, and nature has in-"tended her for such, the dépôt of the vast "farming country lying South; and all this "seems to have been taken in, at a glance, by "the old Spanish Admiral, Don Sabastian Vis-"caino, and also by those who finally settled "here and constituted Monterey the Capital of "California.

"But, was this the object of Father Junipero? "Was this the object which impelled Father Juan "Crespi? No, my friends, they had higher and "holier motives in view. These were to render "the blood of their Savior efficacious, in saving "the souls of the Aborigines. We had spoken "of the hardships which these pioneers of Chris-"tian truth had to endure; but what were hard-"ships to these, who labored in so holy a cause. "Every thorn was, to them, a rose; every new "trial afforded them another proof of their "fidelity to their Divine Master; every privation "was for them a new claim to an eternal reward; "and, whatever honor they may deserve, as "temporal benefactors of their kind, here is the "real source from which their title to honor "flows. They sought no earthly distinctions; "and, in proof of that, I have only to point to "the grave-yard, in which their ashes mingle "with those of the poor Indians for whom they "gave their lives, without a stick or stone to "mark the sod beneath which their venerable "bones repose. All honor to such self-sacrifice. "And if men should fail to do it honor, God "could not be otherwise than indignant at their "conduct. He would raise up children from "the stones to do honor to such men. He would "send his angels from heaven, that they might "be honored upon earth; and He, Himself, will "not fail to set a crown of everlasting honor "and glory upon the heads of men who spent "themselves, as they did, in his service."

In reply to the call of citizens, Mr. Roach was introduced to the crowd, as the last Alcalde of Monterey, and its first Mayor. This notice was hailed with great cheering. He then said, "The "Reverend gentleman who preceded me has "mentioned the reasons that induced Spain to "select this port for a naval and military sta-"tion. Look at this magnificent Bay. It stretch-"es, from point to point, twenty-eight miles. It "can shelter the navies of the world. Its anchor-"age is secure. No pilot has ever been needed "to bring vessels, even to its wharf. The larg-"est ships ever constructed can ride at anchor, "within a few hundred yards of the beach. The "great seaports of the world are obliged to levy "heavy charges on shipping, for inward and out-"ward pilotage. The cost of this service, in San "Francisco, for one year, or, at most, two years, "would build, in Monterey Bay, a breakwater that

"would give perfect security, in all weather; but "the United States Government ought to perform "this duty. Of late, it had been seeking to obtain "harbors in various sections of the world, which "will require immense sums to place them in "security. Why not devote some of our "treasure to improve this harbor? The ports "of Monterey and Santa Cruz can soon be "made great centres of shipment of merchandise. "A railroad could be constructed to bring, for "shipment, hence, immense quantities of grain "from the San Joaquin region. A railroad even "within the County, would bring produce to fill "your grain-elevators; and, as in the past, "Monterey would become, again, in the mar-"kets of the world, a place of commercial im-"portance. Look at yonder *estero*, bridged to "lead from the church to the cemetery. There "is a natural dock-yard, by removing the sand-"bar that obstructs its mouth. It is deep enough "to take in the largest ship; and was favorably "reported on, by many of the naval commanders. "Why not adopted? Because there was a combi-"nation on foot, in 1849, of high speculators. "Our people, who owned land, were made to be-"lieve that the Convention, if called, would con-"tinue the Capital at Monterey; that the Bar-"racks would be used; and that a Naval Depot "would be established here. Then your people "swapped lots in San Francisco for those in "Monterey. You remember many of these bar-"gains, to your sorrow.

"Soon came the change: the Capital was re-"moved to San José: then we saw the Naval "Depot taken from us: next we heard that "wooden shanties were to be erected in the "*healthier* climate of Benicia, for the Army. "These tinder boxes, and the expense entailed "by the change, cost over a million dollars. I "asked Governor Riley, the last Military Govern-"or of the Territory, why this change? why "abandon fire-proof quarters for the others? "The gallant soldier and the honest, scar-marked "veteran answered, in his stammering manner, "'Spec-spec-spec-ulation.' That was what caused "the quick blows against your city.

"The hundred years that have rolled over this "section, since its settlement, are marked by "monuments of noble deeds of its Missionary "Fathers. There stands a church, in splendid "order, but, behold the old pastoral residence. "needing repairs and with a small debt, as a "dome. I hope those who hear me—those "whose heads have been blessed with the sacred "emblem I see before me, and who, in dying, "will give that sign—will unite in doing some-"thing to remove that debt.

"Brighter days are coming. The dawn of "another century is upon us. Behold! God's "great orb is shining in a clear, unclouded sky. "This scene of loveliness cheers our hope. The "luxuriant trees crowning these hills will soon "re-echo the whistle of the locomotive, travel-"ing the route never obstructed by snow, that "will connect this magnificent Bay, by the shortest "route, with the Atlantic ports, and develop, by "its construction, the greatest mineral regions "that are guarded by hostile Indians. The "Southern Pacific Railroad will be a realized "fact, before ten years have passed; and its "building will thoroughly prospect the country "through which it will run, with immense bene-"fit to the good people of this place. As other "speakers will follow me, in English and Span-"ish, I will be brief. I wish this grand event "to be complete. There floats the standard of "Spain, loaned by the Italian Society, who gave "it to the breeze, last year, in honor of the dis-"covery of America by Columbus. It was now "where the sons of Spain planted the Cross, on "the day we honor. The people who surround "me understand its accents. Many of them "speak no other language; and the grand de-"monstration would be incomplete, if *los hijos* "*del pais* did not hear spoken, on such an occa-"sion as this, the language in which Isabella "the Catholic bade farewell to the Great Discov-"erer. In conclusion, friends, I thank you. "Farewell. *Adios.*"

At the conclusion of Mr. Roach's remarks, the grove echoed and re-echoed with the *vivas* of the Californians and the shouts of the Americans: the ladies waving their kerchiefs in token of admiration over the brilliant effort.

There were then calls for Don Jacinto Rodriguez, as representative of the native Californians. Not appearing, and it being understood that he had left the ground, Senor Joaquin Bolado, a native of old Spain, was called for. Presenting himself, in response, he was received with cheers and *vivas*, and then delivered a short and stirring address, in his own language, in which he referred to the brilliant position held by his country, at the date of Monterey's settlement, and claimed that the same enterprise and hardihood yet animated his countrymen. The native Californians, present, applauded him, enthusiastically, as did also the Americans, who were stirred by his gestures, if they did not entirely understand his language.

There were then cries for Mr. John Savage, the distinguished Fenian lecturer. This gentlemen thereupon came forward and was presented to the audience, amidst great cheering, by the Chairman. He made a short address, happily delivered, with appropriate gestures and remarkably fine voice, and produced much enthusiasm.

The San Francisco *Examiner* gives the following report of Mr. Savage's speech:

"Addressing the Chairman and the assemblage, "he said he was sincerely thankful for the call "made upon him, which was as unexpected as it "was complimentary. He profoundly estimat- "ed the enthusiasm with which his name was "received. He had no desire, as a man, to "intrude himself upon this historical occasion; "but, as a Christian, he felt proud and honor- "ed in responding to the generous call made "upon him. 'Identified, as I am,' said Mr. Sav- "age, 'with the great and glorious State of New "'York, I am glad to meet here the chivalry of "'the Pacific—glad to meet the adventurous, "'bold, intelligent, and enterprising men who "'have made California. You hold the Golden "'Gate of the West of this Continent. We "'have held, now hold, and *will* hold the Gold- "'en Gate of the East. Intelligence and enter- "'prise have followed, if they have not yet "'fulfilled, the decrees of God, in this respect; "'and New York and California, thus standing "'sentinels at, and controlling, the gates of the "'New World, can shake hands across the broad "'Continent and congratulate each other upon "'the grandeur of the destiny which awaits "'them. As a member of the great family of "'New York, thrown somewhat into a represen- "'tative position, I proudly, fraternally, grasp "'the hand of friendship which greets me on "'the Pacific, and will bear back with me the "'generous sympathy of the Pioneers to the "'States from which they, in their strength and "'determination, adventurously emigrated, to "'hew the path of empire to the romantic re- "'gion and the mighty ocean we now and here "'gaze upon.'

"Mr. Savage said, that as the Reverend Orator "of the day had spoken, at length, on the oc- "currences which tended to make the occasion so "interestingly historic; and, as his friend, Don "Philip Roach, the last Alcalde of Monterey, "under the old regime, and the first Mayor un- "der the new, had expressed his views on the "adaptability of the locality for commerce and "enterprise, he would but briefly occupy the at- "tention of the assemblage.

"One significant fact—a fulfillment of Divine "authority—struck him. 'As I came upon this "'beautiful ground,' said Mr. Savage, 'my at- "'tention was reverentially attracted to the "'Cross upon which I read the commemorative "'words, JUNE 3D, 1770. That Cross was the "'symbol of the Christian Pioneers, who fol- "'lowed the faith of the Savior who died "'upon the Cross to give fraternity to mankind, "'and thereby to give them freedom. Before "'me, I have a touching illustration of the ful- "'fillment of this design and faith. I see, "'before me, Spaniards, Mexicans, Indians, Cal- "'ifornians of the old regime, Californians of "'the new regime, Irish, Germans, French, Ital- "'ians, and native-born Americans, from the "'older States, living in that fraternity which "'fulfills the object for which the Divine Re- "'deemer died, and gives that strength and "'confidence which develops respect and reli- "'ance between man and man (*Great cheering*). "'Communities founded on the Cross are invul- "'nerable. Invincible in the truth and sacrifi- "'cial glory they represent, they must go on, "'conquering and to conquer, in and by the "'elements of a progressive and convincing civ- "'ilization.' (*Cheers*).

"After some further remarks, Mr. Savage said "that, 'while we do honor, justly and necessarily, "'to the Missionary Fathers who had done so "'much, not only to lead in the path of empire, "'but to illuminate it, we must not overlook the "'great sufferings, the devoted endurance, the "'untiring countenance and love of the daugh- "'ters of Christianity—the mothers, wives, and "'daughters of the Pioneers, who have done so "'much to preserve the territory, by preserving "'the men who held it. I have seen, to-day, "'some of the most beautiful women I have "'ever seen; in whose faces—characteristic of "'the struggles of their progenitors—joy and "'confidence conflicted and embraced: and "'thanking *you*, men of California, sincerely, "'for the generous favor with which you have "'received me, on this memorable occasion, I "'bend in homage to *them*, and will conclude "'by offering the *Health of the Women of the* "'*Pacific*.' Great and renewed cheering greeted "Mr. Savage as he retired from the platform. "As he descended, many persons crowded round "him—some cavaliers getting off their horses to "shake him by the hand."

With this Address, the out-door exercises concluded. Before the dispersal, the President returned his thanks to the audience for their attention and the good order manifested throughout the celebration, here and in the town.

We should have heretofore stated that business of every description was suspended throughout the day. The surrounding country sent in numerous delegations, judging by the vast variety of vehicles which thronged the streets and crowds of persons seen in all parts of the town.

At dark, bonfires were lit on the hill-sides, bringing into full view the lofty cypresses and casting shadows differing from those of sun or moonlight. The front of the church was brilliantly illuminated; whilst at the portals and on the balconies of dwellings, might be seen, peering from behind fans, elegantly attired Senoritas, with their Cavaliers, all ready for the ball.

The official terpsichorean entertainment of the evening took place, under the auspices of the citizens, at the Court-house. The hall, although

spacious, was crowded to suffocation by ladies from the City and County, Santa Cruz, Watsonville, San Juan, Castroville and Salinas City, besides the large delegation from San Francisco.

There were also other social reunions held at the mansions of citizens. The bands paraded the streets; and, stopping in front of the domiciles known to be occupied by ladies of the early times, they serenaded them, which delicate compliment was fully appreciated. A splendid supper, commemorative of the occasion, was given on board of the *Senator*, at which friends of Pioneer passengers participated in the festivities.

A soiree was given at the dwelling of Jacob P. Leese, which was largely attended. The native belles of Monterey here shone resplendent; and waltzing was indulged in, until a late hour. At Don José Abregos', a magnificent party assembled. There were present many of the *élite* of the residents of the town and adjacent country. Amongst the distinguished gentlemen, we observed Collector Phelps, Peter Donahue, Dr. McCullough and B. C. Whiting, of San Francisco and Monterey, besides the host, Milton Little, and Mr. Webb, son-in-law of Senor Abregos. The elegant mansion was superbly illuminated; and a pyrotechnical display added to the delightful features of the entertainment. There was an abundance of music, both vocal and instrumental—the Twelfth Infantry Band making their appearance, with a "flourish of trumpets," at a late hour. The day dawned before the reluctantly retiring guests bade adieu to their generous hosts.

At a soiree given at Dr. Blankman's residence, there was more charming music. Miss Gracie Roberts, who lately graduated with the very highest honors at the Benicia Female Seminary, sang several songs, exquisitely.

The sounds of revelry are hushed. The gorgeous tints in the rosy East, heralding the approach of the long June day, arouse the drowsy Pioneer just stepping aboard the steamer, swinging lazily along the pier. He fears to tarry longer in the halls of mirth, for the decree Imperial has gone forth from the Master, that his ship stays not a moment for the weary straggler. All aboard! Lines cast off—prow turned northward—and the good ship plows her way through the tranquil waters; for this Bay, at morn, at noonday, and at the dewy eve, is, during this sweet Summer month, as placid as the equatorial sea. The sun, as it rose above the horizon, lit up the Jubilee Grove of the Pioneers with an effulgence that rivaled the fiery tempests that sweep over the western forests. The rocks off the headlands looked like balls of fire; whilst the motionless waters of the Bay shone in hue, as golden as the ribbed ripples on the beach of molten silver. The towering peaks, on either shore of the Bay, at first enveloped in mist, shot, skyward, dark, and well defined, as the vapory clouds vanished before the God of Day. As the stately ship pushed onward, the snowy walls of the city houses faded away, until the spiral kings of the forest were seen to mark the home of the venerated founder of Monterey.

If there were big swells aboard this ship, there were bigger swells beneath it. Although there was no wind, the effects of the big blow experienced on his previous trip, by Captain Gregory, reached these windless latitudes. The "rollers" made almost every lady, and not a few of the rugged gender, deadly sea-sick, long before the ship reached Santa Cruz. Here, a stoppage of half an hour somewhat settled the stomachs of the complaining; and no sooner had the vessel left the wharf again, before decks and cabins were sufficiently cleared for dance and promenade. A baker's dozen, despite the pitching of the boat, got up the quadrille, and then waltzed it into port.

On passing the Presidio, ex-President Robert J. Tiffany called the Pioneers together, and requested acting-President Charles D. Carter to state the object of the meeting, who complied, and said that, to express the general satisfaction felt by the excursionists toward Captain Gregory and his officers, he would present the following Resolutions, drafted by Major Gillespie. They were read and unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society of "California Pioneers and other excursionists, to "and from Monterey, upon the Centennial Anni- "versary of the arrival of Padre Junipero Serra, "in Upper California, in 1770, and the founda- "tion of the City of Monterey, be extended "to Captain H. M. Gregory, Purser Edward "Hughes, and all the officers of the steamer "*Senator*, for their kindness, urbanity, good "feeling and attention during a very pleasant "trip, with their good wishes for their success, "prosperity and happiness."

After the adoption of these Resolutions, dancing was resumed, with zest, and continued until five o'clock, when, after a very rapid run from Santa Cruz, the excursionists disembarked at Folsom-street wharf, after a season of enjoyment unattended by a single untoward incident.

IV.—CENTRAL NEW YORK, SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

*THE AVERY FAMILY.**

Christopher Avery was one of the famed band

* From a recent number of the *New York Evangalist.* Ed. Hist. Mag.

who stepped from the *Mayflower* to Plymouth Rock, on that chilly December day, in 1620, just ninety-nine years after Cortez planted the banner of Spain on the halls of the Montezumas. Through Christopher's son, James, and several daughters, his descendants now number thousands, bearing the paternal name, "Avery," and others, into which his offshoots have married, during the intervening two hundred and fifty years. In New England, they number legion; in the prairies of the West, they are numerous; on the golden shores of the Pacific, they are represented; the remains of one, the Rev. Colby C. Mitchel, brilliant, devoted, and pure, repose in Koordistan, Asia, the scene of his youthful labors, as a Missionary of the Savior, where he slept, in 1841; another presides over the Senate of the United States, as second officer of this nation of forty millions, born and reared into manhood since his ancestor first trod that barren rock; another, Dr. Julius Avery Skilton, represents his country as United States Consul, in the city of Mexico; another, Hon. E. D. Morgan, has been Governor of the State of New York and a member of the United States Senate; the names of nine, all bearing the ancestral cognomen, "Avery," are inscribed on Groton Monument, among the martyred slain, who fell under the traitorous sword of Benedict Arnold, at Fort Ledyard, Connecticut, on the sixth of September, 1781; while two others escaped slaughter, to languish long in the British prison-ship, in the harbor of New York; another, Mrs. Peter W. Gray, is the honored wife of a distinguished jurist of Texas; another, Mrs. John Henry Brown, is the faithful and devoted consort of another Texan, whose life has been indentified with many of the incidents occurring in the almost romantic march of his State, from infancy to its present strides towards moral and material grandeur; and, in all parts of the country, the blood of a common ancestor is found in his various branches, aggregating a degree of moral worth, intelligence, and purity, rarely found in such uniformity throughout so extended a kinship.

But my object is not to build up a genealogical tree; but to introduce a pleasant reminiscence, from a single member of this wide spread family. In a recent trip through Western New York, a copy of the following brief narrative was placed in my hands. It was written, several years ago, as dictated by the narrator to his niece, Mrs. Fanny Avery Sabin, of Belvidere, Illinois, and was styled by her,

"Uncle David Avery's Story.

"I was born in Pequonnock, Connecticut, in "the year 1779. In 1795, I started for the "western part of the State of New York, commonly called the Genesees. I came, in company with Hezekiah Avery and wife, Daniel "Avery and wife, Ebenezer Avery and wife, "Dudley Avery and wife, and several young "men. Nathaniel Gallup and wife came with "us to Albany, and stopped there.

"We came on a sloop, owned and commanded "by Amos Avery. One of the young men had "a violin; and when we bid farewell to Groton "Bank, we left under the sounds of music. A "great crowd of relatives and friends stood on "the bank to bid us farewell, and long gazed "upon us, as we sailed, down the Thames, into "Long Island Sound. At the lighthouse, we "took on board another family, named Babcock.

"We had not been in the Sound more than "fifteen minutes, when there came up a strong "Southeaster; and every lady on board was sea-"sick. We ran all day under close-reefed sails; "and at night anchored in a bay under the lee of "Long Island, the ladies all going on shore, to "a house. In the morning, we again spread sail "for New York; and arrived there on the third "day. On the following day, against a head-"wind, we started up the Hudson, for Albany. "Day after day, during the flood-tide, we beat "up the river; and, as the ebb came, we "dropped anchor. To while away the time, "the young folks often danced on deck, to the "music of young Smith's violin. Sometimes "we went on shore. Near Albany, we ran "violently on the rocks,* knocking every one "down; but finally got off without injury. On "the sixteenth day from New York, we arrived "at Albany."

"At Albany, we had our goods placed on "hired wagons and transported a few miles "across to Schenectady, on the Mohawk, where "each family bought a batteau and started up "that river. In passing the rapids, called 'Old "'Knock 'em Stiff,' we had great difficulty, and "came near capsizing some of the boats, but "finally got to Little Falls, Mrs. Babcock "having died on the passage. At that place, "we had our boats and effects hauled in wagons, "round the Falls, and put in the river, above, "the distance being about a mile.

"Our next point was Fort Schuyler, now "Utica, where we found two log-houses in a "dense forest—thence moved on to Fort "Stanwix, now Rome, the head of canoe "navigation. From there, we hired our goods "and boats hauled through a dense wilderness, "thirty miles, to the mouth of Wood-creek, "on Oneida-lake, there not being a house "in the whole distance. Next morning, we

* Probably the Overslaugh, so well known to navigators on the Hudson.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

"converted our tents into sails and started the "little fleet across the lake, which was very "rough; but we got safely across to Fort "Barrington; tarried a little; and continued to "Three River-point; thence, up Seneca-river, "to Cayuga-lake; and up to our destination, "where Aurora stands, having been forty days "on our journey" [*which is now performed by rail, via Albany, Hartford, and Norwich, in about twelve hours.*]

"My brother, Ben Avery, and I worked for "hire, that Summer; and, in the Fall, or early "Winter, in company with Captain Daniel "Avery and others, with our packs on our "backs, we started back, on foot, for Groton, "New London-county. I was lame from a cut, "and suffered much. From Oneida Castle, for "nine miles, there was not a house, and the "snow was knee-deep, so we travelled in Indian "file, there being seven or eight of us.

"In the following Spring, my father moved "out, by the same route we had taken.

"In 1808, I returned again to Groton and "married my present wife and cousin, Fanny, "a daughter of Colonel Ebenezer Avery, whose "father, also named Ebenezer, was one of the "nine Avery martyrs who fell at Fort Ledyard, "on Groton Bank, in 1781.

"You must understand that Christopher "Avery, of the *Mayflower*, was father of the "first James; he of the second James; he of "the first Ebenezer; he of the second Ebenezer, "of Ledyard memory; he of the third, or "Colonel Ebenezer, who was the father of my "wife and of Mrs. David Mitchel, Mrs. Nathan "Dennison, and the five brothers, Ebenezer (4th), "Henry W., Sidney, Rev. Charles E., Egbert, "Rev. Jared R.

"When married, I bought a chaise, and came "back in rather better style than when we "moved out, thirteen years before. In conclu-"sion, I have lived, ever since 1796, on the same "piece of land I then entered, seventeen miles "South of Auburn, on the Poplar Ridge-road."

And so ends Uncle David's story. He died, as Christians only die, on his homestead, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1866, having lived there seventy years. His venerated and loved consort followed him, on the thirtieth of March, 1869.

V.—THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE TWO ARMIES, IN VIRGINIA, 1864–5.

[We cheerfully give place to the following letters, from the pens of Generals Badeau and Early, on this interesting question. For the first we are indebted to the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* of October 29, 1870; for the latter to its distinguished Author.—Editor of the Historical Magazine.]

I

General Badeau's Letter.

[From *The Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, October 29, 1870.]

The *London Standard*, of the twelfth of October, publishes the following letter, from General Badeau:

"My attention has recently been drawn to an "editorial article in the *Standard*, of the fifth "of October, which is devoted to General Rob-"ert E. Lee. I have, of course, no right, and "certainly no desire, to depreciate the estimate "put by the *Standard*, upon either the personal "or the military character of General Lee; but, "as the article in question contains several state-"ments, evidently based upon misinformation, "I venture to ask that you will allow me to "correct them in your columns. I have the less "hesitation in making this request, because my "principal authority for the proposed corrections "is, that of General Lee himself.

"All the original documents still in existence, "which once belonged to the Southern War Of-"fice, are now in possession of the United States' "Government; for, very soon after the capture "of Richmond, they were, by express direction "of Mr. Jefferson Davis, surrendered by Gener-"al Joseph E. Johnson to General Sherman. As "Military and Private Secretary to General "Grant, from the time when he took command "of the Armies of the United States, until he "became President, I have had, for years, unre-"stricted access, not only to his own official "papers, but to all these captured archives, and "have had occasion to study them more closely "than any living man.

"In the article of the *Standard* to which I "refer, it is declared—doubtless in good faith, "for the declaration has been made before, and "in other quarters—that General Lee, at the be-"ginning of the Wilderness Campaign, had but "fifty-thousand men under his command, while "General Grant had three times as many. The "official documents do not confirm this state-"ment. The Field Return of Lee, dated nearest "the first battles of the Wilderness, is that of "the twentieth of April, 1864; this gives fifty-"three thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-one "men present for duty, but does not include the "strength of Longstreet's Corps. Now Long-"street joined Lee after the twentieth of April, "and prior to the battle which occurred in the "first week of May. His Field Return of date "nearest to the battle, shows eighteen thousand, "three hundred, and eighty-seven present for "duty, making seventy-two thousand, two hun-"dred, and seventy-eight men, under Lee, at the "battle of the Wilderness. The whole force "present for duty, under Grant, as shown by his

"Field Return, of the same date as Lee's, was "ninety-eight thousand, and nineteen, leaving a "preponderance, in favor of Grant, of about "twenty-five thousand men, or a very little more "than one-third.

"The calculation that Grant had three times "as many men as Lee, has been obtained by "omitting Longstreet's Corps, altogether, from "the estimate, and by giving only Lee's force "present for duty, on the Rapidan; while, in "reckoning Grant's numbers, not only the pres- "ent for duty are counted, but those constituting "what, in military parlance, is called the "Total," "which includes the sick, the extra-duty men, "and various others, invariably amounting, in "any large Army, to many thousands. Mani- "festly, either Lee's Total should be compared "with Grant's Total, or Grant's present for duty, "with Lee's present for duty. But, besides "this, in order to make out Grant's Army three "times as large as Lee's, Grant's two forces in "the Valley of Virginia and on the James-river "(each, at least, one hundred miles from the Wil- "derness), are included in the estimate of his "strength; while the troops which Lee had in "front of these separate forces of Grant, are left "out of the calculations, altogether. I repeat "that, in the battle of the Wilderness, Lee had "about seventy-two thousand men engaged, "while Grant had ninety-eight thousand present "for duty, according to the confidential Field "Returns, made at the time, by each General, "to his own Government, when no General "would intentionally misstate or mislead.

"Again, it is stated, in the *Standard* article of "the fifth inst., that Lee moved out of Rich- "mond, after its fall, with twenty-six thousand "men. His last Field Return was made in Febru- "ary, 1865: it is signed in his own hand, and "gives fifty-nine thousand and ninety-four "present for duty, and seventy-three thousand, "three hundred, and forty-nine total. This does "not include the local militia of Richmond "nor the crews of the gunboats in the James- "river, both of which forces were always put "into the trenches, in an assault; and many of "whom, doubtless, moved out of Richmond, "with Lee. Together, they numbered, at least, "several thousands. In the battle of Five Forks "and the subsequent assaults on Petersburg, "which resulted in the capture of Richmond, "Lee may have lost twenty thousand men; but "this would have left him, by any computation, "at least forty thousand troops, with which he "fled from the fallen Capital.

"Once more, the article in question states that "eight thousand men were surrendered by Lee at "Appomatox Court-house. The official records "show, that twenty seven thousand, four hun- "dred and sixteen soldiers were actually paroled "at that place, beside the tens of thousands, also "belonging to Lee's Army, who came in, after- "ward, and yielded themselves prisoners of war. "Each of these gave his separate written parole. "I was present at the surrender of General Lee. "The event took place in a small room of what "seemed an ordinary farm-house, and in the "presence of fewer than twenty persons. After "General Lee had signed the capitulation, he "immediately requested General Grant to supply "the prisoners with food, as they had been "living on two ears of Indian corn a day, for "several days. Grant at once consented, and "inquired of Lee how many men he had in his "command. Lee replied that he could not tell; "he had received no Returns for several days; "his troops had been killed, or wounded, or "captured in such numbers, that he could not "estimate his actual force. Grant inquired if "twenty-five thousand rations would be enough, "and he answered that he thought they would; "twenty-five thousand rations were accordingly "issued, the same day, by Grant's officers to Lee's "army. This, therefore, was Lee's idea of his "own numbers, on the day of his surrender, "although, as proved by the paroles, it was "too small.

"The original documents, from which the "above figures are taken, are now on file in the "War Office at Washington; but official copies "of them all are now in my possession."

II

General Early's Reply. *

To the Editor of *The London Standard:*

To a people overpowered and crushed in a struggle for their rights, there is still left one resource on earth for the vindication of their conduct and character—that adopted by England's great Philosopher—an appeal to "foreign "nations and to the next age." A persistent and systematic effort to falsify the truth of history has been made, since the close of the late War, in this country, by the adherents of the United States Government in that conflict; and such a generous desire to vindicate the truth as that evinced by your recent articles upon the death of General Lee, has awakened a deep sense of gratitude in the hearts of all true Confederates. Presuming upon the kind sentiments manifested in your columns, I venture to ask the privilege of correcting, through the same medium, some of the gross errors contained in the letter of

* General Early printed this reply, originally in pamphlet form, for private circulation; but he has availed himself of the opportunity afforded by us, in this re-production of it, and corrected it, where errors had previously been made therein. In its present form, therefore, it may be considered as an original letter.—Editor of The Historical Magazine.

General Badeau, the late "Military and Private "Secretary to General Grant," which has been extensively copied from your journal into American journals.

In reference to the Campaign of 1864, from the Rapidan to James-river, General Badeau makes this remarkable statement:

"The calculation that Grant had three times "as many men as Lee, has been obtained by "omitting Longstreet's Corps altogether from "the estimate and by giving only Lee's force "'Present for duty,' on the Rapidan; while, in "reckoning Grant's numbers, not only the 'Pres-"'ent for duty' are counted, but those constituting "what, in military parlance, is called the 'Total,' "which includes the sick, the extra-duty men, "and various others, invariably amounting, in "any large army, to many thousands. Manifestly, either Lee's 'Total' should be compared "with Grant's 'Total' or Grant's 'Present for duty' "with Lee's 'Present for duty.' But, besides this, "in order to make out Grant's Army three times "as large as Lee's, Grant's two forces, in the Valley of Virginia and on the James-river (each, "at least, one hundred miles from the Wilderness) are included in the estimate of his "strength; while the troops which Lee had in "front of these separate forces of Grant are left "out of the calculation altogether. I repeat, "that, in the Battle of the Wilderness, Lee had "about seventy-two thousand engaged, while "Grant had ninety-eight thousand 'Present for "'duty'—according to the confidential Field Returns made, at the time, by each General, to his "own Government, when no General would intentionally mis-state or mislead."

That officers of Grant's Army, after witnessing the terrible havoc made in their ranks by the small force opposed to them at the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania Court-house, and at Cold Harbor, should over-estimate the strength of that force, is not to be wondered at; but, when the Report of Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, the United States Secretary of War, made at the opening Session of Congress, for the years 1865–6, is critically examined, it will be regarded as most surprising that General Badeau should have committed such gross blunders in regard to the strength of Grant's Army. In order to expose those blunders, and to enable you to verify the extracts which I shall make from Mr. Stanton's Report, I send you an official copy of that Report, printed under the authority of the United States Congress.

On the third page of his Report, Mr. Stanton says—

"The national forces engaged in the Spring "Campaign of 1864, were organized as Armies or "distributed in Military Departments, as follows:

"The Army of the Potomac, commanded by "Major-general Meade, whose Headquarters were "on the North side of the Rapidan. This Army "was confronted by the rebel Army of Northern "Virginia, stationed on the South side of the "Rapidan, under General Robert E. Lee.

"The Ninth Corps, under Major-general Burn-"side, was, at the opening of the Campaign, a "distinct organization, but, on the twenty-fourth "of May, 1864, it was incorporated into the "Army of the Potomac.

"The Army of the James was commanded by "Major-general Butler, whose Head-quarters were "at Fortress Monroe.

"The Head-quarters of the Army of the "Shenandoah, commanded by Major-general "Sigel, were at Winchester."

It is not necessary to mention the other Armies, for my purpose.

On the fifth and sixth pages of his Report, Mr. Stanton says:

"Official Reports show that, on the first of "May, 1864, the aggregate military force, of all "arms, officers and men, was nine hundred and "seventy thousand, seven hundred, and ten, to "wit:

"Available force, present for duty....	662,345
"On detached service, in the different "Military Departments.....	109,348
"In field-hospitals, or unfit for duty...	41,266
"In general-hospitals, or on sick leave, "at home.....	75,978
"Absent on furlough, or as prisoners of "war.....	66,290
"Absent, without leave.....	15,483
"Grand aggregate.....	970,710

"The aggregate available force, present for "duty, May 1, 1864, was distributed in the different commands, as follows:

*"Department of Washington.....	42,124
☞"Army of the Potomac.....	120,380
*"Department of Virginia and North "Carolina.....	59,139
"Department of the South.....	18,165
"Department of the Gulf.....	61,866
"Department of Arkansas.....	23,666
"Department of the Tennessee.....	74,174
"Department of the Missouri.....	15,770
"Department of the Northwest.....	5,295
"Department of Kansas.....	4,798
"Head-quarters Military Division of "the Mississippi.....	476
"Department of the Cumberland....	119,948
"Department of the Ohio.....	35,416
"Northern Department.....	9,546
*"Department of West Virginia,....	30,782
"Department of the East.....	2,828
"Department of the Susquehanna....	8,970

*"Middle Department.....	5,627
☞"Ninth Army Corps.....	20,780
"Department of New Mexico.....	3,454
"Department of the Pacific.....	5,141
	"662,345

Mr. Stanton, in this statement, accounts for all the extra duty, men the sick in field-hospitals and camp, the sick in general-hospitals, prisoners and men on furlough, and the men absent without leave, and shows, exclusive of all these, an aggregate available force present for duty, on the first of May, 1864, of six hundred and sixty-two thousand, three hundred, and forty-five, of which there were one hundred and twenty thousand, three hundred, and eighty in the Army of the Potomac, under Meade; and twenty thousand, seven hundred, and eighty, in the Ninth Corps, under Burnside, making an aggregate available force, present for duty, under Grant, on the North side of the Rapidan, on the first of May, 1864, of one hundred and forty-one thousand, one hundred, and sixty, officers and men. Now, I ask, what inducement was there, on the first day of May, 1864, just two days before Grant began his movement across the Rapidan and four days before the commencement of the battle in the Wilderness, for the officers commanding Grant's Corps, "intentionally to mis-"state or mislead" in regard to their available force, in the official Reports which they made, or for Grant to give countenance to such misrepresentations, by forwarding the Reports, or for Stanton to mislead the Congress and the country, in December, 1865, in regard to the strength of Grant's Army? Does not this statement of Mr. Stanton, taken from the official Reports filed in the War Office, conclusively show that General Badeau has made a great mistake, to say the least of it?

But the latter says, that, "to make out Grant's "Army three times as large as Lee's, Grant's two "forces in the Valley of Virginia and on the James-"river, are included in the estimate of his "strength." Let us see how this is. Now, Mr. Stanton shows that there was in the "Depart-"ment of West Virginia," to which the Valley of the Shenandoah belonged, an available force, present for duty, on the first of May, 1864, of thirty thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-two, and in the "Department of Virginia and North "Carolina," from which the Army of the James came, an available force, for duty, of fifty-nine thousand, one hundred, and thirty-nine; and no part of the "Army of the Potomac," nor of the "Ninth Army Corps," was in either Department.

In General Grant's Report, dated the twenty-second of July, 1865—a copy of which I am sorry I have not in a form to send you, but which is to be found in the official Documents, printed at large, in book form, by the Thirty-ninth Congress—he gives a letter from himself to Major-general Butler, dated the second of April, 1864, and containing instructions for the approaching Campaign, in which he says:

"You will collect all the forces from your "command that can be spared from garrison "duty—I should say not less than twenty thous-"and effective men—to operate on the South "side of James-river, Richmond being your ob-"jective point. To the force you already have, "will be added about ten thousand men, from "South Carolina, under Major-general Gillmore, "who will command them, in person. Major-"general W. F. Smith is ordered to report to "you, to command the troops sent into the field "from your own Department." These troops, under Smith and Gillmore, afterwards constituted the "Army of the James," under Butler. Grant also says in the same Report:

"A very considerable force, under command "of Major-general Sigel, was so held for the pro-"tection of West Virginia and the frontiers of "Maryland and Pennsylvania. * * * *

"General Sigel was, therefore, directed to or-"ganize all his available force into two expedi-"tions, to move from Beverly and Charleston, "under command of Generals Ord and Crook, "against the East Tennessee and Virginia rail-"road. Subsequently, General Ord having been "relieved, at his own request, General Sigel was "instructed, at his own suggestion, to give up "the expedition by Beverly and to form two "columns, one under General Crook, on the "Kanawha, numbering about ten thousand men, "and one on the Shenandoah, numbering about "seven thousand men."

He further says:

"Owing to the weather and bad condition of "the roads, operations were delayed until the "first of May, when, everything being in readi-"ness and the roads favorable, orders were "given for a general movement of all the Armies, "not later than the fourth of May."

The movement, under the immediate superintendence of Grant, on the Rapidan, begun, in fact, on the night of the third, with the Army of the Potomac and the Ninth Corps; and the foregoing extracts, from Grant's Report, show that the Armies under Butler and Sigel constituted no part of the force which Mr. Stanton sets down at one hundred and forty-one thousand, one hundred, and sixty, on the first of May, 1864. The above statement from Stanton's Report shows that there was in the "Department "of Washington," at the very same time, an available force, for duty, of forty-two thousand, one hundred, and twenty-four, and in the "Middle Department," at Baltimore, a like force of five thousand, six hundred, and twenty-sev-

en, making an aggregate force of forty-seven thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-one, within a few hours run of Grant's Army, by rail and steamboat. So that, with the force of fifty-nine thousand, one hundred, and thirty-nine, in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, and of thirty thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-two, in the Department of West Virginia, Grant had, besides his Army on the Rapidan, an available force of one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, six hundred, and seventy-two, to draw upon, for his operations in Virginia, making, in fact, in all, a force of two hundred and seventy-eight thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-two immediately available for that purpose, besides what could be drawn from other quarters where there was no hostile force to confront. That nearly the whole force at Washington and Baltimore was added to his Army, before it reached James-river, is shown by the following extract from Mr. Stanton's Report. On the seventh page, he says:

"Meanwhile, in order to repair the losses of "the Army of the Potomac, the chief part of the "force designed to guard the Middle Depart- "ment and the Department of Washington was "called forward to the front. Taking advan- "tage of this state of affairs, in the absence of "General Hunter's command, the enemy made a "large detachment from their Army, at Rich- "mond, which, under General Early, moved "down the Shenandoah Valley, threatening Bal- "timore and Washington."

The reinforcements, from Washington and Baltimore, actually reached Grant at Spotsylvania Court-house, where, he says: "The thirteenth, "fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, "and eighteenth [*of May*] were consumed in "manœuvring and awaiting the arrival of re- "inforcements, from Washington;" and this was before General Lee had been re-inforced by a solitary man. In addition to these re-inforcements, Mr. Stanton says, on the forty-sixth page, near the conclusion of his Report, that the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin tendered eighty-five thousand hundred-days' men, on the twenty-first of April, 1864, to be raised in twenty days, which were accepted, and the greater part of which were raised; and that they supplied garrisons and relieved experienced troops which were sent to reinforce the armies in the field—some of the hundred-days' men being sent to the front, at their own request. In order, then, to substantiate his assertion, that Grant's force, for duty, in the field, at the Wilderness, was only ninety-eight thousand men, General Badeau must show that Mr. Stanton has lied, in the most wilful and stupid manner, and without the slightest inducement to do so. His statement not only has this effect, but it also convicts General Grant himself of very gross blundering. The latter states, in the outset of his Report, which has already been quoted from, the strategic principles upon which he proposed to conduct the War, after the command of all the United States Armies had devolved upon him, and says:

"From the first, I was firm in the conviction "that no peace could be had that would be "stable and conducive to the happiness of the "people, both North and South, until the mili- "tary power of the rebellion was broken. I, "therefore, determined, first, to use the greatest "number of troops practicable against the armed "force of the enemy; preventing him from "using the same force at different seasons, against "first one and then another, of our Armies, and "the possibility of repose for refitting and pro- "ducing necessary supplies for carrying on re- "sistance. Second, to hammer, continuously, "against the armed force of the enemy and his "resources, until, by mere attrition, if in no "other way, there should be nothing left to him "but an equal submission with the loyal section "of our common country, to the Constitution and "laws of the land.

"These views have been kept constantly in "mind, and orders given and Campaigns made "to carry them out."

Yet, notwithstanding these views and purposes, and despite the preparations on such a grand scale for the Campaign of 1864, as described by Mr. Stanton, with evident feelings of pride, on the third page of his Report, General Grant, according to General Badeau's statement, out of an aggregate force of six hundred and sixty-two thousand, three hundred, and forty-five available men for duty, could only muster ninety-eight thousand to confront the most formidable Army of his antagonists—that is, when the United States forces were larger than they had ever been before, Grant opened the Campaign, in Virginia, with a smaller Army than any other Federal Commander in that State, since the first battle of Manassas, had ever before entered the field with, and that, too, according to General Badeau's estimate, against a larger Army than General Lee had ever before commanded in an active Campaign, except, perhaps, during the seven days' battles around Richmond. General Badeau's recollection of the "confidential Field Returns," mentioned by him, is evidently very confused. It is very probable that, when the battle in the Wilderness opened, on the fifth of May, between one Corps of General Lee's Army, (Ewell's) and the Army of the Potomac, the Infantry of the latter Army amounted to about ninety-eight thousand men, as that would be about the proper proportion of that arm, the rest being Cavalry and Artillery—the Ninth Corps not coming up until

the night of the fifth, and going into action, for the first time, early on the morning of the sixth; during which day also Longstreet's two Divisions came up from near Gordonsville, where they had been for some time. This state of facts may account for General Badeau's mistake, as it can be explained on no other hypothesis.

Neither Stanton nor Grant has given any estimate of the loss of the Army of the latter, in this memorable Campaign; but Mr. Swinton, who was a regular Correspondent of a New York paper, in constant attendance with the Army of the Potomac, and who has published a History of the Campaigns of that Army, says, on pages 491, 492, of his book:

"Grant's loss, in the series of actions, from the "Wilderness to the Chickahominy, reached the "enormous aggregate of sixty thousand men, "put *hors du combat*—a number greater than the "entire strength of Lee's Army, at the opening "of the Campaign."

In a note, he gives the particulars of the loss of the Army of the Potomac, in the various battles, and shows that his statement of Grant's loss is confined to that Army and the Ninth Corps, and does not include any loss sustained by the re-inforcements from Butler's Army, which were at Cold Harbor.

Now, from this statement, if General Badeau is right in his statement of Grant's force, the conclusion is inevitable that the Army of the latter was in effect destroyed; and, if, according to Grant's famous remark, Butler had got himself into "a bottle strongly corked," the former, to use one of Mr. Lincoln's elegant expressions, had "butted his brains out against "a gate-post." Perhaps it was fortunate for Grant that Butler was "hermetically sealed up "at Bermuda Hundred," when he, too, was compelled to seek refuge at the same point and wait for further re-inforcements.

Having disposed of General Badeau's statement of Grant's force, I will now consider his estimate of the strength of General Lee's Army.

A strange hallucination, in regard to the strength of all the Confederate Armies, seems to have haunted the Federal Commanders, from the beginning of the War to its close. According to their estimates, there were few occasions on which they were not outnumbered; and this hallucination seems to have beset General McClellan, with peculiar vividness, during his whole military career.

The absurdity of the Federal estimates of our strength, at various times, will be apparent from the following statistics taken from the official Census of 1860, as published by the United States Government: In the fourteen States from which came any part of the Armies of the Confederate States, including Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, there was a white population of only seven millions, nine hundred and forty-six thousand, one hundred and eleven, of which an aggregate of two millions, four hundred and ninety-eight thousand, eight hundred and ninety-one was in the said States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, leaving only five millions, four hundred and forty-seven thousand, two hundred and twenty, in the remainder of the Southern States; while there was a white population of nineteen millions, eleven thousand, three hundred and sixty, in the States and Territories indisputably under the control of, and in sympathy with, the United States Government, from the beginning, exclusive of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. The strong hand of the military power was put upon Maryland, in the very outset, by which her voice was suppressed before there was an opportunity of giving expression to it. That State furnished to the Confederate Army only one organized Regiment of Infantry, for one year, and several Companies of Artillery and Cavalry, which served through the whole War; while it furnished a very considerable force, by voluntary enlistment and under the draft, to the United States Army. Kentucky undertook to assume a neutral position, in the beginning, and by this means was soon brought under the control of Federal bayonets, and, subsequently, furnished a much larger force to the United States Army than she did to the Confederate Army. Missouri was, in the outset, taken possession of by military force, and her regular Government was overturned, and its officers driven out of the State. She furnished, also, a much larger force to the United States Army than to the Confederate Army. In fact, from their passage, the United States laws upon the subject of the draft were in full force in these three States, during the whole War; while the Confederate Conscript Act was never in force, in either of them, for a moment. In addition to this, the greater part of that portion of Virginia, now called the State of "West Virginia," was disaffected, from the beginning, to the Confederate cause, and was very soon overrun and held by the United States forces. A large portion of East Tennessee was also disaffected; and at no time did the white population, from which the Confederate States had alone to draw their troops, exceed five millions, while the white population, in its own limits, from which the United States Government drew its troops, exceeded, considerably, twenty millions. In addition to this, by large bounties, it was enabled to draw very largely upon the population of other countries, on this Continent and in Europe; and it also obtained a large number of troops from among the slaves and free negroes

of the South, and from the disaffected of those regions which were overrun by its Armies. These facts, taken in connection with the further fact that the latter Government entered the contest with all the prestige attached to it as a well-established and recognized power, an organized Army and Navy, possession of the seas and the seaboard, and unlimited resources of money and the materials of war, while the Confederate Government had, in the outset, to organize all its Departments and its Armies, for the conflict, and was, in a great measure, destitute of arms, of a revenue, and of the materials of war, demonstrate the utter absurdity of the idea that the latter Government was, at any time, able to oppose to the main Armies of its antagonist anything like equal numbers. To suppose that it was able, at so late a period as May, 1864, when so much of its territory was in the possession of its enemy, to oppose to the principal Army of the United States, under the command of its chosen Commander-in-chief, at a point so near the Capital of that Government, an Army so nearly approximating in numbers the former, as stated by General Badeau, would argue a degree of energy and efficiency on the part of the Confederate Government and of imbecility on the part of the United States Government utterly unparalleled in the history of nations.

General Badeau, in the first paragraph of his letter, says: "My principal authority for the "proposed corrections is that of General Lee "himself." If he means by this, that General Lee, in person, gave him the information, upon which he makes his statements, then General Lee has given to General Badeau information which he has not only withheld from all his most intimate associates and friends and the comrades who followed him so long, but which is entirely at war with his uniform statements, in writing and conversation, to those in whom he was accustomed to confide. If he means that he has any written statements or acknowledgments of General Lee, then he is challenged to produce the documents, in General Lee's handwriting. The word of that gallant gentleman and Christian hero, to those who knew him, is as indisputable as Holy Writ; and he has invariably asserted, up to the time of his lamented death, that the force with which he encountered and fought Grant, in the Wilderness, was under fifty thousand men, including all that Longstreet had brought up. In a letter from him, which I have, and which was written on the fifteenth of March, 1866, he says: "It will be difficult to get the world to "understand the odds against which we fought"; and he has since, in person, assured me that the estimate which I had made of his force, in a published letter written from Havana, in December, 1865, and in my published account of my own operations for the years 1864–5—which was fifty thousand—exceeded the actual efficient strength of his Army.

The Returns of the Army of Northern Virginia, which are in what is called the "Archive Office," at Washington, are not accessible to me; but I have a printed copy of a letter, written to the *New York Tribune*, in June, 1867, which gives statements taken from the Returns of the Confederate Armies, on file, in said "Archive Office," which letter is understood to have been written by Mr. Swinton, the author of *The Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.* I send that copy to you, in order that you may verify, by an examination of it, all my statements; and, if I appear a little prolix and tedious, I beg you to be patient, as I desire to show to you and your readers how officers of the United States Army manufacture history.

In the first column of the letter to the *Tribune*, you will find a table of Monthly Returns for the Department of Northern Virginia, which is in the following words and figures:

"DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"FEB. 28, 1862—FEB. 28, 1865.

"Date.	Comd'r.	For duty.	Pres't.	Pres't & Abs.
"1862 Feb.	J. E. Johnston.	47,617	56,356	84,229
"*May*,	"	[67,000]		
"*June*,	R. E. Lee,	[100,000]		
"July,	"	69,559	94,686	137,030
"*Aug.*	"	[95,000]		
"Sept	"	52,609	62,713	139,143
"Oct.	"	67,805	79,395	153,778
"Nov.	"	73,554	86,583	153 790
"Dec.	"	79,072	91,034	152,853
"1863 Jan.	"	72,226	90,297	144,605
"Feb.	"	58,559	74,435	114,175
"March,	"	60,298	75,578	109,339
"May,	"	68,352	88,756	133 679
"*June*,	"	[100,000]		
"July,	"	41,135	53,611	117,602
"Aug.	"	56,3-7	71,964	130,264
"Sept.	"	44,367	55,221	95,164
"Oct.	"	45,614	57,251	97,211
"Nov.	"	48,267	56,088	96,576
"Dec.	"	45,558	54,715	91,253
"1864 Jan.	"	35,849	45,139	79,602
"Feb.	"	33,811	39,562	68,435
"March,	"	59,407	46,151	79,202
"April,	"	52,626	61,218	97,576
"June,	"	51,863	62,571	92,685
"July,	"	57,097	68,844	135,805
"Aug.	"	44,247	58,984	146,838
"Oct.	"	62,875	82,535	177,103
"Nov.	"	69,290	87,860	181,826
"Dec.	"	66,533	79,318	155,772
"1865 Jan.	"	53,445	69,673	441,627
"Feb.	"	59,094	73,349	160,411

This table, which must be understood as giving the Returns at the close of the months specified, is believed to be a correct transcript, so far as it gives the actual Monthly Returns which were made; but it is manifestly wrong where the estimates of the writer of the letter are given in lieu of the Returns—which estimates are put in brackets in the letter itself. This is especially

case in regard to the estimates for the months June and August, 1862, and for the month of ne, 1863. The reason that no Returns exist those months, is to be found in the fact that, he end of June, 1862, and for some days into lv, General Lee's Army was engaged in battle th, or in pursuit of, McClellan's Army; that, the end of August, of the same year, his my was engaged with Pope's Army, and imdiately thereafter moved into Maryland; and, t at the end of June, 1863, his Army was in nnsylvania, where it engaged Meade's Army, Gettysburg, on the first, second, and third of ly. This condition of things, at the end of se months, prevented the regular Monthly Rens from being made; and the writer of the ter has taken advantage of the fact to greatly gnify General Lee's forces. The greatest ce which the latter ever commanded in the ld, was that with which he attacked McClellan, June, 1862; and his entire effective force, at t time, did not exceed eighty thousand—if it ched that figure—including Jackson's Comnd and the troops held for the immediate fence of Richmond and at Drury's and Chaf's Bluff's. The Returns, for July, 1862, show e strength of his Army at the time of the vement against Pope; and all of that was not ried into the field against the latter, as, at st, two Divisions were left to watch McClellan's my, at Harrison's Landing, and did not get up til after Pope had been driven into the fortifitions around Washington. The Returns for ay, 1863, fully cover the whole force with ich the movement was made into Pennsylvania, no fresh troops arrived after these Returns were ade; and that movement began on the fourth June.

It must not be understood that the Returns ntained in the foregoing table, even where corct, show the actual force which General Lee rried into the field. These Returns are for "The Department of Northern Virginia," emacing all the troops North of James-river, inuding those usually kept in the Valley, so that, estimating the actual strength of the "Army of Northern Virginia," this allowance must be ade. Referring now to the Returns bearing on e question of General Lee's strength, at the pening of the Campaign in the Wilderness, it ill be seen that, at the end of August, 1863, e first month after the return from the Gettysrg Campaign, the entire force for duty in the epartment of Northern Virginia, was fifty-six ousand, three hundred and twenty-seven; while, the end of September, it was forty-four thousnd, three hundred and sixty-seven. This dease of eleven thousand, nine hundred and xty, was caused by the departure of Longstreet's orps from the Army, during that month, two Divisions of it going to Chicamauga, and the other, (Pickett's,) to the South side of James-river. The strength of that entire Corps was then a little less than twelve thousand for duty. The Returns for March, 1864, show, in the Department of Northern Virginia, thirty-nine thousand, four hundred, and seven for duty; while those for April show fifty-two thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six for duty—this increase resulting from the return of the two Divisions of Longstreet's Corps (Field's and McLaw's, afterwards Kershaw's) which had been at the battle of Chicamauga, and afterwards on a Winter campaign, in East Tennessee; also, of some detachments which had been on special service, and of furloughed men. These Returns were made at the end, and for the whole month, of April, and not on the twentieth of the month, as stated by General Badeau. Longstreet's two Divisions had then returned, and were embraced in said Monthly Returns, his Third Division being, at that time, in North Carolina, and not afterwards rejoining the Army until the twenty-second of May, near Hanover Junction. These Returns, for April, 1864, which showed the condition of the troops, in fact, on the first day of May, embraced the force in the Valley, which was confronting Sigel, and other outlying troops, on special service, North of James-river. So that, in reality, General Lee's entire force, with which he had to confront Grant's Army, including Longstreet's two Divisions, was under the aggregate of fifty thousand, present for duty. But General Badeau says that Longstreet's Corps was not embraced in the Returns of General Lee's Army, for April, 1864, and he says: "His [*Longstreet's*] Field Return, of "date nearest to the battle, shows eighteen thous-"and, three hundred and eighty-seven present for "duty." Now, let us see how he arrives at this conclusion. Run your finger down the second column of the letter to the *Tribune*, until you get to the table of Returns, under the head "ARMIES IN THE WEST," and continue on, down that table, until you reach the "ARMY OF EAST "TENNESSEE," under which heading you will find the following, which is all that is necessary for my purposes:

"Date.	Commander.	For duty.
"1863. Oct.	Sam. Jones	7,975
"Nov.	"	10,546
"Dec.	J. Longstreet,	15,342
"1864. Jan.	"	18,667
"Feb.	"	19,010
☞"March	"	18,387
"July	S. B. Buckner,	14,907

Now, is it not apparent that this Return for March, 1864, of the "Army of East Tennessee," showing eighteen thousand, three hundred, and

eighty-seven, present for duty, being the identical number claimed as the strength of Longstreet's Corps, is the very same Return "of date nearest "to the battle," which General Badeau attempts to palm off on the British public as the Return of that Corps? If he ever saw the actual Returns, and was not using a mere extract from them, he must have learned that the two Divisions of Longstreet's Corps, which were with him in East Tennessee, constituted less than half of the "Army of East Tennessee," the residue being composed, in part, of a Division of Infantry which, afterwards, under Breckinridge, met and defeated Sigel, on the fifteenth of May, in the Valley, and of a body of Cavalry, a portion of which, subsequently, under William E. Jones, fought Hunter, at New Hope, or Piedmont, in the Valley; and none of which troops accompanied Longstreet, on his return to the Army of Northern Virginia.

After the discovery of this palpable attempt at imposition, is it necessary to notice any farther the statements of General Badeau? I will, however, state that the first re-inforcements received by General Lee, after the beginning of the Campaign in the Wilderness, were received at or near Hanover-junction, on the twenty-second of May, when he was joined by one of the Brigades of my Division, just returned from North Carolina, numbering less than one thousand men; a force, under Breckinridge, from the Valley, numbering less than three thousand muskets; and Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, recently returned from North Carolina, and which, with my Brigade, had been engaged, under Beauregard, against Butler, on the South side of James-river. These troops did not make up the losses at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court-house; and, in the meantime, Grant had received considerably more than forty thousand re-inforcements from Washington and Baltimore, for his Army.

In regard to the strength of General Lee's Army, at the time of the evacuation of the works covering Richmond and Petersburg, and of the surrender at Appomattox, it is only necessary to say, that the Returns for February, 1865, for the Department of Northern Virginia, afford no just criterion of the real strength of that Army, as those Returns included the forces in the Valley and other outlying commands, not available for duty on the lines. Detachments for the defence of Wilmington had been made, during the Winter; and General Lee's Army was, at the time of the evacuation, the mere skeleton of what it had been, and its supplies and means were exhausted. Again, all the energies of the United States Government had been put forth; and Grant was at the head of an over-powering Army, thoroughly equipped and appointed, in every respect, and with the most abundant supplies of all kinds. Yet, General Lee conducted his retreat, in the face of his enemy and over roads almost impassable, for more than one hundred miles, and, finally, surrended less than eight thousand men, with arms in their hands. It is true, that twenty-seven thousand, eight hundred, and five men, of his Army, were paroled; but the greater part of them were stragglers, without arms, whose commands had been cut up, in detail, teamsters, camp-followers, and extra duty men; and we fail to see in the statement of paroled men, contained in Mr. Stanton's Report, on page 44, the "tens of thousands also belong-"ing to Lee's Army," who, General Badeau says, afterwards, came in and gave themselves up. Mr. Stanton, in fact, shows only one hundred and seventy-four thousand, two hundred, and twenty-three men, who surrendered and were paroled, at the close of hostilities, in all the Confederate States.

Mr. Stanton, on page 30 of his Report, shows that there were two millions, six hundred and fifty-six thousand, five hundred, and fifty-three men put into the United States service, during the War, by calls on the States—that is, more than one-half of the number of the entire white population, young and old, male and female, to which the Confederate States had to resort for soldiers; while the author of the letter to the *New York Tribune* states, that he judges, (from the Returns, I presume,) that six hundred thousand, in all, were put into the Confederate service, during the same period—that is, less than the available force, present for duty, in the United States Army, on the first of May, 1864, and at the close of the War. This estimate is very nearly correct, and fully covers our whole strength, from first to last. Is anything farther necessary to show the tremendous odds against which we fought?

In view of the results, so far, of the unfortunate War now progressing between two of the greatest Powers of Europe, nearly equal in men and resources, and each having the benefit of the most improved engines of war, may we not look the world squarely in the face, point to *our* struggle, and the sacrifices and sufferings we endured for the cause for which we fought, and challenge its judgment, as to whether we are to be regarded as "rebels and traitors," who were seeking to overturn a "benign Government?" In conclusion, let me quote from the above-mentioned Report of General Grant, the following passage:

"General Lee's great influence, throughout the "whole South, caused his example to be follow-"ed; and, to-day, the result is, that the Armies, "lately under his leadership, are at their homes,

"desiring peace and quiet, and their arms are in "the hands of our Ordnance Officers."

Thus wrote the then General-in-chief of the United States Armies—the now President of the United States—on the twenty-second of July, 1865. Yet we have not had peace. The heel of the military power, supplanting all Civil Government, is scarce yet withdrawn from our necks; and our venerated and beloved Commander has gone down to his grave, with his great heart broken by the sufferings of his people—sufferings which he found himself powerless to relieve. We have just witnessed the elections throughout several States of this "Free Republic," some of which are called "loyal States," superintended by armed agents of the United States Government, backed by United States troops, for the purpose of perpetuating the power of the ruling faction, through the instrumentality of the ballot in the hands of an ignorant and inferior race. This thing has been tamely submitted to, by the descendants of men who rushed to arms to resist the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the Quartering Acts, of the British Parliament. We look on in amazement at the spectacle presented, conscious that, come what may, we have done our duty in endeavoring to maintain the principles of our fathers; and aware of the fact that we are now powerless and helpless—our only earthly consolation being that derived from a sense of duty performed and the conviction that the world will yet learn to do justice to our acts and motives.

Very Respectfully,
J. A. Early,
Late Lieut-General, Confederate Army.

Lynchburg, Virginia, Nov. 19th, 1870.

Note.—The marks of the index and of the asterisk, opposite certain items in the tables copied into this article, are mine.—J. A. E.

VI.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—Continued.

I. DANIEL RUPP.

By William H. Egle, M.D., of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

[Perhaneo, in the entire range of local historians, none have been so faithful, so accurate, and so laborious as the subject of the present sketch. Not only the people of Pennsylvania are deeply indebted to our author for his indefatigable industry, in rescuing much of the olden-time history, of different portions of that State, but the lover of the lore, wherever found, will not fail to grant him his meed of praise. Confidently believing that a biographical and bibliographical sketch of Mr. Rupp may interest the readers of the Historical Magazine, the writer has gathered the following meagre data.—W. H. E.]

On Sunday, the tenth of July, 1803, in East Pennsboro', now Hampden, Township, Cumberland-county, Pennsylvania, five miles West of the Susquehanna, Isaac Daniel Rupp was born. The place was what is known as the "Providence Tract," where his paternal grandfather, Jonas Rupp, settled, in 1772.

At five years, he was sent to a German school, near by. At six, he could write a current German script; and, at seven, he had mastered "das "Richenbuch," as far as "der Regel de tri." He always had an aversion to memorizing; and the only leading trait in his character, during his youthful career, was *Lebhaftigkeit*, vivacity.

In 1809, his father removed from his birthplace, a few miles distant, and settled on a farm, where he died, in 1848. Here his circle of acquaintances was somewhat enlarged. From 1810 to the close of the War of 1812, he attended school during a few months in the winter, the remaining time being devoted to work on the farm. This secured him a well-developed physical organization. Naturally, he was not lazy, working his part with the rest of the boys, but devoted his leisure moments to reading, especially such works of a biographical or historical character as he happened to get hold of. His father bought him a German edition of the *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, which Daniel devoured with avidity. His reading was wholly confined to works in German; and he has always been partial to his vernacular. His father took a German newspaper; and the boys were well posted in the current news of the day. Annually, for a few weeks, when the farm work would allow a respite, Daniel paid a visit to his maternal grandfather, where he learned the Dutch (Hollandish); and, later in life, he found his knowledge of it highly advantageous in his historical pursuits.

From 1814 to 1820, for a few months in the Winter, he went to an English school. He had the advantage of a good teacher—one who made him think. In 1821, after a course of catechetical instruction, under the late Rev. John Winebrenner, then a German Reformed Minister, Mr. Rupp was admitted to membership in Frieden's Kirch, five miles West of Harrisburg.

His father had eight sons and four daughters; and he intended that the former should be farmers while the latter were to be milk-maids and spinners. About this time, [1821] the father's intentions, as regarded Daniel, who labored as faithfully as any of his brothers, in this honorable profession, were providentially changed. Having, by a severe spell of sickness, been brought near to death's door, his father mentioned to the attending Physician that he would have to make a Doctor of Daniel. He understood some Latin; was a good German scholar; and could speak English very well. The worthy Physician failed to make a "Doctor of Daniel." The latter succeeded, however, in getting a good

knowledge of Latin and Greek; but he disliked medicine. He devoted some time to studying Anatomy, Materia Medica, and Physiology; but he had no taste or inclination for the honorable profession so much disgraced by quackery. Having spent several years in study, he determined upon another profession. He turned teacher. By close application and perseverance, he mastered several languages—eight or nine. To condense our sketch, from 1826 to 1860, at intervals, he taught altogether about twenty years.

About 1827, he conceived the idea that a History of the Germans of Pennsylvania might be useful. There was, then, no material to that end on hand—no local histories of Counties extant. He proposed to a friend of his, a Physician, to turn itinerant booksellers—the latter for impaired health, Daniel to see the country and to collect materials for a History of the Germans. They fitted themselves out with a horse and wagon and a stock of books, and made a complete circuit of all the German Counties of Pennsylvania, traveling several months. The result was, the Doctor's health improved, while Daniel laid in a stock of historical material. A dissolution of the partnership followed.

Shortly after, that he might have access to the records and documents at the State Capital, he located at Harrisburg, and opened a school. Year by year, the "Historical Budget" swelling, he began to arrange his material, but found it meagre and imperfect. In July, 1829, he went to Pittsburg and, thence, to Cincinnati, where he made an agreement with Robinson & Fairbank, to prepare the *Geschichte der Märtyrer*. During that and the following years, he lectured on the American System of English Grammar; and, in the latter year, he superintended the printing of an edition of five thousand copies of Brown's *American Grammar*, in Cincinnati. Returning to Pennsylvania, during his leisure from teaching, he translated Hefflestein's *Sermons*, the *Discipline of the Evangelical Association*, etc., occasionally taking a jaunt into the adjacent Counties, adding, gradually, to his "Budget." Several translations from the German and Dutch, followed.

His first venture towards a historical compilation was *The Geographical Catechism of Pennsylvania*. Teaching, here and there, until 1842, Mr. Rupp removed to Lancaster, in the latter year, when he prepared for the press his first historical work, *The History of Lancaster-county;* which was published by subscription. This, his first venture in local history, the material for which was gathered while in search of whatever related to the Germans, in Pennsylvania, was well received; and the neighboring Counties clamored for the same distinction. Having the material on hand, several other County-histories followed. With the lapse of twenty-five years, these locals have become exceedingly scarce; and some cannot be procured, at any price. They have furnished the historical storehouse for numberless literary quidnuncs, who make a great show with large-paper copies of facts gathered in harvest-fields where they neither sowed or reaped; and the one entitled to credit is not named. In two or three of the Counties concerning which Mr. Rupp prepared a history, others have followed; but they have, in reality, furnished a reprint of his works, adding nothing save, perchance, some meagre data gathered from official statistics.

Mr. Rupp was always an indefatigable worker. An excellent German Scholar, with good conversational powers, he collected enough material to make a dozen historians rich. He has the peculiar faculty of finding out and getting possession of facts that few possess; and, hence, all his locals are repositories of his zeal and industry. He is not a highly polished writer; but, discarding fancies, he deals only in facts. Myths he treats as myths, and does not force his opinions upon others, unsubstantiated by truths.

To proceed with our sketch. The time drawing nigh, as he then thought, to make the grand round of the State and stuff his "Budget," he became a Life Insurance Agent, traveling from 1851 to 1856, five years, all the while riding his hobby. He found great changes since 1827; and a *History of the Germans* was in demand. To further aid his efforts in collecting materials, he published *Thirty thousand Names*, proposing certain questions to be answered. The answers came in slowly.

In April, 1860, he removed to Philadelphia, that he might have access to "many books" and documents. There he still resides, pursuing his vocation, laying up treasures of history. The great work of his life, the *History of the Germans in Pennsylvania*, is nearly completed; and it is to hoped that Mr. Rupp will soon give it to the public, who have been on the look-out for the work so many years.

We shall not enter into a lengthy array of fine words about Mr. Rupp or his "locals." They speak for themselves; and the high price they all command, at the preseut day, and the fact that no truthful history of Pennsylvania can be written without reference to them, is high commendation. He gleaned where none reaped, save himself; and great is the debt due him, by the people of Pennsylvania, for rescuing from the hand of oblivious Time, much historical material that, otherwise, would soon have been lost, for ever.

Mr. Rupp has translated, written, compiled, prepared for the press, and edited the following published books:

I. *Geschichte der Märtyrer*, nach dem ausführlichen Original des Ehrw. Johann Fox und Anderer kurz gefasst, besonders für den gemeinen deutschen Mann in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 514. It was printed in Cincinnati, in 1830, in an edition of five thousand, and reprinted, in 1832, in an edition of six thousand, copies.

It may be interesting to state, in this connection, that when this book was being prepared for press, the publishers had to procure the type from Philadelphia. There was not, at that time, a German printing-office, of any kind, in Cincinnati. Then, 1830, that City had a population of twenty-four thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-one, whereof only five per cent. (*1240*) were Germans. The German population subsequently increased in the following ratio:—Population in 1840, forty-six thousand, three hundred, and eighty-two, whereof twenty-three per cent. were Germans. In 1850, the population was one hundred and fifteen thousand, four hundred, and thirty-six; German twenty-seven per cent. In 1860, the population was one hundred and sixty-one thousand, and forty-four; German, thirty per cent. At present, 1869, the population is two hundred and sixty-five thousand; German, thirty-four per cent., or nearly ninety thousand of the Teutons.

II. *A Collection of Choice Sermons*, by the Reverend J. C. Albertus Helfenstein, formerly Pastor of the German Reformed Church at Germantown, Pa. Translated from the German, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 261. Printed at Carlisle, in 1832, in an edition of three thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

III. *Discipline of the Evangelical Association in the United States, &c.* Translated from the German, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 218. Printed at Harrisburg, in 1832, in an edition of five thousand copies, and since re-printed.

IV. *The Wandering Soul*, or Dialogues between the Wandering Soul and Adam, Noah, and Simon Cleophas, comprising a History of the World, Sacred and Profane, from the Creation to the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. Originally written in Dutch, by John Philip Schabalie. Translated into German, by Bernhart B. Brechbill. Translated into English by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 504. It was stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia, in 1833; and published and republished, until, at least, fifteen thousand copies have been issued.

V. *A Foundation and Instruction of the Saving Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, briefly compiled from the Word of God.* Translated from the Dutch into the German by Menno Simon, and printed in Europe, in 1656. Translated into English by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 480. Printed, at Lancaster, in 1835, in an edition of twenty-five hundred copies; and it is now out of print.

VI. *Das Ursprüngliche Christenthun oder eine Vertheidigung des Worts Gottes*, von Peter Nead, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 306. Printed at Harrisburg, in 1836, in an edition of two thousand copies; but, except a few copies, the entire edition was destroyed by fire.

VII. *The Stolen Child, or Heinrich von Eichenfels.* Translated from the German, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 216. It was printed at Harrisburg, in 1836, in an edition of five thousand copies, and since re-printed.

VIII. *The Lyceum Spelling Book*; an improved method to teach children to think and read, &c., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 240. Printed at Harrisburg, in 1836, in an edition of eight thousand copies; and is now out of print.

IX. *The Voyages and five Years' Captivity in Algiers of Doctor G. S. F. Pfeiffer*, with an Appendix giving a true description of the customs, manners and habits of the different inhabitants of the country of Algiers. Translated from the second German Edition, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 398. Printed at Harrisburg, in 1836, in an edition of two thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

X. *The Geographical Catechism of Pennsylvania and the Western States; designed as a Guide and Pocket Companion for Travelers and Emigrants to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri*, with Maps, by I. D. Rupp. Pp. 384. It was printed at Harrisburg, in 1836, in an edition of three thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XI. *The Practical Farmer*, by an Association of Practical Farmers of Cumberland-county, Pennsylvania. Edited by I. D. Rupp. Pp. 288. It was printed at Mechanicsburg, in 1837, in an edition of ten thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XII. *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyr's Mirror, of the defenceless Christians who suffered and were put to death for the testimony of Jesus their Saviour, from the time of Christ until the year A.D. 1660, compiled from various authentic chronicles and testimonies.* Published in the Dutch language, by Thielem J. Von Bracht. Carefully translated into German, from which it is translated, compared with the original Dutch, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 1048, royal octavo. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1837, in an edition of twenty-five hundred copies, but is out of print. It was partly re-printed in London, 1856.

XIII. *The Farmer's Complete Farrier, comprising an historical description of all the varieties of that noble animal, the Horse, &c., &c.* Selected, Compiled, and Translated from the best German and English works extant, etc.,

by I. D. Rupp. Pp. 416. It was printed at Harrisburg, in 1843, and at Lancaster, in 1847. Each edition contained five thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XIV. *History of Lancaster-county, to which is prefixed a brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania.* Compiled from authentic sources, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 528. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1844. The edition was one of three thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XV. *He Pasa Ekklesia*, an Original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States, containing authentic accounts of their Rise, Progress, Statistics, and Doctrines, written expressly for the work, by eminent Theological Professors, Ministers and Lay Members of the respective Denominations. Projected, compiled, and arranged by I. D. Rupp. Pp. 734, royal octavo. It was printed at Philadelphia, in 1844, in an edition of five thousand copies; and, since then, it has been surreptitously re-published, in a garbled form, by one Winebrenner, and others.

XVI. *History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon*, containing a brief account of the Indians; Murders and Massacres by them; Notices of the Swedish, Welsh, French, German, Irish, and English Settlers, giving the names of nearly five thousand, &c., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 516. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1844, in an edition of three thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XVII. *History of York-county, from 1719 to 1845*, with an Appendix, Topography and Statistics, comprising a Geological Sketch of the County, etc., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 256. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1845, in an edition of two thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XVIII. *History of Northampton, Lehigh, Munroe, Carbon, and Schuylkill-counties*, containing a brief History of the First Settlers, Topography of Townships, Notices of the leading events, incidents, and interesting facts in the early history of these Counties, with an Appendix, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 568. It was printed an Harrisburg, in 1845, in an edition of five thousand copies; but it now out of print.

XIX. *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry-counties*, containing a brief History of the First Settlers, etc., etc., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 594. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1845, in an edition of five thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XX. *Early History of Western Pennsylvania, and of the West and of Western Expeditions and Campaigns, from 1754 to 1833*, with an Appendix containing, besides copious extracts from important Indian Treaties, Minutes of Conferences, Journals, &c., Topographical Descriptions of the Counties of Alleghany, Westmoreland, Washington, Somerset, Greene, Fayette, Beaver, Butler, Armstrong, &c., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 752, large octavo. It was printed at Harrisburg, in 1846, in an edition of five thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XXI. *History and Topography of Northumberland, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Centre, Union, Columbia, Juniata, and Clinton-counties, Pa.*, embracing local and general events, leading incidents, descriptions of the principal Boroughs, Towns, &c., by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 566. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1847, in an edition of four thousand copies; but it is now out of print.

XXII. *The Catechism; or Plain Instructions from the Sacred Scriptures, in Questions and Answers, for the use of Children in Schools.* Published by the Christian Communion, called Mennonites, in Waldeck. Translated from the German, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 72. It was printed at Lancaster, in 1849, in an edition of five thousand copies.

XXIII. *A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania, chronologically arranged, from 1727 to 1776; the Names of the Ships in which these immigrants were transported, whence and when they sailed, and their arrival at Philadelphia, to which is prefixed a General Introduction, containing notices of the principal German, Swiss, and French Settlements, in North America, during the Colonial Era*, by I. Daniel Rupp. Pp. 405. Printed at Harrisburg, in an edition of three thousand copies.

This work was stereotyped; but, during the War, the plates were destroyed. The book is now out of print.

The foregoing are all the publications of Mr. Rupp, in book form. He has, however, published, in the columns of the local newspapers, many historical sketches which would fill several printed volumes. One of the most interesting of these is *The Olden-Time of East Pennsboro' Township, Cumberland-county*, recently completed in the *Cumberland Valley Journal.*

Mr. Rupp has, in MSS., the following works, almost ready for the press.

I. *A Monograph of German Mercenaries, especially of the* Hessian *Mercenaries, in the British Service, during the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783.*

This work will make a volume of upwards of two hundred and fifty octavo pages.

II. *Original History of the first German,*

Swiss, and Huguenot Immigrants in Pennsylvania—a graphic Fireside History of those early settlers, which will make a volume of over one thousand large octavo pages. This is the great work of Mr. Rupp's life, and one for which he has been engaged, since 1827, in collecting materials.

III. *A Genealogical Memorial of Johannus Jonas Rupp, a native of Baden, who emigrated in 1751; and a Family Register of his Lineal Descendants, to the year 1869.*

Johannus Jonas Rupp was the paternal grand-father of Mr. Rupp. The Register embraces not less than one thousand names of lineal descendants, interspersed with many interesting Notes, &c. The first part of the work will make one hundred and fifty pages—that of the Register one hundred and seventy-five pages. It is now ready for the press.

VII.—LANSINGBURGH.*

Its Early History, Old Settlers, Schools, Markets, etc.

I.

Lansingburgh was founded, in 1770, by A. J. Lansing. It was first organized in 1771, under the name of Stone Arabia. In May, 1775, fifty persons, at the head of whom was the proprietor, signed Articles of Association, pledging themselves to sustain the measures recommended by the Continental Congress. After the War, in 1790, it was organized under the State Government. The place rapidly increased in population, and early became an important trading and commercial village.

The first Church was the Reformed Dutch, organized in 1784; and, in 1792, it was re-organized as a Presbyterian Church.

In 1814, the town was laid out in three School-districts, by Commissioners David Allen and Asa Burt. James Adams was one of the Commissioners, but his name is not appended to the above document. In 1816, the three met, and made marked changes in the District boundaries.

The Lansingburgh Academy was chartered on the eighth of February, 1796.

In 1816, the trustees were authorized by the Legislature to subscribe for one thousand shares of the Bank of Lansingburgh.

The first teacher in town was named Reed; he was from New Windsor, Connecticut. He opened school, in 1793, in a gambrel-roofed building used as the first meeting-house. The Rev. Doctor Lee taught the Languages, at the same time. This building stood on the site at present occupied by J. G. McMurray's brush-factory.

The writer of this sketch remembers hearing Lorenzo Dow preach in the old church. During his discourse, the boys tarred the preacher's umbrella. He thanked them, remarking, that it would shed rain better than ever.

The first settlers in Speigletown were Charles W. Douglass and John Follett. At the first town-meeting, held in Stone Arabia, on the first of January, 1771, it was voted that A. J. Lansing and his heirs, forever, should be a Committee of the village, with a power equal to each of the four, annually chosen. By an Act of 1790, John Van Rensselaer, Charles Tillman, Elijah Janes, Aaron Ward, Stephen Gorham, Ezra Hickock, and Levinus Lansing were appointed Trustees to take care of the waste lands of the village, and to perform certain municipal duties, their successors to be elected annually.

About the year 1800, the State expended large sums for the improvement of navigation to this place; and granted a lottery for this purpose. The lock in the State-dam was completed and opened for use on the tenth of September, 1822. The bridge between Lansingburgh and Waterford, was built in 1806. Joseph C. Sturgess was the first Toll-collector.

In the "olden time," the road turned at Vandercook's tavern, toward the river; thence up along the bank, to the bridge. The river bank was lined with hemlock trees. The fare across by the bridge was three cents; and, as Mr. Sturgess was a little deaf, there were some amusing scenes, occasionally, for instance: "Good morn-"ing, Mr. Sturgess." "Three cents," would be the answering salutation. "Family all well, Mr. Sturgess?" "Three cents," as before. The old gentleman kept a box, in which were deposited such articles as the boys pawned to pay toll—knives, handkerchiefs, etc. When they returned, to redeem their property, the box was placed on the counter, and the best article chosen as the one left in pledge—the old gentleman never keeping names or descriptions. He was followed in office by Mr. Mariner, who remained for many years; and many of our older citizens will remember strolling up, on a warm afternoon, to get a glass of his inimitable small beer, made fresh every day.

Our village, in the early days, was the depot and centre of trade for all the Northern country. No railroads sapped our sources of wealth. Hence supplies of grain, hogs, cattle, potatoes, wood, etc., were abundant, and prices ruled low. The writer remembers when the best pieces of beef could be bought at Ives's slaughter-house, for four cents per pound: tripe and plucks, (hearts and livers,) were given away.

In those days, an immense business was done in packing beef and pork, by the Ives's. Captain

* From the *Troy Sunday Telegram.*

Atwood had a very large packing-house at the foot of North-street. This was for pork. During the winter, when business was at its height, the heads and feet were piled out on the ice, to be carried off by the Spring freshet. In the centre of Market-street, at its intersection with State, a large substantial public market was erected; and here the ancient "Burghers" resorted for their daily supplies; but not at such prices as rule in these days. Occasionally, on Sabbath afternoons, religious worship was held in this market, the floor being elevated above the street. An amusing scene was once witnessed here, when a troublesome hearer was seized by a brawny worshipper, while Father Chichester was speaking, and suspended by the back of his coat from one of the large hooks which projected from timbers near the ceiling. Here he swung, to the great amusement of the urchins, until he promised amendment. But I shall weary your readers and must leave off for another week.

[To be Continued.]

VIII.—THE CINCINNATI OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

From the Original Manuscripts.*

I.

Letter from the State Society of Cincinnati, in New Hampshire, to General Washington, President-general of the Society, on the ratification of the Federal Constitution.

Durham July 7th 1788.

Sir.

I am directed by the Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire to convey their congratulations to your Excellency, and to the Society in General, on the ratification of New Hampshire† by a sufficient number of States, not only to establish it as a national form of government, but thereby to fix upon a permanent basis, those liberties, for which, under the direction and order of your Excellency, they have so cheerfully contended.

They now view with inexpressible pleasure the arrival of that happy period, when by the establishment of a truly republican, energetic and efficient national government, they and their posterity may enjoy those blessings, which as a freeman, they esteem an ample reward for all the toils and dangers, which they experienced in the course of a long and perilous war.

I have the honor to be, with most exalted sentiments of esteem and respect, Your Excellency's

Most Obedient Servant
Jno Sullivan.
By order of the Society.
Jeb. Fogg, Secy.

II.

Reply of General Washington.

Mount Vernon Septr 1st 1788.

Sir

It is with great personal satisfaction, I receive the congratulations of the Society of Cincinnati in New Hampshire, on the present state of our public affairs.

I shall take care to convey the Instrument expressive of their sentiments to the Secretary of the General Meeting, that, being deposited in the Archives, the purport may be made known accordingly.

The prevalence of so good dispositions from one extremity of the Continent to the other (with few exceptions) seems indeed to afford a subject of mutual felicitations to all who delight in their country's prosperity. But the idea, that my former gallant associates in the field are now about to receive, in a good national government, some compensation for the toils and dangers which they have experienced in the course of a long & perilous war, is particularly consolatory to me.

I entreat that the members of your State Society will believe that I interest myself much in their prosperity; and that you will accept the professions of sincere regard & esteem, with which

I have the honor to be
Sir
Yr. Most Obed. &
Most Humble Servt
Go Washington

The Honble
Genl Sullivan
Presidt of the State Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire

[*Addressed:*]

The Honble
Genl Sullivan
New Hampshire
Free
Go Washington

* These interesting letters are locally interesting; and we are indebted for them to our friends, Thomas C. Amory and J. Wingate Thornton, Esqs, of Boston.

† This is just as we find it, in the copy sent to us.—Ed. His. Mag.

Scraps.—An aged gentleman in New Haven has known, personally, seven generations of a branch of the Smith family, in East Haven, the first born in 1721, and died ninety-six years after; the last born in 1868.

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

ARCHITECTURAL RUINS IN GREENLAND.—At the recent Session of the National Academy of Sciences, in Washington, Dr. Hayes, the Arctic explorer, read an interesting paper on the Northmen of Greenland. The speaker first gave an interesting description of the ancient ruined chapel of Krakotck, in Greenland, which he visited last Summer and photographed, standing on the banks of the fiord, where Erric and his followers founded their first colony, in 986. The walls were composed of rough unhewn stones; and were four and a half feet thick. The doors and several windows are still perfect; and the window over the chancel has a perfect Norman arch. The Church was fifty-three by twenty-eight feet, surrounded, completely, by a wall, forming a church-yard, in one corner of which was the Almonry, and near by the Bishop's house. Ruins of other buildings were found in the vicinity, reaching along the South bank of the fiord, toward the interior, to the early settlements of Garda and Brattolid. At this latter place, there is a church ruin, in the form of a cross, which was probably the Cathedral, where, as is known from the old Icelandic records, seventeen successive Bishops administered the Ordinances of the Church of Rome—the first being appointed in 1117, and the last in 1406. The ancient population of this region was about seven thousand, composed of Norwegians, Danes, and Icelanders, who had fled from oppression and tyranny.

Their conversion to Christianity dates back to King Olaf, about 1001, in which year, Lief, son of Errick, in sailing westward in search of adventures, discovered America, which he called Vineland, sailing South as far as the Latitude of Boston. The destruction of the Northmen, in Greenland, occurred in the early part of the fifteenth century, and from a combination of causes—their trade in beef and fish, with Norway, was suddenly cut off by war; the "black death," which desolated Europe, probably reached them; they were set upon by hordes of Esquimaux; and another cause was a physical one—a steady reduction of temperature and increased severity of climate. Of this, there are many evidences, as early records make little mention of ice as a disturbing cause in the navigation of the seas, while at present, the coast is almost inaccessible from this cause. This accumulation of ice is largely from the sea, but mainly from the land, and is increasing year, by year. From these causes, the Northmen became extinct. The nearest inhabitants to the pole, at present, are a few wandering and fast dwindling families along the North shore of Baffin's Bay, extending to Latitude 78°; and these, in a few years, will become extinct.

Upon the conclusion of the reading, Professor Henry said that the subject of Arctic explorations was now before Congress; and there were strong probabilities of an appropriation for futher investigations into the mysteries of the regions surrounding the North Pole. If, as Dr. Hayes stated in his paper, climatic changes have taken place there, it devolved upon scientific men to find data for the cause of such changes. If we adopt the theory that the earth was once a body of fire, as the sun now is, and that it had gradually cooled and hardened, then, arguing upon this hypothesis, it was evident that the germ of life had been formed at the poles; and, as a natural consequence, it would first become extinct there. This was, perhaps, the only manner by which to account for the gradual depopulation of the land North of Baffin's Bay.—*Scientific American.*

THE GRAVE OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.—DESCRIPTION OF ITS SURROUNDINGS.—In the Legislature of this State, a few days since, Mr. Yeatman, of Hamilton, introduced a Bill providing for the accepting of a deed of the land which contains the tomb of General William H. Harrison, and for improving and beautifying the same. A short description of the place and its surroundings may, therefore, be of interest, especially to those who have never visited the spot.

North Bend is in the extreme Southwestern corner of Ohio, being merely a flag and coaling station, where the Ohio and Mississippi and the Indianapolis and Lafayette Railroads diverge. It is sixteen miles from Cincinnati, and three miles from the Indiana line. The old homestead of General Harrison is quite near the Station-house. Thence he was called to the State Legislature and, by an overwhelming majority, to the Presidential chair. The career of the hero of Tippecanoe and the Thames needs no mention here. His reputation is not local but national; and the great West owes an immense debt of gratitude to the defender of its borders. And how have these obligations been fulfilled? Across the rail-roads, already mentioned, and about one-fourth of a mile from the homestead, is a knoll that rises perhaps one hundred feet above the river. This was, for many years, the General's choice, as his last resting place. The view from the summit is a grand one. At your feet is the Ohio—the beautiful river—which here makes a double bend and can be

seen, for miles, in either direction. Upon the other side of the knoll, can be traced, in the distance, the course of the Miami, before it enters the Ohio, four miles below. Almost upon the summit of this knoll is the vault that contains all that is mortal of General Harrison. It is of plain brick, with a rough board door, and is covered with turf and weeds. Such is the resting-place of the only President Ohio ever gave to the nation. As seen from the river, the tomb presents a striking appearance, even in its rude state. It is to be hoped the present effort will be successful; and that a more fitting memorial will adorn the last resting-place of the worthy hero.—*Cleveland Herald.*

American Pseudonyms.—From Mr. Dole's *Catalogue of the Skowhegan Library*, we transfer his list of Pseudonyms, with some changes in arrangement and additions.

Pseudonyms.	Real Names.
Arp, Bill,	*Charles H. Smith.*
Bard, Samuel A.,	*Ephraim G. Squier.*
Barrett, Walter,	*Joseph A. Scoville.*
Benauly,	Ben*jamin*, Aus*tin*, *and* Ly*man Abbott*, *jointly.*
Benson, Carl,	*Charles Astor Bristed.*
Bigly, Cantell A., [*Can tell a big lie*],	*George W. Peck.*
Billings, Josh,	*Henry W. Shaw.*
Browne, Dunn,	*Rev. Samuel Fiske.*
Creyton, Paul,	*J. T. Trowbridge.*
Dare, Shirley,	*Miss Susan Dunning.*
Doesticks, Q. L. Philander,	*Mortimer Thomson.*
Fat Contributor,	*A. M. Griswold.*
Downing, Major Jack,	*Seba Smith.*
Fleeta,	*Kate W. Hamilton.*
Forester, Frank,	*H. W. Herbert.*
Gilman, Mrs.,	*Mr. ——Ballou.*
Glyndon, Howard,	*Miss Laura C. Redden.*
Gray, Barry,	*R. B. Coffin.*
Greenwood, Grace,	*Mrs. Sara J. C. Lippincott.*
Gringo, Harry,	*Lieut. Henry A. Wise, U. S. N.*
Hamilton, Gail,	*Miss Mary Abigail Dodge.*
Harland, Marion,	*Mrs. M. V. Terhune.*
June, Jennie,	*Mrs. Jennie C. Croly.*
Kerr, Orpheus C. [*Office seeker*],	*R. H. Newell.*
Kirke, Edmund,	*J. R. Gilmore.*
Lovengood, Sut,	*Capt. G. Harris.*
Mar, Helen,	*Mrs. D. M. F. Walker.*
Marvel, Ik,	*Donald G. Mitchell.*
May, Sophie,	*Miss R. S. Clarke.*
Myrtle, Minnie,	*Miss Anna L. Johnson.*
Nasby, Petroleum Vesuvius,	*D. R. ocke.*
Oldham, Dr., of Greystones,	*Caleb S. Henry, LL.D.*
Optic, Oliver,	*Wm. T. Adams.*
O'Reilly, Miles,	*Col. Charles G. Halpine.*
Partington, Mrs.,	*B. P. Shillaber.*
Percy, Florence,	*Mrs. Akers.*
Phœnix, John,	*Capt. Geo. H. Derby, U. S. A.*
Porte-Crayon,	*Gen. D. P. Strother.*
Pylodet L. (*anagram*),	*F. Leypoldt.*
Regester, Seeley,	*Mrs. O. J. Victor.*
Sass, Job,	*Mr. ——Foxcroft.*
Se De Kay (*author of* Canetuckey),	*Charles D. Kirk.*
Spike, Ethan,	*Matthew G. Whittier.*
Talvi,	*Mrs. E. Robinson* (*Therese* A. L. *Von Jakob.*
Titcomb, Timothy,	*Josiah G. Holland, M.D.*
Trusta (*anagram*),	*Miss Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.*
Twain, Mark,	*Samuel L. Clemens.*
Veteran (A) Observer,	*E. D. Mansfield, LL.D.*
Ward, Artemus,	*Charles F. Browne.*
White, Blythe, Jr.,	*Solon Robinson.*

Franklin's *Cato Major.*—There are, perhaps, few books more eagerly sought after, by collectors of "Americana," than Logan's translation of Cicero's *Cato Major, Printed and Sold by B. Franklin*, Philadelphia, 1744. In the address of "*The Printer to the Reader*," will be found the following curious passage:

"A certain freedman of *Cicero's* is reported "to have said of a medicinal well, discovered "in his time, wonderful for the virtue of its "waters in restoring sight to the aged, '*That* "'*it was a gift of the bountiful Gods to Men, to* "'*the end that all might now have the pleasure of* "'*reading his master's works.*' As that well, if "still in being, is at too great a distance for "our use, I have, *gentle Reader*, as thou seest, "printed this piece of *Cicero's* in a large and "fair character, that those who begin to think "on the arrival of Old Age (which seldom happens till their sight is somewhat impaired by its "approaches) may not, in reading, by the *pain* "small letters give the eyes, feel the *pleasure* of "the mind in the least alloyed."

The story of Cicero's well, of which Franklin has made such an ingenious use, is related by Pliny, in his *Natural History*, Book xxxi., Chap. 3, where he is speaking of medicinal waters. The passage is also quoted by Middleton, in his *Life of Cicero*, iii., 297: "Some time after Cicero's death, "his Puteolan house fell into the hands of *Antistius Vetus*, who repaired and improved it, when

"a spring of warm water, which happened to "burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to "an epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of "Cicero's freedmen." The epigram concluded with these lines:

"Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
"Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope,
"Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem
"Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ."

Thus rendered by Middleton:

"The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew,
"Repays this honor to his memory due,
"That since his works throughout the world are spread,
"And with such eagerness by all are read,
"New springs of healing quality should rise,
"To ease the increase of labor to the eyes."

[*American Publisher and Bookseller.*]

CONFISCATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON'S ESTATE.

December 10, 1862.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA vs. THE ESTATE OF ANDREW JOHNSON, an alien enemy. } *Petition.*

FIRST RECEIVERS' DISTRICT.

In this case appeared M. T. Haynes, Receiver for the First District of East Tennessee, and moved that said Andrew Johnson be declared an alien enemy to the Confederate States of America; and the Court direct that the matter be submitted to a jury: whereupon came the traverse jury, who had been summoned by the Marshal, and duly elected, impanneled, and sworn to try all the causes and matters, civil and criminal, in the Eastern District of Tennessee, to be submitted to them during the present Term of the Court, to wit: Robert Cravens, James Montgomery, John Bise, Joe Bowling, John G. King, Carrick W. Crozier, Samuel P. Irvins, Wm. S. Kennedy, Wm. B. Smith, Wm. Ray, E. W. Marsh, and J. G. Blackwell; and the said jury having heard the testimony and the Charge of the Court, upon their oaths do say that the said Andrew Johnson is an alien enemy to the said Confederate States of America:

It is therefore ordered by the Court that the said Johnson is an alien enemy; and all the property, rights, and credits belonging to him, either at law or in equity, are sequestrated under the Acts of Congress, and the Receiver for this District is directed to proceed to dispose of the same as provided by law.—*Eastern Argus.*

JOHN RANDOLPH AND R. MORSE.—The account, by a recent contributor, of the death of John Randolph, indicating that he did not write "remorse," at the last moment, but "R. Morse," the name of a physician, may give interest to the account of Dr. Parrish, which has hitherto been received as the true version. Randolph, after dozing awhile, suddenly cried out "Remorse! "remorse!" "Let me see the word," he added. "Get a Dictionary and let me see the word!" There being no Dictionary in the room, Randolph said: "Write it down—let me see the word." Dr. Parrish wrote it upon one of Randolph's own visiting cards, and handed it to him. "He "was," says the Doctor, "excessively agitated! "He repeated, 'Remorse; you can form no idea of "'it, whatever; it has contributed to bring me "'to my present situation; but I have looked to "'the Lord Jesus Christ, and hope I have obtain-"'ed pardon.'" He then gave the card to the Doctor, telling him to put it in his pocket, and adding, "When I am dead, look at it."

AN ANCIENT CHURCH.—The First Congregational Church, East Haddam, Connecticut, established in 1704, has had but five different Pastors, since its formation; and in the interval of one hundred and sixty-five years, it has been without an ordained Minister but about two years. The first meeting house, built in 1705, was thirty-two feet square, and was then considered a commodious structure.

SCRAPS.—One of the oldest dwelling-houses in this country stands in Newbury, Mass. It is one hundred and eighty-nine years old, and is so heavily timbered that, unless pulled down, it will last five hundred years longer. *The Boston Traveler* says this house is now occupied by the descendants, in the seventh generation, of those that built it.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

—It is a pity to spoil the exceedingly Hawthornish story, that the next voyage of the *Mayflower*, after landing the Pilgrims at Plymouth, was to the coast of Guinea for a cargo of slaves; but truth is ruthless, and the evidence is wholly against the story. The *Mayflower* was a favorate name for vessels, at that period. There are on record more than twenty, bearing that designation, sailing out of Hull, Lynn, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Scarborough, and other English ports. At least three of the name hailed from London. There was a *Mayflower* which, in 1648, gained notoriety, being fitted out on a trading voyage to Guinea, where she took four hundred and fifty negroes and sailed to Barbadoes. This is doubtless the vessel which has given rise to Hawthorne's story. Instead of being the Pilgrim *Mayflower*, she might have been any one of the twenty odd bearing that name. She certainly could not have been the same ship that anchored at Province-

town, that bleak November Saturday, for she was of only one hundred and eighty tons burthen, while the noted slaver, as was testified in the law-suit, measured three hundred and fifty tons. *Springfield Republican.*

—Free seats in churches and weekly contributions of such amounts as the Lord inclines believers to give, are both ancient New England institutions. Governor Hutchinson, who wrote after 1760, says that "the Ministers of the several "churches in the town of Boston have ever been "supported by a free weekly contribution." One of the principal Ministers of the Colony wrote a letter, in which he expressed doubts of the lawfulness of receiving a support in any other way. The famous John Cotton, who left a munificent preferment, in the old country, maintained that this was the apostolic method of supporting institutions. Ample support was contributed for the famous Ministers; but it became necessary, by and by, in country towns, to pass laws assessing individuals who neglected to provide for the ministry. Lechford gives us a graphic picture of the ingathering of the gifts as a part of the regular Sunday service. "The Magistrates and "chief gentlemen first, and then the Elders and "the congregation of men, and most of them "that are not of the church, all single persons, "widows, and women in absence of their hus"bands, come up, one after another, one way, and "bring their offerings to the Deacon, at his seat, "and put it in a box of wood for the purpose, "if it be money or papers; if it be any other "chattel, they set it or lay it down before the "Deacons, and so pass another way to their "seats again. This contribution is of money, "or papers promising so much money."—*Boston Congregationalist.*

—It is said that the first Directory of Philadelphia, published in 1785, contains the following: "D'Orleans, Messrs., Merchants, near 100 "South Fourth-street." These persons were no other than Louis Philippe and one of his brothers, who lived at the North-west corner of Fourth and Princes streets, in a house still standing, and now numbered 110.—*Philadelphia Sunday Despatch.*

X.—NOTES.

Revolutionary Incident.—Among the numerous petitions presented to the House of Representatives, in the month of December, 1827, was one from John Blake, a Revolutionary Officer, of which the following is an interesting extract.—"When in the Jerseys, I captured several small detachments of Refugees, which so "irritated their Commander, Colonel De Lancey, "that he offered a reward of sixty guineas to "any person who might bring me to him, *dead* "or alive. General Washington, then at Crom"pond, in the State of New York, wrote me a "letter to repair to his quarters. When I arriv"ed, he says, 'Friend Blake, I have a pleasant "'tour of duty for you, which is to take a de"'tachment of men and make Colonel De Lan"'cey and his guard prisoners. I have heard he "'has offered a bounty for you: therefore, I give "'you an opportunity to retaliate.'

"Accordingly, the following night, I repaired "to his [*De Lancey's*] quarters: but, before I "arrived, I took two of his men, who gave me "the countersign, by which means I was enabled "to take the sentinels without alarming the "guard. I found the door bolted, and went to "the window, where I saw several officers play"ing at cards, one of whom enquired, 'What "'is trumps?' I immediately answered, "'Black Jack, of the Fifth Regiment;' at the "same time, ordering the window broken. The "guard of thirty-six men and six Officers were "made prisoners; but the Colonel was absent "and escaped.

"I have at last attained to my seventy-fourth "year, without receiving the compensation due "for my services, and have had the misfortune "of having one of my arms broken; yet I am "under the necessity, even debilitated and dis"abled as I am, of *laboring* to support life; but "soon will the vital spark expire, and free my "country from my pressing importunities.

"Shall Congress be reproached with partial"ity? Why, then, do some, who served only "nine months, receive their pensions as many "years, whilst others, because they have, by "persevering industry, obtained a scanty pit"tance, are remanded from their country's gen"erosity. I sincerely hope that while she so "liberally rewards meritorious foreigners, who "entered the service at the eleventh hour, she "will not be unmindful of the free-born sons "of America, who bore the heat and burthen "of the day.

"My countrymen, I reckon upon your justice "and generosity."

This should find a place in The Historical Magazine.

New York City. De V.

Morrisania and New England.—That some other resident of Morrisania than the Editor of The Historical Magazine has been outspoken in his denunciation of the inhabitants of New England, will be seen in the following extract from the Will of Lewis Morris, which is recorded in the Surrogate's Office, New York, Liber 23, Page 426, November 19th, 1760:

"It is my wish that my son GOUVERNEUR shall "have the best education that can be furnished "him in England or America, but my express "will and direction are, that under no circum- "stances shall he be sent to the Colony of Con- "necticut for that purpose, lest in his youth he "should imbibe that low craft and cunning so "incident to the people of that country, and "which are so interwoven in their constitution "that they cannot conceal it from the world, "though many of them, under the sanctified "garb of religion, have attempted to impose "themselves upon the world, as honest men."

NEW YORK CITY. A KNICKERBOCKER.

AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT.

[FORDHAM, N. Y., 26th Feb., 1871.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

I find the enclosed interesting Document, announcing the first display of the National Standard, at Monterey, and the investment of California, in the name of the United States, by Commodore Sloat, in the San Francisco *Examiner* of January 5th; and send it to you, in the belief that my friends of the Pioneer Society and others would be pleased to see it preserved in your historical collections.

Very Truly,
JOHN SAVAGE.]

We publish, below, a most interesting document to Californians. It is the Proclamation of Commodore Sloat, issued at Monterey, in 1846, to the people of California, upon taking possession of the country in the name of the United States. This document bears the same relation to the birth of our State, that the Declaration of Independence does to that of the American Union. We copy from the original document. Signed by the Commodore. How it has come to us, and for what purpose, will be understood from the following letter:

"SAN JOSE, December 27, 1870.

"DEAR SIR.—Sometime since, I saw in the "*Examiner*, an article in relation to Commodore "Sloat's Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Cali- "fornia, in 1846.

"During the last year of our stay in Mazatlan, "Mexico, my husband came across the original "document, which he said should belong to Cal- "ifornia. It was given to him, and a few days "since, in unpacking his books, I found it; and, "through you, I desire to present it to the Califor- "nia Pioneer Society, as being the proper place "to preserve it.

"Respectfully yours,
"MRS. A. J. GRAYSON.

"TO PHILIP A. ROACH, Esq., San Francisco."

[THE PROCLAMATION.]

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF CALIFORNIA:

"The Central Government of Mexico, having "commenced hostilities against the United "States of America by invading its territory "and attacking the troops of the United States "stationed on the North side of the Rio Grande, "with a force of seven thousand men, under "the command of General Arista, which army "was totally destroyed, and all their artillery, "baggage, etc., etc., captured on the eighth and "ninth of May last, by a force of two thousand, "three hundred men under the command of "General Taylor, and the city of Matamoras "taken and occupied by the forces of the United "States, and the two nations being actually at "war, by this transaction, I shall hoist the stan- "dard of the United States, at Monterey, imme- "diately, and shall carry it throughout California.

"I declare to the inhabitants of California, "that, although I come in arms with a power- "ful force, I do not come among them as an "enemy to California, but, on the contrary, I "come as their best friend—as, henceforth, Cali- "fornia will be a portion of the United States, "and its peaceable inhabitants will enjoy the "same rights and privileges as the citizens of "any other portion of that territory, with all the "rights and privileges they now enjoy, together "with the privilege of choosing their own mag- "istrates and other officers for the administration "of justice among themselves, and the same "protection will be extended to them as to any "other State of the Union. They will also en- "joy a permanent Government, under which life, "property, and the constitutional right and law- "ful security to worship the Creator in a way "most congenial to each one's sense of duty, "will be secure, which, unfortunately, the Cen- "tral Government of Mexico cannot afford "them, destroyed as her resources are, by internal "factions and corrupt officers, who create con- "stant revolutions to promote their own interests "and oppress the people.

"Under the flag of the United States, Califor- "nia will be free from all such troubles and "expense; consequently, the country will rapidly "advance and improve, both in agriculture and "commerce, as, of course, the Revenue laws "will be the same in California as in all other "parts of the United States, affording them all "manufactures and produce of the United "States, free of any duty, and all foreign goods "at one-quarter the duty they now pay—a great "increase in the value of real estate and the "products of California. With the great inter- "est and kind feelings I know the Government "and people of the United States possess towards "the citizens of California, the country cannot "but improve more rapidly than any other on "the continent of America.

"Such of the inhabitants of California, wheth- "er native or foreigners, as may not be disposed "to accept the high privileges of citizenship and "to live peaceably under the free Government of

"the United States, will be allowed time to dis-
"pose of their property and to remove out of
"the country, if they choose, without any re-
"striction, or remain in it, observing strict neu-
"trality.

"With full confidence in the honor and integ-
"rity of the inhabitants of the country, I invite
"the Judges, Alcades, and other civil officers to
"retain their offices and to execute their functions
"as heretofore, that the public tranquility may not
"be disturbed, at least, until the Government of
"the Territory can be more definitely arranged.

"All persons holding titles to real estate, or in
"quiet possession of lands, under a color of right,
"shall have those titles and rights guaranteed to
"them.

"All churches and the property they contain,
"in possession of the clergy of California, shall
"continue in the same rights and possessions
"they now enjoy.

"All provisions and supplies of every kind,
"furnished by the inhabitants, for the use of the
"United States ships and soldiers, will be paid
"for, at fair rates; and no private property will
"be taken for public use without just compensa-
"tion, at the moment.

"United States Flag Ship, *Savannah*,
"Harbor of Monterey, July 7th, 1846.
"John D. Sloat.
"Commander in-chief of the United States
"Naval forces in the Pacific Ocean."

XI.—QUERIES.

The New York Historical Society, as it once was.—Years ago, when this Society was about to remove from the old Almshouse building, in the Park, it is said to have found its removal encumbered with an enormous meteoric stone—one of the largest specimens of that article then known. With characteristic wisdom, the officers of the Society of that day are said to have gravely concluded to overcome the difficulty by burying the obstacle, as countrymen often get rid of boulders by dropping them into holes, instead of removing them. It is said, too, that, in accordance with this outburst of old-time historical wisdom—Mr. De Costa's "new school" had not then been established—a hole was really dug in the Park, and this rare meteoric curiosity ignominiously buried in it; and it need not be told that it has not troubled the Society, from that day to this.

What I want to know is, does any living person personally know anything about this novel funeral; and if so, what?

Morrisania, N. Y. H. B. D

The Guns at the North Dutch Church, William-street, New York.—In the *Memorial Discourse*, delivered in May, 1869, in the North Dutch Church, N. Y., on the Centennial anniversary of the erection of that building, there is mention made, in a foot note (*p. 18,*) of certain old guns on the premises, in these words:

"The two guns, lying at either corner of the
"Church enclosure, on William-street, are known
"to have been fired once when the British fleet
"attacked the City; but no record of the reason
"why they were put in the place which they
"now occupy, is known to exist."

There is an inaccuracy in this statement, which is corrected in the following account given by Horatio Bogert Esq.: "The cannon in question
"were French pieces captured by the British, and
"were placed in their present position when the
"Church was built. When the *Asia* fired on the
"City" [*in 1775*] "one of her spent balls rolled
"near the grounds and was picked up by a
"blacksmith, who had his shop on the corner of
"Ann-street. Seizing his sledge, he said that
"the Royalists should not fire that ball again; so,
"striding across to the corner of Fair, now Ful-
"ton, street, he placed the ball in the mouth of
"the cannon, and drove it home, half its diame-
"ter. This tradition was often related by the
"late Cornelius Bogert Esq., who received it from
"older people, some of whom might have per-
"sonally known the patriotic Vulcan."

Possibly some reader of the Historical Magazine may be able to throw further light upon these interesting relics of the old French War.

New York City. T. W. C.

North Carolina.—In the year 1857, it was publicly announced that Hon. D. L. Swain was appointed an Agent of the State, to collect from other States and from Europe, the scattered material which was necessary to secure a proper understanding of the history of the State.

What was the result of that appointment? What has the State to show for it?

In February, 1861, an order was made by the Convention or Legislature of the State, to print a volume of Colonial historical documents.

Was the volume thus ordered to be printed, a portion of the papers secured through the agency of President Swain? If not, what were they? Where may a copy of the book be seen?

Bronxville, N. Y. Dick.

Connecticut Rivers.—In Neal's *History of New England*, ii., 235, published in London, in 1747, he says: "New London is seated on the
"*Thames*, which is a considerable River with
"several small branches, the first of which is

"called *Glass-River*; the second, *Russel's De-*
"*light;* and the third, the *Indian River*; the
"rest are so small that they are not worth men-
"tioning."

Now we suppose that the present names of these branches, probably in the same order, Yantic, Shetucket, and Quinnebaug, are the original Indian names. How and when, then, did these cease, the above-mentioned ones come into use and prevail; and those cease, and the right names recur again? Proper names of great natural objects—Mountains, Rivers, Towns, etc.—are the most unchangable of all things. Many of those now in use on the old continent, have been fixed from the earliest times. Damascus was known in the days of Abraham.

STATESVILLE, N. C. E. F. R.

ISAAC SEARS.—Subscribers to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, who are fortunate enough to possess it and will take the trouble to refer to it, will find in Vol. I, p. 152, an interesting article relating to Captain Stuart Dean and his voyage to China, in 1785, in a Sloop of eighty tons. The article says "She returned to New York, April "22, 1787, without the loss of a man during the "voyage."

In *Old Merchants of New York*, (iv., 163,) it is stated that Captain Isaac Sears went as as Supercargo of that Sloop, and never came back, but died and was buried at Batavia.

Is there any authodox authority for this version of the latter end of the old Liberty Boy?

HOBOKEN, N. J. C. L. W.

GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS.—Mr. Sumner, in a speech, the other day, said: "One of the Signers "of the Declaration was a German Redemption-"er." What can it mean?

ORANGE, N. Y. R.

THE MASTADON ON LONG ISLAND.—What was done with the skeleton of the Mastadon which was said to have been found in Nostrand's Pond, on Long Island, some years since?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y. DICK.

BURR AT QUEBEC.—The admirable paper on *Richmond Hill*, by General Wetmore, which graces the January number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, revives the belief, which many entertain, that *Burr* really "bore the body of Mont-"gomery from the crimson snow-bank where he "fell," and prefers to follow the testimony of Rev. Samuel Spring, D. D., the Chaplain of Arnold's Regiment, who says *he saw* the feat referred to, than the theories of those who were not there, declaring that no such feat was performed.

It is almost time for the settlement of this, as well as some other, questions concerning Aaron Burr, both as a soldier and as a man; and we may as well begin here. What testimony is there, beyond theory, either that he did bear the body of Montgomery, as stated, or that he did not?

NEW YORK. R. E. P.

LYMAN HALL'S HEADSTONE.—Some twelve or thirteen years ago, when the remains of this distinguished "signer" were removed from the private grave-yard in which they had been originally interred and placed under the monument which Georgia had erected to his memory and that of his colleagues in the Congress of 1776, the owner of the grave-yard, William D' Antignac, Esqr., of this city, presented the stone which had stood at the head of his grave to the State of Connecticut, in order that it might be kept in the State of Mr. Hall's birth, as a memento one of her wandering sons.

It will interest some of those who are yet in Georgia to know what Connecticut has done with that head-stone.

AUGUSTA, GEO. CONN.

XII.—REPLIES.

THEODORE PARKER AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—A volume has recently been published, in Boston, entitled *Historic Americans*, written by the late Theodore Parker, sometimes called the *Reverend*, although *Irreverent* would be a more appropriate prefix.

One of these essays treats of Benjamin Franklin. It contains several absurd mis-statements, such as calling William Temple Franklin the son, instead of the grandson, of Dr. Franklin, and stating that he was Governor of New Jersey; and asserting that Dr. Franklin stood *for ten hours* listening to Wedderburn's abuse of him, before the Privy Council, although a letter of Dr. Franklin's is extant, in which he says that the attack lasted "for near an hour."

But these are of small account when compared with Parker's vile attack upon the memory of Miss Godfrey, whom Dr. Franklin courted before he married Miss Reed. Parker asserts that when the engagement was broken off, Miss Godfrey was with child and became the mother of Franklin's only son!

Considering that Dr. Franklin has been dead for upwards of eighty years, it is singular that this fabrication should appear, for the first time, in print, in our day. As Parker is dead himself, it is impossible to say whether this scandalous

falsehood was the coinage of his own brain or one of those lying traditions which are constantly afloat, respecting distinguished men. Most probably Parker originated it.

He is also wrong in calling William Franklin, Dr. Franklin's *only* son. Mrs. Franklin had a son, Francis Folger Franklin, who died young.

PHILADELPHIA. D. W.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [*H. M.* II., vi., 251.]—Responsive to the Query concerning the Minor Publications of Societies, I continue the publication of the titles of the tracts which I have in my Library, with a hope that those who have any others will communicate their titles.

1846. *The Goodly Heritage of Jerseymen:* The First Annual Address before the New Jersey Historical Society; at their meeting, in Trenton, on Thursday, January 15, 1846; by the Right Rev. George Washington Doane, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New Jersey. Burlington, 1846.

1848. The same. Second Edition. Burlington: Edmund Morris. M.DCCC.XLVIII. Pp. 32.

1854. *Constitution and By-Laws of the New Jersey Historical Society.* With the Circular of the Executive Committee. Revised Edition. Newark, N. J.: 1854. Pp. 16.

1859? *Northern Boundary Line.* The Circumstances leading to the establishment, in 1769, of the Northern Boundry Line between New Jersey and New York. A paper read before the New Jersey Historical Society, May 19, 1859, by Wm. A. Whitehead. Sine loco, [*Newark*, ?] sine anno. [*1859*, ?] *Map.* Octavo, pp. 30.

1870. *Constitution and By-Laws of the New Jersey Historical Society, as amended, May 19, 1870.* Newark, N. J.: Jennings Brothers, Printers. 1870. Pp. 24.*

1870. *The Early History of Morris County, New Jersey*, by the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle. D.D., President of Wabash College, Indiana. Read before the N. J. Historical Society, May 20, 1869. Newark, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 39.

The respected Librarian of the Society, Samuel H. Conger, Esqr., informs me that he does not know of any other publication by the Society, except its *Collections* and *Proceedings*, than the above; but I imagine there was an edition of the Constitution and By-Laws, of the date of 1845.

MORRISANIA, N. Y. H. B. D.

* This tract contains, also, the *Circular* of the Society to Jerseymen, appealing for increased support; a series of *Interrogatories* on which the Society desires particular information; and, what will be found particularly useful, a detailed description of the contents of the several published volumes of the *Collections* and *Proceedings* of the Society.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS. [*H. M.* II, vi., 251].—In addition to the list of the publications of this Society, published in the January number, is the following, which, although not strictly a publication by the Society, will be usually considered as one, by Collectors. It was printed for private circulation only, by its distinguished author, and copies of it have been received by the Society, only since the writing of my last note.

1869. *Military Lessons taught by the War.* An Address delivered before the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N.Y., Feb. 23. 1860, by Gen. H. W. Slocum. New York: George F. Nesbitt & Co., Printers, 1869. Octavo, pp, 20.

BROOKLYN, N. Y G. H.

THE SALMON CLAUSE. [*H. M.* II., ix., 41.]

EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

In the January number, for 1871, you have an article on the "Salmon Clause in Apprentices' "Indentures," in which it is spoken of, as a myth. I see no reason to doubt its former existence, either in Old or New England, for I have seen pretty much the same thing in Oregon, in early days, say in 1850—not that we ever had Apprentices there; but the men employed on the river objected to being fed, perpetually, on that fish; and insisted on having meat, instead.

The quantity of Salmon, of different species, that ascend the great rivers of the North Pacific, in Spring and Summer, and the smaller streams, in the Autumn, is enormous; and they afford the principal article of food to the Indians, from the coast to the very base of the Rocky Mountains, where not shut off by falls. I have known the water of the Klamath-river rendered undrinkable by the dead fish which drifted down, after spawning; and have forded the Okanagan, when they covered its bed so that our mule-train may be said to have waded through them. The same abundance exists on the Siberian coast.

As regards VENISON, I can verify that tradition, also.

On Major Wessell's Expedition, in 1851, from San Francisco Bay, northward, the men, after the first week, refused to eat it, demanding beef or salt pork. In 1856, the men of Major Haller's command, at Port Townshend, on Puget's Sound, though allowed double rations of Venison for one of beef or pork, after a week or two, would not touch it. The objection to Venison, however, rests on different grounds from that to Salmon. It is far less nourishing than beef, from its readier digestion. On the Plains, Antelope meat was despised by the old trappers, for the same reason.

NEW YORK CITY. G.

XIII.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., *Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Address delivered at the funeral of Francis Burg Russell, July* 6, 1870, *in St. James Church, Greenfield, Mass.* By Rev. P. V. Finch, Rector, Greenfield: 1870. Octavo, pp. 9.

The funeral Address, pronounced by his Pastor, over the remains of a beloved parishioner, one of a distinguished manufacturing firm in the town of Greenfield, Massachusetts.

It is one of the most touching addresses of the kind which we have ever read, reflecting equal credit on the head and the heart of the preacher, and bearing the highest testimony to the worth of the deceased, as a man, a neighbor, a citizen, and a Christian gentleman.

2.—*Re interment of the remains of Lady Alice Apsley Boteler, wife of George Fenwick, Esqr. November* 23, 1870. [Reported for *The Hartford Daily Courant, Nov. 24th.*] Hartford: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 24.

As we have transferred from the columns of *The Courant* into our own, in another part of this number, the original report of this re-interment of one of Connecticut's grand-mothers, and availed ourselves of the opportunity which this little volume and Mr. Trumbull's presence in New York have afforded, to correct, in that re-production, the errors which crept, unawares, into the original newspaper version, we need not occupy our limited space, here, by reciting the circumstances to which this pretty little book is devoted. Suffice it is to say, therefore, that just what, on this subject, will be found under the head of "Current Events," in our last form, has been presented in a handsome little monograph, printed for private circulation among Mr. Trumbull's friends; and the latter will not be less welcome, among his friends, because we had put the narrative, as it originally appeared, into the printers' hands, before this volume appeared, nor because Mr. Trumbull has kindly called our attention to some mistakes in the original version, and suggested their correction, in our's. As a memento of a notable event in the history of Saybrook and of Connecticut, and as a keepsake of the Orator who was to have been, but was not, at Saybrook, on the occasion of the re-interment, this little volume possesses a value to its possessors which cannot be affected by any re-production of its contents.

3.—*Address at the funeral of Mrs. Laura Wolcott Gibbs, widow of George Gibbs, Esqr., at All Souls' Church, New York, December* 13, 1870, by Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D. New York: M.DCCC.LXXI. Octavo, pp. 15.

In our last number, we alluded to the death of this excellent lady; and, herein, from the hand of one of her sons, we are favored with the very appropriate Sermon which her Pastor, Rev. Dr. Bellows, delivered on the occasion of her interment

A daughter of one of Washington's Cabinet; the wife of one of America's earliest savants; the mother of some of America's best known citizens, of to-day—this venerable lady, in herself, honored all these associations and was honored in them all. She was a lady of the old-school; one of the links, few in number, which bind the present with the early and heroic past of our country's history; and she was as remarkable for her marked independence, strong and intelligent common sense, and unusual individuality, as she was distinguished for her ancestry and her personal associations.

The pamphlet is a beautiful specimen of printing.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

4.—*Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Mason, N. H., August* 6, 1868. Prepared for publication, under the direction of the Committee of Arrangements, by John B. Hill. Boston: Elliott, Thomes, & Talbot. 1870. Octavo, pp. 115.

In August, 1768, Governor John Wentworth granted a Charter to Township No. 1, naming it, the town of *Mason*, and providing for the organization of the local government, therein. In August, 1868, the centennary of this incorporation was celebrated, under a vote of the Town, at Town-meeting; and the volume before us, published by the Committee of Arrangements, contains the record of that event.

As usual, in such cases, cannon and ringing of bells welcomed the incoming day; and at ten o'clock a procession was formed and moved, to the sound of a band, to a neighboring grove, where Prayer, Music, a Welcoming Address, an Ora-

tion, etc., indicated how happy the villagers were. A dinner, with music, toasts, and after-dinner speeches, followed; and the day ended, as all such days end, with fatigue and a dreary morrow.

The Address of Welcome was brief, but appropriate. The Oration, by Hon. J. B. Hill, was historical, and laudatory of New England's *Pilgrim* Fathers, without, however, alluding to the *Puritan* Fathers of that dreary corner of the Union. He transferred the peculiarities of these *Pilgrims* to "New England," indiscriminately, and as studiously concealed the peculiarities of the *Puritans*, whenever they clashed with those of their neighbors. He told his hearers how every man in New England *is* a voter and eligible to hold office; but he *did not* tell them that neither the Pilgrim nor the Puritan held that doctrine nor followed that practice; nor did he tell them the sad truth that a viler system of Government—as that system is seen in the undisputed administration of it, by the very Fathers themselves—never existed than in Massachusetts, in the days of the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers of that land of magnificent modern pomposity.

Mr. Hill, after a brief historical introduction, however, judiciously referred his audience, for further historical particulars concerning the town of Mason or its early inhabitants, to his *History of Mason* and *Memoir of Rev. Ebenezer Hill*, his father, both of which were accessible and need not be repeated; and he then proceeded, in a strain of pleasant description, to present to his hearers well-drawn pictures of the Sunday, the Thanksgiving, and the Funeral, of the olden time; to discuss the capabilities of New England to produce wealth, *if her sons would only not abandon her, for more agreeable communities*; etc. As a whole, his Oration was a very good one; and may usefully serve as a model for such productions, elsewhere.

The volume contains, also, a continuation of Mr. Hill's *History of Mason*, from 1858, when it was published, to 1868; and it is illustrated with a very neat portrait of Rev. Ebenezer Hill, for many years the village Pastor, and a *facsimile* of his short-hand sermons. It is neatly printed, too; and Mason has no reason to feel ashamed of the part she has taken in cherishing the memories of those who lived a hundred years ago.

5.—*The Centennial Celebration of Rutgers College, June 21, 1870.* With an Historical Discourse delivered by Hon. Joseph P. Bradley. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. and other Addresses and Proceedings. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. 96.

Old Queen's College has celebrated her one-hundredth birthday; and in this beautiful octavo, we find a detailed description of the good times which her young folks had, on that joyous occasion.

Chancellor Ferris and other youngsters of that class wrote to the old lady, congratulating her on her longevity and present good health: Governor Randolph took the head of the table, as was his official right, as the first man in the State: Rev. Doctor Ludlow invoked the blessing of Almighty God on the assembled sons and neighbors of the venerable centennarian: Rev. Doctor De Witt—the dear "old Domine" of our young manhood, and the honored friend of our middle age—prayed: the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered an Address: Rev. Doctor Taylor prayed; and the opening exercises closed with the Benediction, by Rev. Doctor Abeel. The feast followed; and then the boys who had wandered from the old lady's hearthstone, some to one State and some to another, in the fullness of their joy, arose in their places, one after another, and poured into the old lady's lap goodly portions of the world's goods which they had managed to secure—and Dutchmen are not very backward, as a general thing, in their struggle for "the "golden mean."

The Address, by Justice Bradley, opens with some well-turned remarks on the character, purpose, and tendency of collegiate institutions—they are permanent, although all round them are transitory: they are the result of associated effort, and, therefore, more powerful than any individual can be, either for good or evil: their tendency, therefore, is more than ordinarily important to the public.

He then described the internal conflict, within the Dutch Church, of the Cœtus and Conferentie; of the desire of the former to enjoy a domestic education; of the establishment of Queen's College, to secure that result; of the early struggles, for life, of the institution, and its treble restoration and re-establishment; of the services and virtues of many of its earlier friends, and the recognized abilities of some of its earlier students; of its varied career, under various administrators; of its present high standing; and of its prospects, for the future. A series of very elaborate Notes follow the Address; and the whole, as an aggregate, is worthy of the author and of the occasion.

As a specimen of handsome book-making this elegant work reflects credit on even Joel Munsell, which is equivalent to "gilding fine gold."

6.—*The Lodge of St. Andrew, and the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. Conditi et Dicati, Anno Lucis, 5756—5769.* Boston: Printed by a Vote of the Lodge of St. Andrew, 1870. Quarto, pp. viii, (unpaged) 292.

There are few, outside the Order, who are aware of the interest which clusters around the

annals of some of the Masonic Lodges, scattered over the older States; and there are few, too, who ever trouble themselves concerning the doings of some of our most distinguished men, in their capacity as members of Masonic Lodges. The St. John's Lodge, in New York, for instance, and the Lodge of St. Andrew, in Boston, and the St. John's Lodge, in Philadelphia, afford, in their annals, rich fields for the historical harvestmen; while the biographer and the genealogist cannot safely pass, unnoticed, not only these but many Lodges which are younger in years, although not less distinguished in their associations and membership.

We do not know the condition of affairs, today, but, a century ago, the separate Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland were as independent and as unharmonious in their action as were the Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen of which they were severally composed; and they severally came to, and went from, and sent to, and did in, *Colonial America*, according to the dictates of their own respective sweet wills, without regarding, in the least, either the temper, or the convenience, or the interests of others. As a consequence, it may be, of this antagonism, the Masonry of that period, in Colonial America, was somewhat "mixed"; and there are some matters connected with it, which, in our day, need some explanation to relieve them from the appearance, at least, of irregularity. Thus, there are grave doubts concerning the regularity of Henry Price's authority, as measured by modern practice; and if Doctor Franklin was even made a Mason, as we understand the term, it was after a fashion which no Mason of our day would tolerate, for a moment.

But, without discussing the fashion of that day, the Grand Master of England, regularly or irregularly, in 1733, seems to have authorized Henry Price to organize a Grand Lodge for New England, evidently while there were yet no Lodges there to form a constituency thereto, even if there were any Masons to form its membership; and not until the following year, 1734, does that half-fledged Grand Master seem to have had authority beyond the limits of New England. During the succeeding thirty-eight years, this *English* "St. John's Grand Lodge" organized three Lodges, in Boston, not one of which survived the War of the Revolution. It seems, too, that there were several Masons who failed to perceive, either in the Grand Lodge of England, or in the St. John's Grand Lodge, or in the origin or Grand Master of the latter, enough of comeliness to secure their recognition of the authority of either; and, after the fashion of Ancient Masons and in disregard of the English Grand Lodge's orders in the premises, they therefore met, as pleased themselves, without a formal Warrant or Charter, but as lieges of the Grand Lodge of Scotland—all the while, too, in manly disregard of the personal and aggregate denunciations of those who worked under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1756, however, those Masons petitioned the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a Charter, which, in the face of a strenuous opposition from Boston, was granted on the thirtieth of November, in that year; and, thenceforth, for several years, there was great bitterness of feeling between the two parties, each, then, working under a Charter, duly granted.

In 1762, the Grand Lodge of Scotland appointed Colonel John Young to the office of the Provincial Grand Master of North America, although it is not very clear that any other than the Lodge of St. Andrew recognized its authority; and, in 1767, it authorized the organization of a second Grand Lodge, in Boston, of which Doctor Joseph Warren—the General Warren of Revolutionary fame—was made the Grand Master. In 1782, this second Grand Lodge, declared its entire independence of all other Grand Lodges and Grand Masters "in the universe"; and it thus remained, until, in 1792, the two rival Grand Lodges were united and became one.

In the meantime, while these rival Grand bodies were exercising concurrent jurisdiction over Massachusetts and New England, the Lodge of St. Andrew seems to have flourished in its local work; and it became subordinate to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts when, in 1767, that body was organized, withdrawing from its control, however, when, in 1782, the latter declared its independence—St. Andrew's, thenceforth, remaining a liege of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, until the grand reconciliation, in 1792, united the various antagonistic elements which existed in Massachusetts into one harmonious whole.

It will be seen from this rapid glance at her history that the Lodge of St. Andrew is an exceedingly interesting one—she is the oldest living Lodge in that State; she is the parent of the now extinct Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; she is the only one, in that State, which still works under the authority derived from an European Grand Lodge. It was proper, therefore, that she should rest from her labors long enough to review the past of her history, to revive the fading memories concerning those of her members who are not, and to bear her testimony to the truth, concerning the system, which so many are anxious to dispute. As the several epochs in the history of the Lodge have successively presented their centennials, therefore, this brave old Lodge has duly honored them—that of the organization of the Lodge, in 1756, was duly celebrated en the twenty-ninth of

November, 1856, in a public service, with an Oration, by Past Master Hamilton Willis, and a Banquet; that of the purchase, by the Lodge, of the Green Dragon Tavern, so well known to every historical student, was celebrated, on the thirty-first of March, 1864, by an appropriate Banquet, on the property (which continues to be held by the Lodge, to this day) in which addresses were made by Grand Master Winslow Lewis and Bro. N. B. Shurtleff, and a paper, from the pen of Grand Secretary Moore, was read; that of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was honored, on the twenty-third of December, 1869, with a Banquet and an Oration by Grand Secretary Moore, in which the history of the two Grand Lodges was presented; and, on the twenty-eighth of December, of the same year, it united with the Grand Lodge in celebrating the centennary of the installation of its Master, Doctor Warren, in the Grand Master's chair of the newly-organized Grand Lodge.

In the magnificent volume before us, the Lodge has duly recorded these four celebrations; and it has added to the records, as illustrative of the subject, its own Charter; a memoir of St. Andrew; a historical sketch of Freemasonry in Scotland; a roster of its own Masters, members, and past-members. 1756—1870; its account current with the Grand Lodge of Scotland; papers relative to the Anti-masonic troubles, in 1831; Grand Masters of Massachusetts, 1733—1870; etc.; and several illustrations, historical and masonic.

Of the historical importance of all these addresses, annals, and papers, we need say nothing: they carry their character on their front. But we can testify to the evidently thorough manner in which the several addresses and historical papers have been prepared, throughout; to the admirable taste, if we except some disorder in the arrangement, with which they have been prepared for the press; and to the sumptuous style with which the printer has dressed them, both in the typographical and the pictorial departments.

The edition of the work numbered five hundred copies, of which the copy before us is "No. 326"; and we have pleasure in acknowledging our obligations, for it, to our honored friend Past Grand Master Winslow Lewis, M. D.

7—*Catalogue of the Private Library of Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, Mass., Presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, July* 30, 1856. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. Title-page and verso, 214.

We remember, very well, the sensation which was produced in Boston, when Mr. Dowse, a respected tradesman of Cambridge, presented his private library to the venerable Society who now possesses it; and we have seen the emotion with which members, to say nothing of employees, of that Society have mentioned the library, the awe with which they have approached the door of "the Dowse-room," the inspiration which has attended the efforts of those who are within that sacred precinct, and the buoyant spirits and rejuvenated countenances of those who have been therein and returned, thence, into the outer world. We have seen, too, the beautiful room which is so distinguished among the "book-"rooms" of the country; and we have naturally supposed, from the circumstances to which we have referred and from the general descriptions which we have had of it—for we had no detailed information of its character—that there was nothing to equal this library, in excellence, elegance, and general or special usefulness.

Our readers will imagine the eagerness, therefore, with which we stripped the wrapper from this volume, when our respected friend, Doctor Greene, sent the latter to us; and they need not be told how anxiously we glanced over the handsome pages of the Catalogue, as we looked for the titles of those nuggets, in literature, which we expected to find there. We went from page 1 to page 214; and we turned the leaf over and found—a blank. We went from page 214 to page 1; and we picked up the loose leaf that remained; and found—only a title-page. We turned to "Bibles" and "Holy "Bibles," in order to see why Mr. Livermore was wont to be struck so much with its value and importance, and we found just *one* volume, an Oxford Bible of 1815: we turned to "Boston," in order to understand Boston's ecstacies on this subject; but we found just another volume—a modern re-print of the town's narrative of the celebrated "Massacre:" we turned to "Massachusetts"—Mr. Dowse, although not of Boston, was, nevertheless, a Massachusetts man; and we found nothing—not even the publications of the venerable Society who is making the Library so famous, greeted our anxious eyes: we turned to "United States," —Mr. Dowse professed, also, we believe, to be an American—and we found just another volume —*the Secret Proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787:* and our inquiry at "America" produced—nothing. In American History, general and local, it is not even respectable: in Theology, it is quite as poor: in any other particular department, it is not worth the attention of any one who is particularly devoted to the study of that particular branch of knowledge. Indeed, we know of more than half a dozen libraries, in this vicinity, which are each worth six of this Dowse library; and we have a quiet, unobtrusive wood-sawyer, not far from here, whose quietly-accumulated collections, either as articles of trade or as material for the use of students, is as far ahead of this Dowse Library

as Boston, in her own estimation, is ahead of New York, in all that is virtuous, and learned, and honorable, and generally praiseworthy; while this rural County of Westchester, in which we write, without half an effort, in one of its least pretentious towns, can turn out a collection, in the hands of a man who works, day by day, for his daily bread, which, for every day usefulness, if not for value under the hammer, would send this Dowse Library into the background.

But why should we spoil Boston's great joy? "Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone."

The volume is from the Wilson Press; and, therefore, a handsome one.

8.—*The Struggle for Neutrality in America:* an Address delivered before the New York Historical Society, at their Sixty-sixth Anniversary, December 13, 1870, by Charles Francis Adams. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. iv., 52.

A year or two ago, the New York Historical Society met in the Academy of Music and listened to the meaningless paragraphs of John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., etc.; and, under the lead of our distinguished friend, Governor Fish, it joined the populace in crying, "Great is Diana, of the "Ephesians." It was our duty to stand alone, at that time, and denounce both the flattered one and those who thus flattered him; but, since then, the idol of that day has been hurled from its pedestal, and none is now so mean as to do it reverence—the same Governor Fish, who then led the chorus in its praise, now leading the general public in exposing and denouncing its nothingness.

It is now our unpleasant duty to indicate that another idol has been lifted up, within the same Academy, by the same Society, for the same adoration which it then bespoke for John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., etc.; and the progress of time will show how much more commendable its choice has been, in this instance, if at all, than it was in the other.

Mr. Adams was invited, as Mr. Motley had been, to deliver an Anniversary Address; and Mr. Adams accepted the invitation, as Mr. Motley had done, before him. Both are *learned* men, as the world understands that term: both were to address a *learned* Society, if we may believe the general reputation of the Society: both were expected to speak *learnedly*, on the subjects which they had respectively selected as their themes.

As we showed, at the time, Mr. Motley's Address was inappropriate and worthless, for the purpose for which it was intended: let us see how well Mr. Adams has fulfilled this, his last, mission.

Mr. Adams opened his Address by announcing his subject—"the establishment of the great "general principle of international-law, that a "Nation has a right to be *neutral*, in times of "War, if it pleases"—and by telling his hearers that "the world owes the practical adoption of "this principle mainly to the long and painful "struggles of the Government of the United "States." He told his hearers, too, that although that "great general principle" is *now* true, "it "was not true prior to the struggle that we, as a "Nation, went through to sustain it;" and he carried them to Greece and Rome—as if only Greece and Rome had ever existed, as Nations, on the earth—to prove his premises.

Now, this is all very well for Mr. Adams and the New York Historical Society, both of whom are *learned;* but for such as we, who are not *learned*, it might have been well if Mr. Adams had moved less rapidly and told us, in the beginning, First, What *he* desired his hearers to understand by the words "neutral," and "neu- "trality," as he used them, in the very opening of his Address; Second, What "long and "painful struggles" "*the Government* of the Uni- "ted States" has had, and with whom, in order to secure "the practical adoption of the "principle" of which *he* was speaking; and, Third, What "struggle we, *as a Nation*, went "through, to sustain" that principle. He failed, however, to tell his hearers, directly, a word as to *his own* opinions on either of these three subjects; but he answered all of them after what he described, in another place, as the manner of diplomats, when they say as much as they can, and with the greatest display of learning, in order to disguise their purpose to do nothing. —(*Pages 18, 19.*)

I.—*As to what Mr. Adams desired his hearers to understand by the words* "neutral" *and* "neu- "trality," *as he used them, in the very opening of his Address, when he said:* "A Nation has a right "to be *neutral*, in times of War, if it so pleases."

We have gone from the beginning to the end of this pretentious paper in a fruitless search for the least indication of what *Mr. Adams's* own understanding of the meaning of these words was, and for some evidence of the meaning which he wished his hearers, in the Academy of Music, and his readers, in this pamphlet, to have of them. It is, indeed, true that his paper is entitled *The Struggle for* Neutrality *in America;* but we do not find in it, anywhere, a frank definition of either what he, himself, understands, or what he desires us to understand, as the object of that "struggle"—in short, there is not the least explanation of just what *is*, and what *is not*, "neutrality," as he, Mr. Adams, thus used that very significant word, in the paper before us.

It is also true that Mr. Adams told his hearers (*pp. 11–13*) that President Washington, on one

occasion, issued a Proclamation which said nothing about "neutrality," and wrote a Message to Congress, in which the word "neutrality" found no place. But he says of these, they were "juggles in words," meaning more than they expressed and fraudulently concealing their true character and effect; and, under these circumstances—when, if Mr. Adams is to be believed, they did not serve to indicate what even *their authors* meant by the term "neutrality," in 1794—in what way they can possibly serve to indicate to the world either what *Mr. Adams* meant by the same word, in 1870, or what he desires us to understand by it, in 1871, is not very evident: it is far less evident, too, in what way *Mr. Adams* is to be served by this reference, with the fact staring us in the face, that the President and the Cabinet of 1794, not only did NOT issue the Proclamation as a Proclamation of "Neutrality," but expressly and formally disclaimed it, and as expressly and formally recognized the Congress as the only organ of the Republic, in the matter of War and Peace, of which "neutrality" was properly considered an important element, and as expressly and formally disclaimed all authority in the President to take any action on that specific subject.

We are not insensible of the fact, however, nor would we forbear to notice it, in this connection, that Mr. Adams has appropriated a couple of lines from Mr. Henry Wheaton and displayed them after the manner of a definition of the term—"the right of every independent State to "remain *at peace* while other States are engaged "in War, is an incontestible attribute of Sover-"eignty," are the words. But we are equally sensible that "to remain *at peace*" is one matter, while to be "neutral"—"with sincerity and "good faith to adopt and pursue a conduct "friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers"—is entirely a different matter; and that Mr. Adams does not probably differ from us, in thus discriminating between the two, is evident in the fact that he no-where employs the phrase as *his own* understanding of the meaning of the term, nor uses it as a definition, except by inuendo. France was "at peace," with both Britain and America, in 1777–8, and so was Holland: will Mr. Adams say they were also "neutral?" Did they at that time, "with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers"–Great Britain and her rebellious American Colonies? The United States were "at peace" with France and Mexico, during the recent raid on the latter, by the former, and the imposition of an Emperor on Mexico, without her consent: will Mr. Adams say they were also "neutral," when the Imperialists, under Maximilian, enjoyed our trade and drew their supplies from here, without hinderance, while the struggling Republicans, under Juarez, were steadily denied the same privilege?—(*Banquet to Senor Romero, October 2, 1867*, page 21.) Great Britain was "at peace," in 1861–5: will Mr. Adams say she was, also, at that time, sincerely and in good faith, "neutral" between the United States and the Confederate States? If so, let him *say* so.

What, we repeat, does Mr. Adams desire us to understand by the word "neutrality," as he has used it, in the Address of which a copy is before us?

II. But, if Mr. Adams was disastrously reticent in his *definitions*, he was quite as much so in his *history*.

Among the earliest of the acts of the newly-formed "thirteen united States of North America," was the determination of what their foreign policy should be; and that student of the history of those times is hardly entitled to the rank of a student, who has not read the record of the appointment of a Committee, by the Congress, before even the Declaration of their Independence, "to prepare a plan of Treaties" (*Secret Journal of the Congress, June 11, 1776*); and that of the Report of that Committee, presented on the sixteenth of July, (*Ibid, July 16, 1776*); and that, over and over again repeated, in the published Journals of that body, that "Congress "then resolved itself into a Committee of the "Whole, to take into consideration the form of "a Treaty; and, after some time, the President "resumed the Chair and Mr. Nelson reported that "the Committee have had under consideration the "matter to them referred; but, not having had "time to go through the same, desired leave to "sit again. RESOLVED, That Congress will, "to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of "the Whole, to take into consideration the plan "of foreign treaties" (*Journals of the Congress, August 22, 1776.*)

Day after day, the Congress discussed the subject which was thus introduced; and, soberly and with the utmost care, it came to a determination thereon, years before the date whence Mr. Adams starts on his oratorical journey; yet who, among his hearers or readers, is indebted to that learned gentleman for even the least intimation that any one but Washington and his Cabinet had had any hand in the formation of the foreign policy of the United States, or that any one previously had thought of the subject or asked others to think of it?

It is indeed true, that the published *Journals of the Congress*, for reasons which will be obvious, quietly disposed of the matter in these few words: "Congress took into consideration the "Plan of Treaies to be proposed to foreign "nations, with the Amendments agreed to by the

"Committee of the Whole; and the same was "agreed to" (*Journals of the Congress, September 17, 1776;*) but the entry of that determination was also recorded, on the same day, in the *Secret Journals* of that body, in a minute which extended over twenty-four closely-printed octavo pages (*Secret Journals, September 17, 1776*—ii. 6–30;) and to that minute must every one go, who earnestly desires to understand what was and what was not the original policy of the United States, in the conduct of their foreign relations, and who honestly desires to instruct others, truthfully, on that important question.

We cannot entertain the thought that Mr. Adams was unacquainted with both those records, when he addressed the New York Historical Society. We are loath to believe, too, that he deliberately intended to suppress this important record and that which follows it, which describe, not merely the origin, but the conduct, of their admirably consistent foreign policy, by the United States, during the succeeding eighteen years, and their conclusion of several Treaties, some of which were even more significant for their impartiality and independence, than that concluded with France, in 1778; yet we find that *he did suppress them*, coldly and effectually; and that he dated the origin of "the great gen-"eral principle," about which he said so much, in 1794 instead of in 1776, and gave credit therefor to Washington and his Cabinet which they never claimed and are not entitled to enjoy.

But let us supply what Mr. Adams has not told his hearers and readers, either in his Address, in the Academy, or in the pamphlet before us.

As we have said, the Committee of the Congress reported *A Plan*, on the seventeenth of September, 1776; and a reference to that *Plan* will indicate to the reader that, at that early date, 1776, the deliberately-formed policy of the States included ENTIRE INDEPENDENCE of action, concerning Peace and War, and ENTIRE RECIPROCITY in Commerce and Trade. This *Plan* was noteworthy, too, for the reciprocal extension of protection to the vessels and property of both parties; for the refusal, on either hand, of shelter to pirates or sea-robbers; for the reciprocal rescuing of vessels or property, belonging to the parties to the compact, which had been "piratically taken;" for the mutual use of the fisheries; for the similar seizure of contraband goods, *in transitu*; for the reciprocal provision of shelter and refuge to captors, belonging to the other party, and their prizes, and for the denial of such shelter and refuge to all other nations, when those nations were at war with the other party; for the reciprocal extension of assistance to wrecks; for the similar extension of time to citizens of either, residing abroad, to settle their business, after the opening of hostilities between the two powers, should War arise between them; for mutually forbidding the subjects of each from privateering against the other, in time of War; for mutually forbidding citizens of other countries from fitting out privateers to act against the opposite party, or to sell what they have taken, or to re-victual their vessels in harbors or ports of either of the two countries; and for allowing an undisturbed direct trade, by either party, with any Nation which shall be at War with the other, without regard to the ownership of merchandise thus transported. In the latter case, it declared, in terms, that "free ships shall "give a freedom to *goods*, and that everything "shall be deemed to be free and exempt, which "shall be found on board the ships belonging "to the subjects of either of the confederates, "although the whole lading or any part thereof "should appertain to the enemies of either, con-"traband goods being always excepted;" and it was "also agreed, in like manner, that the same "liberty be extended to *persons* who are on "board a free ship, with this effect, that, al-"though they be enemies to both or either party, "they are not to be taken out of that free ship, "unless they are soldiers and in actual service of "the enemies." (*Article XXVI.*) The designation of goods, contraband and otherwise, was also reciprocal; as were the provisions concerning sea-letters and passports, and those concerning the intercourse between vessels at sea. The United States offered to agree, that, if Great Britain should declare War with the other contracting party because of the recognition, by the latter, of the independence of the former, they would not "assist Great Britain in such "War, with men, money, ships, or any of the "articles demominated contraband goods;" but they exacted from the opposite party, in return, entire protection for their own commerce from the aggressions of the Barbary States. In short, the American policy was boldly declared to be, in time of War, a conduct *actively* friendly and impartial to the belligerent powers: in time of Peace, conduct perfectly reciprocal, in every respect. *Inaction was evidently not thought of.*

On the sixth of February, 1778, a Treaty was concluded between the King of France and the United States, declaring, in the outset, that the high contracting parties thereto "have judged "that the said end" ["*to fix in an equitable and* "*permanent manner the Rules which ought to be* "*followed*," *etc.*] "could not be better obtained "than by taking, for the basis of their agree-"ment, *the most perfect equality and reciprocity*, "*and by carefully avoiding all those burdensome* "*preferences* which are usually sources of de-"bate, embarrassment, and discontent; by "leaving, also, each party at liberty to make, "respecting Navigation and Commerce, those

"interior regulations which it shall find most "convenient to itself; and by founding the ad- "vantage of Commerce solely upon *reciprocal* "*utility* and the just rules of free intercourse— "reserving, withal, to each party, the liberty of "admitting, at its pleasure, other nations to a "participation of the same advantages;" (*Preamble to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce—Secret Journals, ii., 59;*) and nothing in the body of the two Treaties, then formed with France, was in conflict with the great general principle of strict impartiality and reciprocity between the two parties, in time of Peace as well as in that of War, nor with that of the right of both or either of the parties, as they should severally elect, to "remain at peace while "other States are engaged in War"—about which Mr. Adams said so much, in the opening of his Address.

On the eighth of October, 1782, the States General of the United Netherlands concluded a Treaty with the United States, on terms of "the "most perfect equality;" and the Preamble of that Treaty recites, as the basis of the compact, the same words which were employed, for a similar purpose, in the Treaty with France, and which have been already quoted (*Secret Journals, January 23, 1783;*) and there is nothing whatever, in the body of the Treaty, which conflicted, in the slightest degree, with the great general principles to which we have referred, while every Article was consistent with them, in letter and spirit.

On the thirtieth of November, 1782, the Provisional Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was concluded, (*Secret Journal, April 15, 1783;*) and, on the third of April, 1783, a Treaty was concluded with the King of Sweden (*Ibid, July 29, 1783;*) the last of which recited, as its basis, the same form of words which was employed in the Treaties with France and Holland, and every Article of the Treaty itself was in harmony therewith.

On the third of September. 1783, was concluded that Definitive Treaty with the King of Great Britain, which definitely secured to the thirteen several States, freedom, sovereignty, and independence; but there is nothing, in that celebrated paper, which indicates that the peculiar policy which should distinguish the conduct of either of the high contracting powers, in their intercourse with other countries, was taken into consideration, when it was framed (*Secret Journal, January 14, 1784.*) There was, then, no real friendship between the two parties to that Treaty: why, then, should there be any pretence to the contrary?

On the tenth of September, 1785, a Treaty was concluded between the United States and Prussia; and the American policy, no longer hampered by War or entangling alliances, was presented, in all its beauty, in the provisions of that Treaty; and nowhere, since the Confederation was superceded by the Constitution, has that admirable policy been so perfectly illustrated, in a Treaty concluded by the United States.

In that Treaty, "the most perfect equality "and reciprocity" were declared to be "the "basis of the agreement"; and the widest possible security was provided, mutually, for the freedom of both, in Peace and in War—the twelfth Article, for instance, expressly providing that, "if one of the contracting powers "should be engaged in War with any other "power, *the free intercourse and commerce of the "subjects or citizens of the party remaining "neuter with the belligerent powers, shall not be "interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as "in full Peace, the vessels of the neutral party "may navigate freely, to and from the ports and "on the coasts of the belligerent parties,* FREE VES- "SELS MAKING FREE GOODS, *insomuch, that* ALL "THINGS *shall be adjudged free which shall be on "board any vessel belonging to the neutral party,* "ALTHOUGH SUCH THINGS BELONG TO AN ENEMY "OF THE OTHER; *and the* SAME FREEDOM *shall "be extended to* PERSONS *who shall be on board a "free vessel, although they should be enemies to the "other party, unless they be soldiers in actual "service of such enemy";* while the thirteenth Article as boldly provided that, "in the same "case of one of the contracting parties being en- "gaged in War with any other power, to pre- "vent all the difficulties and misunderstand- "ings that usually arise respecting the mer- "chandise heretofore called contraband, *such "as arms, ammunition, and military stores of "every kind,* NO SUCH ARTICLES *carried in the "vessels or by the subjects or citizens of one of the "parties to the enemies of the other,* SHALL BE "DEEMED CONTRABAND, *so as to induce confiscation "or condemnation and a loss of property to indi- "viduals."* (*Secret Journal, May 17, 1786.*)

We cannot conceive of a more perfect presentation, in practice, of the great general principle, call it what you will, about which Mr. Adams seemed to entertain so high a regard; and yet it anti-dates the earliest specimen of that practise which that gentlemen was pleased to present to the notice of the Historical Society by nearly nine years.

The Confederation, not yet out of its leading-strings, thus presented to the world the admirable policy which it had adopted for the regulation of its intercourse with foreign nations. It declared that the engagement of any other countries in War should not be allowed to paralyze its citizens, nor to disturb their legitimate commerce, nor to entangle them in hostilities; and it declared, too, that, in its

own conduct towards other nations, in War and in Peace, in prosperity and in adversity, it would be strictly impartial and reciprocal. The old monarchies of Europe, perceiving the superiority of the system, quietly concurred in its peculiar provisions; and Great Britain, herself, haughty as she was and not given to re-recognize innovations of such magnitude, in her Treaty with France, honored the statesmanship of the young American Republic, by entering into stipulations very similar in their character to those, just quoted, which had been already agreed to between the United States and Prussia.* No "struggle" had been seen in the establishment of the principle, either in Europe or America; and the policy was as well-defined and as well-settled as any particular policy, on any specific subject, could be.

From 1776 until 1781, "the thirteen united "States of North America," as many separate sovereignties, were not even confederated, and from 1781 until 1789, the *Articles of Confederation* were the only bond of union between them; yet their foreign policy was the same, under both these conditions; and no one, at that time, seems to have supposed there was any necessity for changing it, even when every other portion of the governmental arrangements of the United States were the objects of revision and judicious or injudicious change.

In 1789, as our readers know, General Washington was called to the Presidential chair, under the provisions of a "new system;" and as one of the results of this change, under the newly-framed Constitution, involved an abandonment of the well-settled foreign policy of the United States, which the Congress of the individual States, in 1776, had adopted, and that of the Confederation, in 1785, had so admirably extended and established, we may be pardoned if we glance at the origin and progress of events, as well as at the events themselves.

There had been, from the earliest period, and still were, antagonistic elements in the various States of the Union—those who favored the monarchical system of Government which prevailed in Europe, on the one hand; and those who preferred the complex system of federal republican Governments which constitutionally controlled America, on the other. The first of these included the fashionable circles, in the cities and larger towns, who sighed for greater opportunities for display; the merchants who traded on borrowed capitals; those loyalists who had manfully resisted the Revolution and maintained, to the last, their allegiance to their Sovereign; those adventurers, in politics, who professed to sustain the popular principle while they secretly struggled to engraft on its policy the worst features of the monarchical system of the old world; and those merchants who, either as principals or agents, traded on British capitals or British credit: the last named of the two parties was composed of the great body of the industrial classes—tradesmen, merchants, farmers, and other producers—the merchants who traded on their own capitals; those who had actually done the fighting and actually endured the suffering which the King and the tories had inflicted on the country; and the Irish merchants—the latter, by no means an insignificant portion. (*T. Jefferson to James Madison, May 13, 1793.*) The first-named of these parties were essentially monarchists and mostly in sympathy with Grea Britain: the last-named were absolutely republicans, and wholly American in their sympathy—if they had any sympathy with monarchical Europe, its leaning was toward France, because of the assistance which that Government had afforded, during the War. The latter were devoted to the best interests of the Republic, as they understood them: the other, in the words of Washington's confidential adviser, shortly after the period of which we write, were "panic-struck if we refused "our breach to every kick which Great Britain "may choose to give it."—(*T. Jefferson to J. Monroe, May 5, 1793*). These, we have said, had existed from before the beginning of the Republic; and their feuds were bitter and uncompromising. But their differences related exclusively to the polity of the Republic and its domestic policy; and, as we have said, no one, within the United States, seems to have looked on the foreign policy, under the Congress of the United States, either before or after the Confederation was formed, with the least possible disfavor.

By the persistent use of means which the first named party controlled to a greater extent than the last-named, and unscrupulously employed, and by a series of *genteel* frauds, the record of which has not wholly disappeared, the popular features which had distinguished the young Confederation from all others, were very soon undermined, and "a Government" established in their stead, *without the consent of the Governed;* in the face of the most wide-spread and determined opposition, from large majorities of the

* "With respect to our conduct as a neutral Nation, it is "marked out in our Treaties with France and Holland, two "of the belligerent powers; and as the duties of neutrality "require an *equal* conduct to both parties, we should, on "that ground, act on the same principle to Great Britain. "We presume that this would be satisfactory to her be-"cause of its equality, and because she too has sanctioned "the same principle in her Treaty with France. Even our "seventeenth Article with France, which might be dis-"agreeable, as, from its nature, it is unequal, is adopted "exactly by Great Britain in her fortieth Article with the "same power, and would have laid her, in a like case, "under the same unequal obligations to us."—*The Secretary of State to Mr. Pinckney, U. S. Minister to England, May 7, 1793.*

several Peoples who were the constituents; and at the expense of individual integrity and public honor, to a degree which, now, is little understood. Indeed, so obnoxious to the good sense of the masses were many of the more prominent features of "the new system," and so corrupt had been the means employed to fasten that system on the States, that the First Congress was compelled to apply the necessary remedy, at its First Session; and, before many months, some of the worst features of the new Constitution were obliterated, much to the disgust of those who hoped, by that instrumentality, to occupy commanding positions in American society which, without it, they could not have possibly attained. But, there was "a "Court" established, notwithstanding this drawback, with a display of tawdry surroundings such as the Republic had not yet seen; and the gentility of that day, in New York and throughout the Continent, zealously imitated, in its small sphere and with its inharmonious constituencies, the older and not less corrupt aristocracies of the old world, and as vigilantly watched for an opportunity to improve its social standing and to assimilate, more nearly, the new "Government" and its surroundings with those of Europe. All this, however, related to the domestic policy of the Republic; and it was not considered necessary, during either the earlier or the later ante-constitutional era, nor during the greater portion of President Washington's first term, to interfere with its relations with foreign countries. Europe was governed wholly by monarchs or their equivalents; and a King was a King, the world over —why then, while monarchs regarded the Republic as an equal, should so flattering a policy be interfered with, by those who thirsted for associations which were not vulgar and who hopefully aped the manners of royalty? The best interests of the Republic secured it from the meddlers of the opposite party.

But, very soon, a change was seen in the affairs of Europe. France arose, in her might: overturned her Government; sent her King on his way to the scaffold; and established, in the place of her Monarchy, what she considered and called a Republic; while Great Britian, resolute in her opposition to every assertion of their manhood, by the masses, anywhere, confederated with all the leading Monarchies throughout Europe, for the purpose of overthrowing the young Republic while it was yet in its weakness, both in its internal and external relations.

Among the measures which this European alliance adopted, in its opposition to the newly-formed French Republic, was one for the effectual exclusion of all neutral commerce from her ports and as effectual an isolation of her people from the wide world, beyond her own borders—(*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Madison, March, 1793—Works, iii., 519.*)—a measure which not only directly conflicted with the policy which, following American precedents, these allied Monarchies had already adopted, but threatened to involve the necessity, in America, of forcing the latter either to abandon its "great "general principle" of strict impartiality between the belligerent powers, and become either an active member of the confederacy, against France, or her not less active ally; or to become, herself, a solitary and hopeless belligerent, against combined and uncombined Europe, for the defense of that peculiarly abstract principle; or to suspend her commerce, and, inactively await the termination of the great conflict, between feudalism and manhood, which was destined to drench Europe in blood and to change, permanently, the polity as well as the policy of the world.

A contest such as that was, was watched, from the beginning, with lively interest, throughout the United States; and it needed no soothsayer to foretell, from the beginning, what its effect would be, therein. The great body of the inhabitants—the Republicans, throughout the various States, of whom we have written, joyfully welcomed what promised to be the progress of republican principles of government, in Europe, and as joyfully extended to France the hearty welcome of their unselfish sympathy:* the smaller, but more

* Recognizing Mr. Jefferson as the great leader of the republicans in America, we submit two of his despatches, at the period referred to, as indications of the temper of the party which he led, in the "struggle for neutrality in Amer- "ica," to which we refer:

* * * "With what kind of a Government you may do "business, is another question. *It accords with our prin- "ciples to acknowledge any Government to be rightful, "which is formed by the will of the Nation, substantially "declared.* The late Government was of this kind, and "was accordingly acknowledged by all the branches of "ours. So, *any alteration of it* which shall be made by "the will of the Nation, substantially declared, will doubt- "less be acknowledged in like manner. With *such a Gov- "ernment*, every kind of business may be done"—*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Morris, U. S. Minister to France, November 7*, 1792.

* * * "You express a wish in your letter to be generally "advised as to the tenor of your conduct, in consequence "of the late Revolution in France, the questions relative "to which, you observe, incidentally present themselves to "you. It is impossible to foresee the particular circumstanc- "es which may require you to decide and act on that "question. But, principles being understood, their appli- "cation will be less embarrassing. *We certainly cannot "deny to other Nations that principle whereon our Gov- "ernment is founded, that every Nation has a right to "govern itself, internally, under what forms it pleases, "and to change these forms at its own will; and, externally, "to transact business with other Nations through whatever "organ it chooses, whether that be a King, Convention, "Assembly, Committee, President, or whatever it be. The "only thing essential is, the will of the Nation.* TAKING "THIS AS YOUR POLAR STAR, YOU CAN HARDLY ERR."—*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Pinckney, U. S. Minister to England, December* 30, 1792.

* * * "Mutual good offices, mutual affection, and sim- "ilar principles of Government, seem to destine the two "Nations for the most intimate communion; and *I cannot*

genteel portion of those inhabitants—those Monarchists of whom we have just written—on the contrary, taking its cue from the allied Monarchs in Europe, promptly declared for the allies and their cause, and as promptly demanded the immediate abrogation, on our part, of all the Treaties which we had made with France, while that power was governed by a King—insisting, also, that we should not recognize the new Government which had been established therein.* Reciprocity with a King was certainly desirable, to these; but reciprocity with a Republican was evidently not to be tolerated, if it could be prevented. Equality with a King, or even with a King's mistress, was coveted by those who controlled this "respectable" faction, in America: but who, among this gentility, could possibly become reconciled to the idea of mere equality with a blouse? Great Britain and all that was "respectable," in Europe, had confederated to overthrow the young Republic: why should the United States, although they professed to be republican, hesitate to take the same side, at the Royal bidding, even if they should, thereby, practically, give the lie, openly and boldly, to the great general principles on which they had founded their own Declaration, sixteen years before? *And on this field, and for this purpose occurred the first "Struggle for Neutrality, in America," the silence of Mr. Adams, on the subject, notwithstanding.*

The "Struggle" began, openly, early in November, 1792, in a conversation at the President's House, when Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, suggested that the payment of the debt which we owed to France should be suspended until the National Assembly should be convened, because he considered that a *Provisional* Committee of Safety could not execute a sufficient discharge. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton, considered the deposed King as the only legitimate authority, and opposed any action which would tend to the recognition of any other; just as other members of his party had previously opposed the recognition of any right, in their own respective "countries," to depose George III. and assume, each for itself, the sovereignty which he had previously possessed and exercised therein. With Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph on one side, and Colonel Hamilton and General Knox on the other, the "struggle" was, evidently, a severe one; but the former so far prevailed that Mr. Morris, then representing the United States in France, was only instructed to suspend the payments until futher orders; and so the "struggle" ended, on that occasion.

It will be seen that the first "struggle for neutrality in America," was within President Washington's own house, between those members of his own Cabinet who, respectively, sustained and resisted the already well-established foreign policy of the Republic. It will be seen, too, that the President must have sustained his Secretary of State, in the defence, by the latter, of the long-established foreign policy of the Republic, as, but for that, the new polity of France and her new Government, although a Republic, would not have been recognized at all by the United States. It will be seen, too, that the assailants were acting in harmony with Great Britain, in the interest of a defunct monarchical

"*too much press it on you, to improve every opportunity which may occur in the changeable scenes which are passing, and to seize them as they occur, for placing our Commerce with that Nation and its dependencies, on the freest and most encouraging footing possible.*"—*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Morris, March* 12, 1793.

* In like manner, recognizing Colonel Hamilton as the representative of his party, we present the following: "*There is a question whether there be now any organ of the French Nation which can regularly ask the succor*" [to St. Domingo:] "*whether the Commission to M. Ternant*" [the French Minister] "*be not virtually superseded*"—*Colonel Hamilton to Mr. Short*, November 19, 1792.

The action of Colonel Hamilton, as a member of the Cabinet, both in his attempts, eventually successful, to abrogate the Treaties between France and the United States and to withhold a recognition of the new Government which the former established; the suddenly-formed and very intimate relations which he formed with M. Ternant, the Envoy of *the beheaded King* of France, when that gentleman assumed mourning for his master and practically suspended his intercourse with the State Department; his very intimate relations with Mr. Hammond, the Minister from Britain; his failure to see the infractions of recognized international law which *British* agents were guilty of, while he readily saw and resisted *French* agents in their exercise of rights, clearly stipulated by Treaty—all of which are matters of history—further illustrate our remarks on this subject.

The following letters are interesting in this connection:

* * "there are in the United States some characters of opposite principles: some of them are high in office, others possessing great wealth; and all of them *hostile to France and fondly looking to England as the staff of their hope.* These I named to you, on a former occasion. Their prospects have certainly not brightened. Excepting them, this country is *entirely republican*, friends to the Constitution, anxious to preserve it, and to have it administered according to its own republican principles. The little party above-mentioned *have espoused it only as a stepping-stone to Monarchy*, and have endeavored to approximate it to that, in its administration, in order to render its final transition more easy. The successes of republicanism in France have given the *coup de grace* to their prospects and, I hope, to their projects. I have developed to you faithfully the sentiments of your country, that you may govern yourself accordingly."—*The Secretary of State to Mr. Short, December* 30, 1792.

"I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within the limits of a fair neutrality. In the meantime H." [*Hamilton*] "is panic-struck, if we refuse our breach to every kick which Great Britain may choose to give it. He is for proclaiming at once the most abject principles, such as would invite and merit habitual insults; and, indeed, every inch of ground must be fought in our councils to desperation, in order to hold up the face of even a sneaking neutrality, for our votes are generally two and a half against one and a half. Some propositions have come from him which would astonish Mr. Pitt himself with their boldness. If we preserve even a sneaking neutrality, we shall be indebted for it to the President, and not to his counsellors."—*Mr. Jefferson to Colonel Monroe*, May 5, 1793.

Government, against a Republic with which the United States were at peace; and the careful reader will not fail to observe that the practical effect of the proposed innovation would have been to have allied the United States with the combined Monarchies of Europe, in a war of annihilation, against a newly-formed Republic—and that, a people all of whose sympathies had been and were with the United States, and against whom the United States had not even a shadow of a grievance. It will be seen, too, that victory rested on the banners of those who stood up for the American policy of strict impartiality between the belligerent powers; and that the President was found among the victors. As Mr. Adams has said nothing of all this matter, the reader who shall desire to know further of it is respectfully referred to Mr. Jefferson's *Ana*, "*November, 1792*," and "*December the 30th* "*1792*;" and to his private letter to Mr. Madison, March, 1793: as there was nothing in the result to induce the assailants or their biographers to make a note of their defeat in this, the earliest of all the known "struggles for *neu*-"*trality* in America," we find no mention of it, in the writings of either.

There seems to have been no further "strug-"gle" in the matter of the foreign relations, until M. Genet, the Minister from the French Republic, approached America; when, on the twentieth of March, 1793, the Secretary of State, remembering the indications of dissent which had been exhibited by two members of the Cabinet, during the preceding November, and knowing the active earnestness of one of them, inquired from the President, if that representative of radical republicanism in France was to be received, officially, on his arrival in America; and he was informed, in reply, that the President knew no reason for not thus receiving him. So far, therefore, no change had taken place, since the contest in the preceding November.

It is recorded, however, that immediately after the last-mentioned interview between the President and his Secretary of State, Colonel Hamilton submitted to the former, certain doubts which he entertained concerning the propriety of receiving M. Genet, in his diplomatic character; and so earnestly must the Colonel have urged his suit, even in the face of the President's declared determination to receive the Ambassador, that he induced the former to consult the Attorney-general on the subject—a consultation which was had on the twenty-fourth of March, but ended only in a renewal of the order, previously given to the Secretary of State, to receive the Ambassador, on his arrival, with the usual honors, tempered, however, with the judicious caution that he should be received "not with *too much* "warmth or cordiality"—(Mr. Jefferson's *Ana*, *March 30, 1793.*) Thus ended the second "strug-"gle for neutrality in America," the silence of Mr. Adams on the subject, notwithstanding.

After a tedious voyage, in which the ship which bore him was sadly delayed by adverse winds, M. Genet landed at Charleston, in April, 1793, and was well received by the State authorities. The feverish anxiety of those whom Colonel Hamilton represented, became still more excited, therefore, as the time approached when the Ambassador should present his letters and be received, officially, by the President, and when the authority of the newly-formed Government which he represented should be, thereby, recognized by the United States; but the earnest leader of the Monarchists in America, with his wonted energy, resolutely prepared for the issue which was to be made in the impending "struggle."

About the middle of April, 1793, Colonel Hamilton prepared an elaborate argument, covering almost every portion of the foreign policy of the United States, and tending to undermine the great general principal of strict impartiality and rigid independence on which that policy was founded; and it is probable that he submitted that paper to the President, for his examination. At any rate, the substance of the argument which was thus prepared by Colonel Hamilton, was, about the same time, put into a series of thirteen groups of interrogatories, by the President; and, on the eighteenth of April, a copy of those interrogatories was sent to each member of the Cabinet, together with a call for a meeting of that body, for the discussion of their merits, on the following day.

On the nineteenth of April, the Cabinet was convened, and the first of the series of interrogatories was presented, in these words: "Shall a "Proclamation issue for the purpose of pre-"venting interferences of the citizens of the "United States, in the War between France "and Great Britain? Shall it contain a declar-"ation of Neutrality or not? What shall it con-"tain?"

It is not probable that the first portion of the interrogatory—"Shall a Proclamation issue," etc. ?—was opposed by any one; but the second—"Shall it contain a declaration of Neutrality or "not?"—was seriously contested. Mr. Jay had forwarded a draft of such a Proclamation as he desired—a hastily drawn thing; making no mention, whatever, of Treaties; saying nothing, whatever, of Neutrality; and avoiding, altogether, the use of the term—(*Mr. Jay to Colonel Hamilton, April 11, 1793;*)—while Colonel Hamilton evidently desired to include, in the Proclamation, a distinct declaration of Neutrality, as

he understood that term.* Mr. Jefferson sturdily resisted the proposal of a declaration of Neutrality, because the Congress was alone constitutionally competent to issue such a declaration, and because such an one at that time, would be premature; and he was so far successful, in that opposition, that the proposal was rejected, and Mr. Randolph, the Attorney-general, was ordered to prepare the Proclamation without it (*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Madison, June 23, 1793.*) The official minute thus records the action referred to: "A Proclamation shall "issue, forbidding our citizens to take part in "*any hostilities* on the seas, with or against *any* "of the belligerent powers, and warning them "against carrying to *any* such powers any of the "articles deemed contraband, according to the "modern use of nations, and enjoining them "from all acts and proceedings inconsistant with "the duties of a *friendly* Nation *towards those* "*at War.*" (*Cabinet Opinion, April 19, 1793.*)

The reader will fail to discover any thing in this determination of the Cabinet, and quite as little in the Proclamation which was subsequently issued, which was not strictly friendly and impartial to all the belligerents; and, so far, at least, the well-settled policy of America, in her foreign relations, was entirely undisturbed.

The second of the series of interrogatories was then introduced in these words: "Shall a Min-"ister from the Republic of France be received?" The official minutes thus narrate the action on this subject: "It was unanimously agreed that he "shall be received;" but Mr. Jefferson has noticed that while Colonel Hamilton concurred with the other members, in the opinion that M. Genet should "be received," he "expressed his "great regret that any incident had happened "which should oblige us to recognize the Gov-"ernment" which had sent that unwelcome stranger to our shores, as its Ambassador. (*Ana, April 18, 1793.*)

The third interrogatory was next introduced, in these words: "If received, shall it be absolute-"ly or with qualifications? And if with qualifi-"cations, of what kind?" and on this particular subject, Mr. Jefferson tells us, Colonel Hamilton made a long speech, going over the whole subject of our foreign policy, in the order in which the interrogatories sketch it. General Knox subscribed, at once, as was his practice, to all that Colonel Hamilton had said, declaring "that we ought to declare the Treaty void," although "like a fool as he was, he acknowledged, "at the same time, that *he knew nothing about* "*it.*" Mr. Jefferson argued for the validity of the Treaty; and Mr. Randolph declared himself of the same opinion. With the President on the side of Mr. Jefferson, however, the question was already settled; but, Mr. Hamilton desiring to present the authority of Vattel, on the matter of the proposed abrogation of the Treaty, the further consideration of the subject was suspended, informally; and, without coming to another vote on any subject—the President requesting each of the members to present his views on the pending question, in writing—the meeting adjourned.

The reader will observe that the Cabinet failed to recommend any change in the long-established foreign policy of the Republic; and as the President himself declared to the Secretary of State, on the same day, "he had never had a doubt "about the validity of the Treaty," there was little comfort, in the result of the third "strug-"gle," to those who had sought to secure such a change.

On the twenty-second of April, three days after the meeting of the Cabinet, a Proclamation was issued by the President, in terms which could be easily understood by every one, learned and unlearned, and which afforded no room for dispute, anywhere—"the duty and interest of "the United States require that they should, "with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pur-"sue a conduct *friendly* and *impartial* towards "the belligerent powers: I have, therefore, "thought fit, by these presents, to declare *the* "*disposition of the United States to observe the* "*conduct aforesaid towards those powers, respec-*"*tively*, and to exhort and warn the citizens of "the United States *carefully to avoid all acts* "*and proceedings whatsoever which may, in any* "*manner, tend to contravene such disposition*," were the words employed, as far as Mr. Adams has considered them applicable to his argument; and we shall not dispute his judgment.

There was no equivocation in these words. The term "neutrality"—so liable to misconception as to its exact meaning—had it been used, would have become a bone of contention, from the moment of its appearance, and perpetuated the struggle, both within and without the Cabinet; but the very simple and yet very significant and very definite words—admitting of only one definition—which were employed, instead, left no possible room for either doubt or dispute—the time-honored policy of *strict impartiality between the respective belligerents*, which had

* It is very evident to us that, at the period of which we write, the term "neutrality" carried with it *a different meaning* from that which we, at the present day, are accustomed to attach to it.

Neither Colonel Hamilton, nor Rufus King, nor Thomas Jefferson, nor Edmund Randolph, nor the President himself recognized the Proclamation of April 22, 1793, as a Proclamation of *Neutrality;* and yet, if "neutrality" is *impartiality, knowing no difference between parties*, etc., as we understand the term, it would be difficult to indicate in what way it could have been made more "neutral" in its terms, than it was made.

The word NON-INTERCOURSE more accurately conveys the meaning of the term, as it was then understood.

already become the widely-known policy of the Republic, was again asserted; and every controversy respecting its purport was forestalled and every belligerent was disarmed in advance.

The appearance of the Proclamation was productive of nothing but discontent among those who desired to throw the influence and power of the Republic into the scale with the alliance which the Kings had formed, against republican France; and none were so active, in their earnest disregard of its terms and its spirit, as the leaders of that monarchical faction, within the United States, of which we have already written. Colonel Hamilton, for instance, assumed to believe that to be "friendly and impartial towards "the belligerent powers" was, necessarily, to become torpid; and he was untiring in his efforts to nullify the Proclamation, by summarily arresting every *action*, among the citizens, which seemed to promise favor to *republican* France. Mr. Jay, like Mr. Jefferson, preferred to say nothing about "neutrality;" but, like Mr. Adams, he did not say what *he* understood by that term, when he used it: at the same time, unlike Mr. Jefferson and like Colonel Hamilton, he evidently preferred to disregard the Treaty, as applicable to existing circumstances, and so made no allusion to it. General Knox, like another weakling, echoed the opinions of Colonel Hamilton. Mr. King was not less disappointed in the terms of the Proclamation than he was outspoken in his denunciation of it. Indeed, so general and so energetic was the opposition to it, and so resolute was the "struggle"—the fourth of the series—that a writer of that period, "abounding in capacity" and with unequalled opportunity to become acquainted with the facts, thus wrote of them:

"If we preserve even a sneaking neutrality, "we shall be indebted for it to the President, "and not to his counsellors."—(*Mr. Jefferson to Colonel Monroe, May 5, 1793.*) "If anything "prevents it being a mere English neutrality, "it will be that the penchant of the President "is not that way, and above all, the ardent "spirit of our constituents."—(*The same to Mr. Madison, May 13* [1793]).

Yes, President Washington's resolute and consistent conduct and high personal character constituted, at the time of which we write, the principal barrier against the desperate assaults which the Monarchists conducted against the well-defined and long-established foreign policy of the United States; and none knew, better than the leaders of the assailants, how futile their efforts would be, while his conduct should continue to be as much in harmony with the popular will as it then was. It became necessary, therefore, before any success could be hoped for, to detach the President from his involuntary alliance with the Republicans, and to throw the weight of his influence against France—which, notwithstanding all their strategy, was actually the objective point against which the operations of the monarchical faction were so obstinately directed—and measures were accordingly adopted which, very soon, resulted, indirectly, in success.

The President was always distinguished for the unusual tenacity with which he insisted on all the punctilio which the spirit of the age and the aspirations of his courtiers attached to either his social or his official rank; and his extended military career and the servile obedience of the slaves who had served him tended to increase rather than to diminish, in his every-day associations, the evident desire which he had of enjoying the full extent of deference and every tittle of the ceremony to which he considered himself entitled. He was not prepared, therefore, nor did his monarchical courtiers assist him, to look with complaisance on the vastly superior attention which the "population" extended to Mr. Genet, as the latter leisurely journeyed, northward, from Charleston, than it extended to himself, in his frequent journeys to and from Virginia; and it is a subject which admits of no doubt that the individual respect of the President for the Ambassador was tempered, very considerably, from this circumstance.

Besides this, there was no doubt of the entire sympathy of what Mr. Adams properly calls "the population," with the young Republic in Europe, and as decided a revival, on its part, of all the antipathies against Great Britain which a seven years Civil War had produced and a ten years Peace had allayed, but not obliterated. The concerted threats of the British Minister and headshakings of Colonel Hamilton and those who were associated with him, in the cause of the Kings against France, therefore, were not without effect on those who were willing to purchase Peace, even at the cost of dishonor; and the patriotic Kossuth and the cause of Hungary, in our own day, were no greater victims to the instability of American pretentions and the emptiness of American sympathy, when brought to the touchstone of America's present or immediate interests, than, nearly eighty years ago, were the guileless and sincere Genet and the cause of republican France.

The great "struggle for neutrality in Amer-"ica" was rapidly drawing to a close. Those who were in the interest of the allied Kings, in the conflict of the latter against republican France, by a well-conducted movement, at an opportune moment, assisted by a feint of large appearances, had secured the key of the position; and the justly celebrated American poli-

cy of reciprocity and impartiality, the Treaties through which that policy had been so successfully established, the Proclamation of Friendship and Impartiality, the plighted honor of the Republic—even the consistency of Washington itself—were swept from the earth, as by a tornado; and Neutrality in America became a thing of the Past, to be seen no more for ever.

It is not necessary, for the purpose of this paper, to notice the men by whom the United States were betrayed and handed, republican as they pretended to be, unblushing captives, to the Monarchies of Europe; nor need we notice how much the cause of manhood in bonds, the world over, was sacrificed, on that occasion, on the altar of American "respectability." France was the first victim, and Poland, and Ireland, and Hungary followed, in the sad procession; and it is known only to God himself, but will sometime be brought out in judgment against those who betrayed them, how many other Nations, now groaning in bondage, would, today, have been self-governing Republics, respectable and respected, had the United States, at the period of which we write, been true to themselves and to the mission which God had placed before them.

From that time to the present, America has been tied to the chariot-wheels of those Monarchs whose captive she became, in 1793. No one now hears of HER *impartiality*, or *reciprocity*, or *independence* between belligerent Nations, in time of War: and her flag made *free* those goods which it covered, for the last time, when the Federal authorities cowered under the threats of the Ambassador from Britain, at the time when the outstanding Treaties with France and the recognized policy of the United States were supposed to derogate from the pretensions of his master, when the latter and his allies, Monarchs throughout Europe, arrogantly assumed to crush the rising spirit of Republicanism in the old world.

We have thus presented a brief survey of the rise, reign, and ruin of "neutrality" in the foreign policy of the United States, as the records show it: how much of it, and how little Mr. Adams seems to have heard, will be seen in the fact that, *if he has heard any portion of it which precedes our reference to the approach of M. Genet, he has not considered it necessary to allude to it; and as to the accuracy of what he has said concerning the history of the events which occurred subsequent to the arrival of that gentleman in America*, if we may be allowed to pass judgment on it, *we need only say that the Address before us is chiefly worthy of notice because of the lamentable evidence which it presents of the extreme ignorance of its distinguished author, on all that relates to the* HISTORY *of* HIS OWN COUNTRY.

But, apart from all these matters, Mr. Adams has erred as much in the details as in the aggregate; and our readers will pardon us, if we say to them that such inaccuracies, from such an orator, before such a Society, on such an occasion, are unequivocally inexcusable. Let us see.

I.—Mr. Adams says, "I think the world owes "the practical adoption of this principle mainly "to *the long and painful struggles* of the *Gov*-"*ernment of the United States.*"—(*Page 2.*)

Had Mr. Adams employed the material which was accessible to him, both in the *Journals of the Congress*, for 1776, and in the *Secret Journals of the Congress, Foreign Relations*, for the same year, from both of which we have already quoted, and need not repeat, he would have learned that the Committee which framed this policy was appointed in May, 1776, while there was yet *no State, much less a "Government;"* that it was perfected in September, of the same year, *before there were any "United States," much less a "Government;"* that it was "prac-"tically adopted," in 1778, when the Treaty with France was concluded, also *before there were either any "United States," or what he calls a "Government;"* that there *was no "struggle,"* whatever, in either its establishment or its support, for upwards of fourteen years, nor then, except in opposition to Colonel Hamilton and the Monarchists whom he headed, when they assailed it in the interests of the allied Monarchs of Europe, in the foray which the latter made against the French, when that People deposed its King and established a Republic, as the thirteen disaffected Colonies in America had done, sixteen years previous. It would have been well, under these circumstances, if Mr. Adams had drawn more, in this portion of his paper, from the authorities which were accessible to him, and less from his imagination; unless he shall be able to show there was a "Government of the United States" three years before there were any such "United States" in existence; and unless he shall also be able to show wherein there could have been or was *any* "strug-"gle," in securing the "practical adoption" of a policy which every leading power in Europe cheerfully concurred in and imitated, until it was violated within our own "Government," by those whose sympathy with royalty was greater than their attachment to republican principles; than their love of country, as citizens; than their fidelity to their constituents, as public officers.

II.—Mr. Adams says "*the Government of the* "*United States*, at an early period of its exist-"ence, laid down this principle, defined by Mr. "Wheaton" ["*the right of every independent*

"*State*, to remain at peace *while other States are* "*engaged in War*"] "as a cardinal maxim of "its policy."—(*Page 3.*)

Without noticing, again, what Mr. Adams says, in this place, about a "Government" and a "United States" which, at the period of which he wrote, had no existence, either, *de jure* or *de facto*, we beg to say, in reply to this remark, that if by "remaining at peace," Mr. Adams means the United States were to either suspend or abridge their intercourse with the belligerents, he is certainly in error; and to show how radical his error is, on this point, we need only refer to the *Plan* which the Congress adopted, in September, 1776, and to the Treaties with France, Holland, Sweden, and Prussia, concluded by the Congress, wherein the theory of that *Plan* was "practically adopted," both by Europe and America. We have already quoted the language of those papers, and we need not, therefore, repeat it.

As Mr. Adams has deliberately stated—(*Page 13*)—that that language, in Washington's Proclamation, was "a juggle of words" and a fraud, which considered the simple words, "conduct friendly and impartial to the belligerent powers," as the equivalent of the term, "neutrality," we have no alternative but to suppose that, by the term "peace," in this place, which he seems to approve, as an equivalent therefor, he means *entire inaction*, as far as American intercourse with the belligerents was concerned; and we speak understandingly when we say that, in this understanding of the term, when alluding to the neutrality which the Congress established, in 1776–1785, he has no authority to sustain him, beyond the desires of those who resisted it or his own imagination; while every document of that period bears testimony to his inaccuracy and condemns him before the world.

III.—Mr. Adams says, untruly, that between the close of the War of the Revolution, in 1783, and the adoption of the Constitution, in 1788, "liberty was fast running into license, and law "was fast yielding to the stern dictation of "despairing poverty."—(*Page 4.*)

On the contrary, the Republic was never more prosperous, never more virtuous, never more happy, than it was during the period referred to, except when the uneasy aspirants for place and honors disturbed the peace by political agitations, and except where petty demagogues, taking advantage of rural parsimony, insisted on the support of even the local Governments without taxation and stirred up insurrections where, but for them, no such insurrection would have been thought of. Such curses as these politicians were, existed after the period referred to, as well as before it; and Shay's Rebellion against the authority of Massachusetts and the insurrection at Exeter, N. H., were mere child's-play when compared with the Whiskey Insurrection, in Pennsylvania, and the Peace demonstrations in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, both of which occurred long after the establishment of that Constitution which, Mr. Adams would have us believe, was a panacea against all his pretended "license" and "poverty," and a sure guarantee of peace, prosperity, happiness, and wealth.

Indeed, we challenge Mr. Adams to produce any evidence, beyond the partizan papers of "pestiferous" politicians, to sustain his averments; and we promise him that his evidence shall be met with documents which even he cannot gainsay, to disprove every word he has spoken on this subject, in letter and in spirit.

IV. Mr. Adams says that, after the new Constitution had been established and Washington inaugurated, "it was soon preceived to be working "like a charm. Aided by eminent counsellors, "the marvellous offspring of the grand conflict "for our rights, industry revived, and commerce "once more spread her white wings over the "ocean. Peace prevailed over the land, and "although grave differences of opinion were de-"veloped in regard to many details, they served "rather to help perfect than to impair the ulti-"mate working of the machine."—(*Page 4.*)

That system must have worked "like a charm," truly, which required to be so much amended, during the First Session of the First Congress, that even its own parents hardly recognized the altered bantling, and were heartily disgusted with it, in its new form, and as heartily nullified it, wherever and whenever they could safely do so. "Like a charm," indeed, with the Congress quarreling so much that it adjourned on a certain Friday or Saturday, with the stern, informal determination not to assemble again—a determination which was overcome by the joint efforts at reconciliation of Hamilton and Jefferson, after an hour's consultation on the sidewalk, near the President's house. "Like a charm," indeed, with one half of Pennsylvania in insurrection; the Cabinet divided and in earnest antagonism; the Congress as badly divided and as angrily quarreling, as it had ever been; the Western country resolutely occupied by British troops; the differences with France increasing every day; taxes increasing, in one form or other, until an expansion of the currency, in the shape of paper *promises to pay*, was resorted to, in order to afford a little relief; while Federal *promises to pay*, by cart-loads, were openly repudiated, either wholly or in part, and remain thus repudiated, to this day. "Like a charm," indeed!

V.—In his description of the interrogatories which President Washington submitted to the

members of his Cabinet on the eighteenth of April, 1793, Mr, Adams says, in two places, (*Pages 10, 11,*) there were *sixteen* of them.

Had Mr. Adams been as careful as he should have been, when preparing to address a Historical Society, on a subject which he, himself, had selected, he would have seen, had he personally examined the paper itself—which is to be found in *The Writings of Alexander Hamilton*, iv., 396—that there were only *thirteen* instead of *sixteen* of these interrogatories; and the reader of this Address may reasonable ask what value there is in the utterences of such an orator, on any subject, who is either so careless in the employment of his material, or so criminally unfaithful.

VI.—Mr. Adams says of the interrogatories which the President had submitted to the members of his Cabinet, "on the next day all four of "the Cabinet had united in an affirmative answer "to the first, which was the essential one. It ran "in the following words: 'Shall a Proclamation "'issue for the purpose of preventing interfer-"'ences of the citizens of the United States in "'the War between France and Great Brit-"'ian. ?'" (*Page 11.*)

Who among Mr. Adams's hearers and readers can possibly suppose that, in these words, that gentleman recorded the first portion of the proceedings of the notable Cabinet-meeting to which we alluded, on page "On the next day, "all four *had united* in an affirmative answer," is Mr. Adams's way of "putting it"—well, that, probably, is the way in which that gentleman's taste led him to express it; and so let those of us be content who do not depend on him for our knowledge of the subject.

Again: Who would have supposed, from Mr. Adams's language, that he has not quoted *the whole* of the first interrogatory, in his use of it, above-mentioned? Yet he has not. There were *three* distinct queries grouped into one interrogatory, in the original paper; but, who would know anything on *that* matter, if he relies on Mr. Adams? That gentleman has mutilated the paper, and *only given or alluded to one-third of it.*

VII.—Mr. Adams says that, after the decision of the two naked questions concerning the issue of a Proclamation and the reception of the approaching Minister from France, "*the President was "fain to stop, for the opposing forces, Jefferson "and Hamilton, fell into such differences upon "the remaining questions, that it was weeks "before they got through their expositions*"—(*Page 11.*)

The fact was, *First*, Besides the simple question as to the issue of any Proclamation, the exact character of the proposed Proclamation was discussed and agreed on. *Second*, The adjournment was at the suggestion of Colonel Hamilton and Mr. Randolph, in order to enable the former to show the Attorney General what Vattel said which was applicable to the Colonel's proposed abrogation of the Treaties with France; and the President does not appear to have done more than acquiesce in the request, unless his subsequent disregard of the purpose of the adjournment and his declaration, to the Secretary of State, of his disagreement with Colonel Hamilton, concerning the proposed abrogation, may be construed as bearing on it. *Third*, Mr. Jefferson had nothing to do with the adjournment, except to censure the Attorney General's evident propensity, therein, to "trim" his sails to catch *all* the breezes, on this as well as on other similar occasions. *Fourth*, Both Mr. Jefferson's and Colonel Hamilton's opinions, subsequently presented in writing, were solicited by the President, at the suggestion of Mr. Randolph; and neither of those gentlemen, on that occasion, manifested the least desire to engage in such a labor, until the President, at the Attorney-general's suggestion, requested opinions, *in writing*, from *all the members*—a request which neither the Secretary of War nor the Attorney-general complied with, unless by informally acquiesing in one or other of the opinions which were presented by their associates.

VIII.—Mr. Adams says of the President's Proclamation, "It is to be particularly observed, "that, throughout this paper, *the true object "for which it was issued was not declared.* There "is no collective generalization, the true word "for which is 'neutrality.' The cause was this: "Mr. Jefferson doubted whether the Constitution "had given the President the power to declare "*neutrality*, as it was certain that he had not "the power to declare War. *But he was in favor "of the thing.* The consequence was, that *the "President very quietly directed the word to be "stricken out of the first draft*, and let it stand "*in the circumlocution* of 'conduct friendly "'and impartial towards the belligerent pow-"'er's,' and 'the conduct aforesaid.' But *no-"body was deceived as to what this meant*, from "that day to this. The President *did* proclaim "a policy and Mr. Jefferson knew the fact, per-"fectly well; at the same time, his scruple of "conscience was respected, as it should have "been. *But it was* NEUTRALITY *for all that.* "At the subsequent Session of Congress, which "met on the second of December, the President, "in his Message, communicated to both Houses "the fact of what he had done, and transmitted a "copy of his Proclamation; *but in that paper, "too, it may be seen that the word*, 'neutrality,' "*nowhere appears.* SUCH JUGGLES IN WORDS "*have not been uncommon in our history!*" (*Pages 12, 13.*)

It strikes us that this is one of the coolest

insults which we have ever seen extended to the memory of the statesmen of that period, and one of the most impudent assumptions of superior wisdom, on the part of the men of our day.

As to "the *true object* for which the Proclamation was issued," if there is any meaning in words, the well-settled policy of the United States and of the countries, in Europe, with whom they had entered into Treaty stipulations, at the time of which we write and during many years before, was a *strict impartiality* between all the belligerents—call it what you will—and the Cabinet advised the President that *he* had no constitutional authority beyond that limit. The Proclamation, therefore, consistently premised that "the duty and interest of "the United States require that they should, with "*sincerity* and *good faith*, *adopt* and *pursue* a conduct *friendly* and *impartial* towards the belligerent powers;" and the President "THEREFORE, thought fit, by these presents, to declare "the disposition of the United States to observe "*the conduct aforesaid* towards those powers, "respectively, and to exhort and warn all the citizens of the United States, carefully to avoid "all acts and proceedings whatsoever which "may in any manner tend to contravene such "disposition." In the face of these stern facts, and of others, indicative of the *individual* opinions of the President and the members of his Cabinet, and notwithstanding the plain words which were employed in the Proclamation, Mr. Adams coolly remarked that "*the true object* "*for which it was issued was not declared*," (*Page 12;*) that "nobody was *deceived* as to "what *this meant*, from that day to this," "(*Ibid;*) and that "SUCH *juggles in words* have "not been uncommon in our history." (*Page 13.*)

There can be no mistake as to Mr. Adams's temper on this subject, when he thus charged the President, and the Secretary of State, and the Attorney-general with fraudulent concealment, under unfaithful words, of what "the "*true* object" of the Proclamation was, since he tells us, elsewhere, that the words which were thus employed were *circumlocutory* in their character, unsuccessful in their purpose to *deceive*, and one of a number of "SUCH *juggles* "*in words*" which "have not been uncommon "in our history." Washington, and Jefferson, and Hamilton, and Randolph, and Knox, are branded as *cheats*, *deceivers*, *jugglers;* and that, too, in a deliberately-formed opinion of them, deliberately spoken and deliberately printed, by the grandson of the Vice President of that day, himself a diplomat and a scholar!

It is, indeed, a sad truth, that, after Mr. Adams had himself suppressed the earlier portions of the record which exhibits the exact subject of which he spake, in all its minutiæ, and thus enabled himself to interpolate a fiction where a fact should have been presented to his hearers and readers, he unwittingly told them that, by an unanimous vote of its own members, the Cabinet advised the President to issue a certain Proclamation, in terms which every student knows were entirely consistent with the peculiar policy of the United States, on that subject, from the earliest period; and after he had cited the language of that Proclamation, displaying its admirable fitness for the peculiar purpose for which it was actually intended,—in the teeth, too, of what the members of the Cabinet declared to be their intent and meaning, in their selection of those words—that gentlemen deliberately charged President Washington, and his Cabinet, and the Congress of 1793–4, with deception and fraud, on the Republic and the world, in that use of the words to which we have referred. "The TRUE object *was not* declared," he says: of course, what *was* declared was necessarily *false*. "Nobody was *deceived*," he says: why should that have been mentioned, if no *attempt to deceive* had been made? In fact, if Mr. Adams may be believed, these statesmen were *circumlocutory* in their conduct, and *jugglers in words*, as mountebanks are jugglers in tricks, amusing, if not beguiling, the open-mouthed crowds who were looking on, while they quietly and effectually deceived and defrauded them!

We shall turn, hereafter, to this graphic picture of Washington, and his Cabinet, and the Congress of 1793–4, drawn and presented by an Adams of Quincy: meanwhile Mr. Adams must permit us to inquire, soberly and respectfully, with which of these two classes, he, himself, desires to be numbered—with the jugglers, on the stage, or with the gaping dupes, below? with the imposters and cheats, or with those who were thus imposed upon and defrauded? with the President, and his Cabinet, and the Congress of 1793–4, who evidently knew what it really was to be "neutral" and dared to say what it was, or with those Monarchists in disguise who had been already defeated in that early and well-fought "struggle," of "weeks" duration, which he has invented, in another part of this Address?

If President Washington and his Cabinet were really the jugglers and deceivers whom Mr. Adams evidently supposes them to have been, and if they were not above defrauding their constituents and the world, either in the manner indicated by Mr. Adams or in any other,—and, as far as he is concerned, that is certainly the case—the high character of that gentlemen will certainly forbid any association of his name, in friendship, with theirs; and every attempt to

consider him as approving a policy which originated in them and which is sustained only by their "circumlocation" and "jugglery of words," must, necessarily, if made understandingly, be intended only as an insult. The definition of that "great general principle" which Washington and his Cabinet thus unduly imposed upon it, cannot, therefore, be the definition which Mr. Adams individually recognizes, whatever he may have done in his official capacity; and it becomes, therefore, a necessity among those who desire to read this Address understandingly, to learn just what definitions express the exact meaning of the words "neutral" and "neutral-"ity," as those words were employed in this Address, by this last great accession to the anti-Washingtonian school, of which Thomas Paine and "Peter Porcupine" were earlier and not much less enlightened members. Mr. Adams must excuse us, therefore, if we insist on being told, not what any other person understood by the term, but what *he*, himself and for himself, understood by it, when he stood in the Academy of Music, and used it, in the carefully-considered Address which is before us.

IX. Mr. Adams makes sad slaughter of the truth, in his remarks concerning the French Embassy, and its purposes, and conduct.

First: *The name of the Minister was not* "Genest," *as Mr. Adams uniformly writes it*, but "Genet."

The papers of the family indicate that, as far back as 1500, the name was spelled "Genet;" and I have before me, in my own house, the autograph correspondence which, nearly a hundred years ago, the Ambassador's father enjoyed with Messrs. Benjamin Franklin, Francis Dana, John Paul Jones, Ralph Izard, and Mr. Adams's own grand-father, John Adams, wherein all those gentlemen addressed their notes to either "M. Genet," or "Mr. Genet," or, in the case of John Paul Jones, "M. De Genet"—on one occasion, which we have known of, Doctor Franklin used this superscription: "A Mon-"sieur Monsieur Genet Premier Commis des "Affaires Etrangers, Rue Royale Pavillon "Boothilon à Versailles." The Ambassador, himself, and Mr. Genet, when the former was transformed into an American citizen, were equally specific in their spelling of the name; and his children, two of whom it is our privilege to number among our personal friends, know no other name, either in the past or at present, than the patrimonial "Genet." With these authorities before us, as evidence against his practice, Mr. Adams will excuse us for desiring some other authority for his peculiar spelling of the name, than *Appleton's American Encyclopedia*.

Second: Mr. Adams says that "neither the "President nor the Cabinet had any idea that "the chief object of the new mission would "be to *break up the very policy just formally* "*proclaimed*," (*page 13*) but, he says, the revolutionary Government in France desired to tempt the United States "to enter into a union "which, however it might have been worded, "must inevitably have made us, in the end, a "party to the War."—(*Pages 13, 14.*)

If we have read the history of that period correctly—and we know of nothing which is accessible to the ordinary reader, concerning it, which is not in our own library and has not been read, carefully—there is not the faintest shadow of foundation, in fact, for this statement. Our Treaty stipulations with France were already ample for all the purposes of the French Government; and the French Ambassador neither did nor offered to do anything for amending, or altering, or impairing them. On the contrary, M. Genet *was selected for the mission to America, by the more moderate Republicans, in France, because of his friendship with the deposed Monarch, and for the express purpose of conducting the imprisoned King and the Royal family, secretly, to America. This arrangement was entered into at a meeting of the leading Girondists, at which our own Thomas Paine assisted; and it was at that meeting that M. Genet was tendered the mission and accepted it, playfully describing, in response, to what occupation such and such of the Royal exiles could be appropriated, on their arrival in America.* In this contradiction of Mr. Adams, we speak understandingly, and could go further in that contradiction, were we disposed to do so: we content ourself, however, by saying that there is not even a shade of truth in Mr Adams's statement: it is from first to last, a falsehood.

Nor did M. Genet make the least attempt, after his debarkation, to "break up" *any* policy of the United States, foreign or domestic. After he landed at Charleston, one of the first of his movements was to inquire from the Governor of South Carolina what our laws allowed and what they disallowed; and his subsequent conduct, while on his way, northward, toward Philadelphia, was entirely controlled by the information which was given, in reply to that enquiry, by Governor Moultrie, himself, we believe, a political if not a personal friend of those who were most active in their opposition to France.

Indeed, in every letter which he addressed to the Federal authorities, in every argument with which he enforced his requirements, and in every word of defence which he was obliged to employ, the existing Treaty stipulations and the absolute rights which, by virtue of those stipulations, belonged to his country, were constantly presented; and if he asked for any others, or

for any change in those which were already well-established and recognized, the world over, we have failed to see any evidence or, except in Mr. Adams's Address, any mention of it. *He asked us to fulfil the Treaty stipulations*, active *and* permissive, *which we had entered into, with his country, years before: he asked us to be* impartial *in our actions and our judgments, while we professed to honor our engagements: he resisted the superior influences of the* British *Ambassador and the winked-at aggressions of* British *officials on our pretended* neutrality, *unsustained as the latter were, by even the shadow of a Treaty: he discharged his duty to his country, honestly and earnestly: he aimed at nothing more.* Can Mr. Adams show a cleaner record, as a diplomat, than M. Genet? *Let him try.*

But why did not Mr. Adams tell the *whole* Truth as to the result of what he has described, truly or untruly, as a "struggle for neutrality "in America?" Admitting, for the argument's sake—and we admit it for nothing else—that Mr. Adams has faithfully presented the facts in this particular matter, will Mr. Adams pretend that, after all, notwithstanding his "struggles," the United States were not made "a party in "the War?" If so, why were our hostilities against France, in 1794–9, and those against Great Britain, in 1812–15, forced upon us? Will Mr. Adams dare say, in reply, that either of these troubles arose from the naked fact, that, "with *sincerity* and *good faith*," the United States had "adopted and pursued a conduct "*friendly* and *impartial* towards the belligerent "powers," "respectively?" We challenge him to reply, yes or no.

THIRD: Mr. Adams says of M. Genet, that his dismissal from the Russian mission was because he was so extreme in his republicanism; and he says, too, "this event probably recom-"mended him the more to the Republicans, "who had now come into power, and particu-"larly pointed him out as a suitable agent to "serve their objects in republican America! "That it was intended he should act as firebrand "there can be little doubt;" * * (*Page 15.*)

On the contrary, his return to France was the result of the machinations of those *emigres*, whom the Revolution had cast, as exiles, into every friendly Court of Europe, and of his refusal to unite with them in some of their ill-digested schemes against the then existing modified Monarchy in France—at that time, France was not a Republic, as Mr. Adams seems to suppose, but a *Constitutional* Monarchy, with Louis as its nominal head. That he was not withdrawn from the Embassy at St. Petersburg because of any disfavor in his own Government, is seen in the fact that he was sent, immediately on his return to Paris, on an important mission to Geneva, besides being appointed Adjutant-general of the Army; and, within three months after his return from Russia, besides the double employment as diplomat and soldier, to which we have alluded, he was appointed to the most important of all the missions from France, at that moment, that to the United States. That he was not withdrawn from the Embassy because of any personal or political associations of his own which were obnoxious to the Russian Government is evident from the fact that, very soon after, and before he left France from America, he was invited to enter the service of the Empress Catharine, an invitation which he did not accept, as our readers know.

Again: so far from the political views of M. Genet having controled his appointment to the American mission, we have the means of knowing that he was not, at any time, a mere politician; *that he was not a Jacobin*, as Mr. Adams pretends, *but a Girondist*, but of so temperate a character, that he never sank the scholar in the mere politician; and that he was sent to America, as "the right man in the right place," for other reasons, as we have already said, than those presented, so learnedly, but with so little foundation in fact, by Mr. Adams.

The French Government fully understood the importance to it of the friendly offices of the United States, especially while all monarchical Europe was allied against it, in support of the Monarchy which that Nation had so fearlessly and effectually overthrown; and Mr. Adams certainly gave that Government little credit for sagacity, when he intimated that it desired even to embarras them, much more to throw "a fire-"brand" into their midst, and thus destroy them. M. Talleyrand admirably displayed the exact truth, on this particular subject, and as admirably exposed Mr. Adams's insufficiency for the task which he has recently undertaken, when, in a letter to one of his own subordinates, in Holland, M. Pichon, he said, "France has a "double motive, as a Nation and a Republic, "*not to expose to any hazard the present existence* "*of the United States. Therefore*, IT NEVER "*thought of making War against them nor excit-*"*ing civil commotions among them;* AND EVERY "CONTRARY SUPPOSITION IS AN INSULT TO COM-"MON SENSE."

As we have said, beside the special reason in connection with the proposed exile of the Royal Family, to which we have referred, the extraordinary importance of the United States to beleaguered France, at that period, demanded the best man for her Ambassador to those States which the Republic could find; and who, of all others, was as well adapted as M. Genet? He

had been brought up in the Foreign Office, in which his father was an honored and confidential chief. He had held daily intercourse, officially, in a subordinate capacity, and, socially, in his father's house, with Franklin, Adams, Dana, Izard, Lee, Jefferson, Jay, etc., when those gentlemen, years before, humbly solicited the favor of the French Government for the struggling "thirteen united States of North America," and as humbly sought, through his father, the use of French facilities to keep open their line of communication with their own several homes. He knew, personally, the entire history of the then existing Treaties and every phase of their meaning, as the United States had been willing to understand them and joyfully and usefully understood them, when they occupied the unenviable position, with their enemy at every gate, which France occupied at the period of which we write. Who, therefore, could so usefully serve France, in America, either specially or ordinarily, as this familiar in diplomacy, this personal acquaintance of those who were then in authority in America, this expert in all that concerned her peculiar relations, past and present, with his own fatherland? We can only regret, in view of some facts which are known to all of us, that the President of the United States has not always displayed as much good judgment and as much unselfishness, in the selection of our official representatives in foreign countries, as the Girondists of revolutionary France displayed in the selection of their Ambassador, in the instance before us.

Fourth: Mr. Adams contrives a plot for the debarkation of M. Genet at Charleston—"there could have been but one object in this "*détour*," he says: "that was to try the temper of the population before going to the "Government. If *such was the case*," he unwittingly continues, "*nothing could have been* "*more satisfactory to him.*"—(*Page 15.*)

We have excellent reason for knowing that the *only* object in his debarkation at Charleston, was the desire of the Ambassador to be relieved from the tedium of a protracted voyage, extended beyond the ordinary length, by unusually adverse winds; and Charleston happened to be the first port which the *Ambuscade* could make for that purpose.

Fifth: Mr. Adams tells of the turning of M. Genet's head, by the popular sympathy; and, he says, that "gentleman thought he "had nothing left to do but to dictate what "he desired, and every body would obey. "He began, at once, to deal out Commissions, to the right and left; to fit out privateers and enlist officers and men; to organize "Jacobin Clubs; and, in every respect, to conduct himself in much the same way that he "might have done in Paris. * * * It was "plain that the Proclamation of Neutrality "had been trampled in the dust by him; and "that his insolent assumption of authority was "fast implicating the country in a conflict with "Great Britain." (*Pages 16, 17.*)

In reply to all this, it is sufficient to say that M. Genet quietly travelled, northward, from Charleston to Philadelphia, *without performing or attempting to perform a single official act;* that *he never issued a Commission* "to fit out "privateers and enlist officers and men," *in any case; that, being a* Girondist, *he hardly attempted* "*to organize Jacobin Clubs*"; and that, generally, he lived a more than usually retired life, avoided the notoriety for which he had no taste, and was known in society far less than gentlemen of his rank and high personal character were wont to be.

It was a foregone conclusion, in Great Britain, as we have already said, that France should be entirely cut off from the outside world; and the arrogance of her Government, backed as it was by her monarchical allies, threatened War against all who dared to question its authority or to assert their own. She practically insisted that *our* Treaties with France should become worthless, both to that Nation and to us, when *she* should be pleased to issue an adverse decree; and *we* were expected to go or to remain, in silent humility, as *she* should be pleased to allow us. Therefore, when M. Genet undertook to do what he had a clear legal right to do, the British Minister arrogantly shook his head, and all the Monarchists in America responsively shook theirs; and when arguments became necessary to give warrant to a breach of our plighted faith, in our dealings with France, Colonel Hamilton produced them; while John Jay and Rufus King contented themselves with the less honorable role of manufacturing and retailing falsehoods, for the misleading of "the population."

If Mr. Adams can indicate wherein M. Genet asked for more than an honest construction of the terms of the Treaties clearly entitled him to enjoy,* let him do so: if he can indicate wherein that gentleman violated any international law, in any thing which he did or proposed to do, let him do so: and as he has not even pretended to indicate any instance, great or small, wherein M. Genet even

* The fidelity, as a historian of the United States, of Mr. Hildreth is generally conceded, and no one can justly accuse him of unduly leaning towards the French; yet he says of this matter: "By the Treaty of Commerce, French privateers and prizes *were entitled* to shelter in the American "ports—a shelter *not to be extended* to the *enemies* of "France."—Hildreth's *History of the United States*, II., i., 413.

hazarded the Proclamation of Impartiality and Friendship, we challenge him to do so. It is about time that the truth, on this subject, should be known, and falsehoods pass out of circulation; and if the speaker, the occasion, and the audience, in this case, could not guarantee a faithful presentation of the facts, the failure speaks poorly for the intelligence as well as the sense of justice of those who boast of being Americans. Need there be any wonder, in view of such perversions as these, by such a man, and on such an occasion, that *American* history, as it is usually written, offers so few attractions for honest, intelligent readers?

SIXTH: Mr. Adams tells us that, among other items of the "conclusion," was "*the recall of "M. Genet, in disgrace*, at the request of the "President." (*Page 17.*)

If Mr. Adams can find such a "recall" of M. Genet as he has described, *or any other*, during President Washington's administration, he will oblige us by producing a copy of it.

The French Government desired to preserve the good-will of the United States, as far as they could, and, therefore, sent a new Ambassador; but we have excellent reasons for believing that M. Genet was *not* then, nor for a long time after, "*recalled;*" and that informatian is confirmed by the entire absence, from the records, of more than *a promise to recall him*, which was, probably, not fulfilled for several years; and then only at his own suggestion.

SEVENTH: Mr. Adams tells us that what he calls the "recall" of M. Genet was a "confirma-"tion of the policy of neutrality which this "assault" [*by M. Genet*] "was intended to "overthrow." (*Page 17.*)

Has Mr. Adams read, in his study of this portion of his subject, the correspondence of M. Fauchet, who succeeded M. Genet, as the Minister from France? If he has not, he was not qualified to speak on this subject, to any one; least of all before a Historical Society: if he has, he was an unfaithful witness, bearing false testimony, when he uttered these words—how accurately, also, he presented the troubles, in France, of those whom the United States successively sent there, to represent them, we shall see, hereafter. But we will not anticipate him, in the order of his narrative.

X. The disputes with Great Britain are also made to turn on the "neutrality," of which Mr. Adams said so much; and he seizes Chief-justice Jáy and the Treaty which that gentleman made with England, as portions of his subject. (*Pages 18–24.*)

The dispute between the United States and Great Britain, at that early day, had as little to do with "neutrality," as we understand that term, as it had to do with "the man in the "moon." Indeed, no one better than Mr. Adams knows that it was chiefly because of alleged infractions of the Treaty of 1783—the British insisting on action, concerning anti-Revolutionary debts due to British subjects and confiscated estates belonging to loyal subjects of the King, which the Treaty had *not* provided for, and retaining possession of portions of our Western territory, to indemnify itself, in open violation of that Treaty—that that particular "struggle, severe and painful," occurred; and he knows, too, that a much severer and more painful "struggle" took place, subsequently, in the same connection—in which there was everything but "neutrality"—when the country learned, FIRST, that the *Chief-justice* had unconstitutionally assumed *Executive* functions and gone to Great Britain as an Ambassador Extraordinary; and, SECOND, when it learned how much that distinguished gentleman had betrayed his country and how little he had respected the rights of his countrymen—a want of respect, indeed, to his country's best interests, which was more successful, in the latter case, than in that in 1782–3, when Mr. Jáy's own brother was constrained to expose, to the French Government, the very private dealings of that gentleman with the British Government and thus defeated, at that eventful crisis in our affairs, the very private diplomacy, on his own account, of the distinguished gentleman from New York.

XI. Mr. Adams gravely informed the New York Historical Society that Washington "had "faced many a British array in Long Island, "at White Plains, at Monmouth, and at Bran-"dywine, and often with middling results"—(*Paye 21.*)

Will Mr. Adams please inform the public just when and where "in Long Island," Washington "faced [*any*] British array," either with or without *any* results? And, while his hand is in the work, let him tell us on which side of the Bronx, "at White Plains," that General "faced" the British, with any other result than to *run away*, into "the hills," beyond? We confess our ignorance on these subjects; and we incline to belief that Mr. Adams will find considerable difficulty in showing that Washington ever commanded, in person, on Long Island, or that, in person, he was in command on Chatterton's Hill—the only spot, "at White "Plains," where a "British array" was ever "faced," by any one, with any result which Mr. Adams need have mentioned.

XII. After having dismissed M. Genet and thereby theoretically *concluded* various troubles and *confirmed* something which he considered a policy of American "neutrality," Mr. Adams raised another demon, more hideous in its aspect than the last, and more antagonistic to

America and her institutions; and that turns out, on a close examination, to be M. Fauchet, the successor of M. Genet, in the Embassy from France. Strange to say, too, in view of the elaborate "conclusions" which attended M. Genet's "disgrace" and fall from power, M. Fauchet is represented to have been inimical to American ideas of "neutrality," and the source of unusual trouble in America. (*Page 24.*)

Why did not Mr. Adams tell the truth? Why not make a clean breast of it, by honestly telling, what was the truth, that M. Fauchet had greater trouble with those in authority, in America, only because the repudiation of their Treaty stipulations with and pretended friendship for France, their outspoken and earnest hostility to that Nation, and their hearty and active sympathy with Great Britian and her monarchical allies were then more open and barefaced than they had been while M. Genet was acting as his predecessor in office? If we saw the outcroppings of what Mr. Adams calls American "neutrality," in the record of the diplomacy with France and Great Britain, in 1793, we certainly may see just what that "neutrality" really was, in its more mature form, in 1794–5, when the Secretary of State was compelled, by reason of his peculiar ideas of "neutrality," to abandon his high position, in disgrace, and the United States became so far degraded that they were, in fact, only an outpost of the allied monarchs of the old world. Well may the recognized historian of American diplomacy say of the events of this period: "*M. Fauchet* "*made great complaints of the* violations of our "neutrality, *by* British cruisers; *and, in some in-* "*stances, his complaints were* well founded. Brit- "ish vessels, *did, undoubtedly*, equip in our ports "and anchor, with their prizes, in our waters, "*particularly in Lynn-haven bay and other parts* "*of the Chesapeake.* Foreigners, *and our own* "*citizens, in some cases*, armed vessels, privately, "*for illegal purposes.*" (Lyman's *Diplomacy of the United States, 73.*) And yet no dead dog was ever more dumb than Mr. Adams was, on the history of *this side* of his subject; while, with a fidelity to his party which unfitted him for a historian, he branded, with the severest terms, the earnest remonstrances which this one-sided "neutrality" very properly forced from the pens of successive French Ambassabors, and unblushingly hailed their successive defeats as successive triumphs of American "neu- "trality!"

XIII. Mr. Adams next canvasses the disasters which successively attended the American Embassies in Paris—those which were recognized and those which were not—and he flounders through fourteen pages of his pamphlet, with broad criticisms of the diplomacy, successively, of Jefferson, Morris, Monroe, Pinckney, Marshall, Gerry, Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray; but, as our readers will reasonably suppose, in view of previous shortcomings, he tells only what suits his own purpose and his party's, and omits what makes against them,—(*Pages 25–38.*)

There was trouble in Paris; and disrespect was very properly shown, in that city, to those who represented or sought to represent the United States before the French Government. But Mr. Adams's hearers and readers owe nothing to that gentl man, for any information which he has given, which tends to throw light on that suject.

The truth was, and Mr. Adams need not have been ignorant of it, had he desired to learn it, nor have withheld it from his hearers, if he knew it, that France complained because the United States were not as neutral in their conduct as they pretended to be in their diplomacy and had promised to be in their Treaties; and, when "the Jay Treaty" was made with Great Britain, the mask which they had worn so long, fell, and exposed the native ugliness of the deception. The correspondence is accessible to Mr. Adams, in the earlier volumes of *The American State Papers, Foreign Relations;* and he has no excuse for neither employing nor alluding to it.

The French Government was indignant, as we have said, at what it had reason to believe was the unfriendliness for France and the partiality for Britain of the American "Government;" and, in the spirit of that day and generation, it withdrew its Ambassador and dismissed ours. It had a right to do so. It had a right to say that neither Mr. Monroe, nor Mr. Pinckney, nor Mr. Marshall, nor Mr. Gerry should reside in Paris, either with or without diplomatic authority; and it had the right to say to Monsieur Adet, too, that he should no longer represent the Republic before the United States. Wherein, in all this, pray, is there anything which conflicted with either international law or the American idea of neutrality, as the Congress of 1776 had defined it and as Washington then defined it?

There were various matters, bearing on this portion of his subject, which Mr. Adams, as was his practice, under similar circumstances, scrupulously disregarded; and he has cumbered his pages, as he must have wearied his audience, with details which were far less important, as history, and far less interesting, as mere entertainment.

As we have said, France very reasonably regarded the United States as the practical ally of her confederated enemies; and she preferred *to have nothing to do them.* The cup which, in 1765, was filled by the fathers of American

"neutrality," and which was recognized by their Secretary of State, in 1793, as the most reasonable and most effective mode of punishing those who should break through the well-established foreign policy of the United States,* was thrust to their own lips, by "the friend in need" whom they had betrayed so recklessly; and the contemptible whining of the men of that day and that of their apologists, in our own, because France would not continue her intercourse with those who had been unfaithful to their professions and solemn stipulations, and who had repaid her friendship and sacrifices only with selfishness, bad faith, and ill-concealed and inconsistent hostility, is as ridiculous as it is pharisaical. She would have none of their proffered "friendship;" and she *honored herself and her principles* when she despised and rejected the hollow professions which were sent to her and turned from her doors the messengers who bore them.

But why, if Mr. Adams was so anxious to tell the Historical Society the truth of this portion of his subject, did not he tell of the lordly bearing, in Paris, of our distinguished townsman, Gouverneur Morris, while he was the representative there of what professed to be a Republic? Why did not he, in such case, tell us just wherein Mr. Monroe, who succeeded Mr. Morris, mispresented "the "policy of his chief," if he really did misrepresent it, and—most desirable, but most difficult—just wherein that policy, at different dates, was inconsistent with itself and with the best interests and fundamental principles of the Republic? Why did not he tell us, too, just wherein France violated American "neutrality," if she did violate it, when Mr. Pinckney—a rigid partizan of those, in America, whose antagonism was most decided against France—who succeeded Mr. Monroe as the accredited Minister of the United States, was ordered to leave France without official recognition by the French Government? The triune Embassy—composed of the same Mr. Pinckney who had been already rejected, and Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Gerry—next appeared, with hat in hand, humbly asking somebody to look on it with complacency, and either to kiss or to kick it, and, because of its "deplorable "ignorance and credulity," bringing contempt both on itself and on those whom it represented. But Mr. Adams was silent on those portions of its disgraceful history on which his graphic pen and well-rounded periods might have been effectively employed. He told his hearers, *very faintly*, about the fruitless attempts which were made by this ill-formed Embassy—two of whose members were prominent partizans of the public enemies of France—to secure the recognition of the French Government; but he did *not* tell them how willing it was, either directly or indirectly, through either official or unofficial, male or female, virtuous or vicious, channels, to reach the favorable official handshaking of Talleyrand, who then conducted the diplomacy of France. Why has he not told us *all he could have told us*, had he pleased to do so, about the interpreter of the Foreign Office, the three mysterious foreigners, and Madame de Villette, the last-mentioned of whom shared her favors with the Envoys and the well-known Voltaire? Why has not he told us more about "W, X, Y, and Z," of the kind which he could have gathered, with evident truthfulness, from the documents in the case, and less of that, concerning those individuals, which he has quietly created, without foundation in the existing authorities, from his too credulous imagination? Why has he not told us that John Marshall, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry—three of America's best men—jointly knocked at a door which was not opened to them; solicited a sight of the interior of an office and an interview with its occupant which they did not obtain; winked at and cajoled the underlings of the office, and the unofficial hangers-on, and the loose women who had irregular admittance there, in order that their supplications might be brought before the relentless "unfrocked Priest" whom he affects to sneer at? We should like to know, also, and will thank Mr. Adams to tell us, just what Ambassador from the United States was thus rejected and insulted, by a Nation which had previously recognized them as sovereign powers, while that *Confederation* which he sneers at was the supreme law and American faith was yet "unsullied with "falsehood;" and let us learn from his answer, if we can, just wherein the new system, with Washington at its head, was, just then, "work"ing like a charm" (*Page 4*) and just wherein, either in dignity or influence, at home or abroad, it was the superior of that overthrown system which, after the habit of his party, he so contemptuously and so unwittingly belittles and be-

* "The idea seems to gain credit that the naval powers "combining against France, will prohibit supplies, even "of provisions, to that country. Should this be formally "notified, I should suppose Congress would be called, "because it is a justifiable cause of War, and as the Exec"utive cannot decide the question of War on the affirma"tive side, neither ought it to do so on the negative side, "by preventing the competent body from deliberating on "the question. *But I should hope that War would not be "their choice. I think it will furnish us a happy oppor"tunity of setting another precious example to the world, "by showing that nations may be brought to do justice by "appeals to their* INTERESTS *as well as by appeals to* ARMS. "*I should hope that Congress, instead of a denunciation "of War, would* INSTANTLY EXCLUDE FROM OUR PORTS, *all "the manufactures, produce, vessels, and subjects of the "Nations committing this aggression, during the contin"uance of the aggression, and till full satisfaction made "for it. This would work well in many ways, safely in "all, and introduce between Nations another umpire "than arms.* IT WOULD RELIEVE US, TOO, FROM THE RISKS "AND HORRORS OF CUTTING THROATS."—*Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Madison, March*, 1793.—*Works*, iii., 519.

lies. The peculiar charms of this sorry spectacle—when contrasted with either of those which the diplomacy of the Congress of the Confederation had presented, in the earlier days of the Republic, *when American neutrality meant something and American faith had not been prostituted to the cause of a monarchy*—if we may be allowed to judge, in the premises, bespoke nothing of the remarkable success of "the "new system," of which, a few minutes before, Mr. Adams had been so remarkably eloquent, and quite as little of the remarkable abilities, as statesmen, of those who administered it, of which, very soon after, he was not less communicative. And why, too, did not Mr. Adams tell his hearers, what the reason was—when Mr. Murray said, that M. Pichon said, that M. Talleyrand said, *unofficially*, that France would then receive an Embassy—that that very indefinite and very insignificant symptom of better feeling in the breast of Mr. Adams's "unfrocked Priest" was so promptly and so joyfully grasped at, in the Cabinet, at Philadelphia, and Oliver Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William V. Murray, hastily appointed to treated with him? Was Talleyrand most anxious to conciliate America, or America most anxious to secure Talleyrand's favor? Was the informal whispering of an underling in French diplomacy, at a foreign Court, to an American Ambassador to that Court, such a basis for official action, at Philadelphia, in this instance, as either etiquette or dignity warranted, in any power except one which occupied the lowest grade of diplomatic mediocrity and national imbecility? Every intelligent man can judge of this matter as readily and accurately as Mr. Adams can; and we will not trouble the latter to reply to a query the answer to which will be perfectly apparent to every reader.

But, beside displaying the effects, on the one hand, as the troubles with Great Britain displayed the effects, on the other, of the shameless abandonment of the well-settled policy of neutrality, when Britain and Britain's American sympathizers overrode it, in their joint foray on the great general principle of a Nation's right to govern itself in what way she saw fit, on which all that was glorious in America rested, all that Mr. Adams said and all that he did not say, in this portion of his Address, had as little to do with the fundamental principle of *neutrality* in America, as it had to with the rising and the setting of the sun. The foreign policy of the United States, at the time of which he wrote, was already prostrated; those who administered their affairs were nothing more nor less than accessories to the monarchical raid against European republicanism; and all the helpless, and hopeless, and childish squirming, in America, which Mr. Adams thus narrated, were indicative of nothing more than the uneasiness with which America wore her shackles; how deeply the iron had worn its way into her vitals; how earnestly, even in her helplessness, she witnessed her degradation, and thirsted for her old-time independence. The same helplessness has continued to this day. The established policy of the grandfathers—"*that free ships shall also give a free-*"*dom to goods*" (*Plan of a Treaty, Article XXVI*—Secret Journals, September 17, 1776; *Treaty with France, Article XXV*—Ibid, May 4, 1778; *Treaty with Holland, Articles X, XI*—Ibid, January 23, 1783; *Treaty with Sweden, Article VII.*—Ibid, July 29, 1783; *Treaty with Prussia, Article XII*—Ibid, May 17, 1786) and other kindred subjects—which the fathers frittered away, at the bidding of Britain, are sometimes talked about, and anxiously desired, and hopefully asked, by our Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce; but the clank of the shackles which Hamilton, and Jay, and King, and the senior Adams rivited on the Republic, in order that the allied Kings might strike down, more effectually, a young Republic, in Europe, affords the only response, and grimly reminds those of us who listen to it, how sadly—oh! how sadly—have the good name, and the best interests, and the dearest rights, of our country been sold, for a mess of pottage, by those elder Esaus of our household, of whose virtues we have heard and read so much, from our childhood until now.

But we must close. The unwelcome duty which we assigned to ourself, to ascertain, by careful examination, what portion of this much-talked-of Address is worthy of respect and what to neglect and condemnation, has been discharged; and it only remains to notice, in general terms, the result of that examination.

Concerning the author of the Address, our fondest expectations have been scattered; and we are unwilling compelled to acknowledge that his authorial abilities are vastly less than we supposed. Whether he reads for himself, and so is directly responsible for his insufficiency of research, for his inaccurate reading, or for his incapacity to understand what he reads; or through another, and so is only indirectly responsible, because he was a victim of the indolence, or the negligence, or the ignorance of another, this pamphlet clearly indicates that the effect is the same—he is wholly unfit, both because of his nature and his habits, to write anything, *in the form of history*, which can claim to be respectable because of its trustworthiness.

Concerning the subject discussed therein, it is evidently too large for the fingers and the brain by which, in the pamphlet before us, an attempt was made to handle it. Including within its scope not only the polity but the policy of Na-

tions, and not only the virtues but the vices of individuals, many of whom are among the great men of the age, in Europe and America, no sluggard can expect to fathom its depths and no reader through the spectacles of others, can hope to master its intricacies or unravel its mysteries.

Concerning the manner in which that subject was handled, in the Acadamy and in this pamphlet, our readers will have learned, before this, what our opinion is, generally and in detail. It has seldom been our fortune to open a work from which, *as history*, we expected so much and in which we found so little which is creditable to its author, or useful to his readers. or honorable to the literature of the Republic. Well may every thinking man be sad and every enemy of freedom rejoice that such a work as this, on such a subject, from such a pen, has been issued by such a Society, affording testimony which cannot be controverted, from *what it does not contain, that the virtuous Past of the Republic has no attractions for those who now control the destinies of the United States; and, from what it does contain, that only the darker features of our country's history, and the vices of those who have been in authority therein, and the dishonor and distress which were produced from those vices, can now enjoy the homage of what successfully assumes to be the respectability and the intelligence of the country.*

9.—*American Citizens Prisoners in Great Britain.* Extract from Proceedings of the Ninth General Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, held August 30th to September 5th, 1870, inclusive, in the City of New York. S. l.; s. a. [*New York:* 1871 ?] Octavo, pp. 24.

We know very little of the merits or demerits of the case of Ireland against Britain; nor are we acquainted with all the facts concerning the uprising of the Irish against their Government, a few years since. It is very evident, however, that there is nothing in either of these which can command the sympathy with the Government, of any republican, the world over; and, while the great principle of the right of every People to form and change the form of its Government, whenever that People shall suppose its welfare and happiness shall be promoted thereby—while the *consent of the Governed* shall alone constitute a proper basis for the Government, without which Consent that Government is only usurpation, no matter how mildly its assumed duties may be administered—there can be, reasonably, no difference of opinion concerning Ireland's wrongs and Britain's wrong-doing. Nor can there be any reasonable difference, too, in that case, of Ireland's right to Irishmen's efforts to release her and to establish, within her borders, such a Government as Ireland shall consent to.

If that was what the uprising Irishmen, a few years since, wanted, and nothing more nor less, they were entitled to the respect of the world, even in their defeat; and, in that case, that Irishman, though an American, whose heart did not rejoice at the success of his father-land and lament its defeat, was unworthy of his manhood and of the blessings which he enjoyed in his new home.

It seems that some of those who participated in that conflict, as well as some who had not yet reached either the field or Ireland itself, were captured by the British; tried for their lives; convicted; sentenced to death; and received a commutation, to imprisonment during their lives. They were committed to prison, under that commutation; and, either with or without the authority and knowledge of those in higher places in the Government, the petty officials who were placed immediately over them subjected them to a treatment which corresponds very well with what we have read of the treatment of those who have been prisoners in the dungeons of Algiers, in the deserts of Arabia, and in the *Jersey* prison-ship, when the latter was administered by Scotland's worst representatives.

It is not important what the crime was or was supposed to have been, in the consideration of this matter of the keepers' treatment of their prisoners: the latter, although convicts and prisoners, were yet men; and no justification can be plead for either starving them; or for compelling them, by reason of their manacles, to feed and evacuate like brutes; or for driving them, sick and well alike, in a common herd, into the quarries, to get out stone; or for forbiding all intercourse with their families, concerning their health; etc.; nor can any one deny that it was the duty of every one who was conversant with the prisoners' treatment, to seek their relief, in the name of humanity and of God.

It seems that our excellent neighbor and friend, John Savage—who, besides being the Chief Executive of the Fenian Brotherhood, is a gentleman, a scholar, and a man who can sympathize with those in distress—because acquainted with the facts to which we have alluded; and he promptly laid them before the President of the United States, and solicited his good offices in obtaining the necessary relief for his imprisoned countrymen. Five letters were thus addressed to the President; and five times, in terms such as only an earnest man can employ, the plea for such assistance as he could honorably give was addressed to the Executive of the Republic. But, not a word, in response, to either of these letters, was addressed to Mr. Savage; not a word, in the cause of humanity, was addressed to the British Government; and, until the House of Representatives, in the Congress of the United States, significantly called for information on the subject

of the prisoners' treatment, did the President seem to consider the subject worthy of the least portion of his attention; and then only to a very limited extent.

For the purpose of bringing all known evidence on the subject to the attention of the Congress and of the world, the Fenian Convention ordered the five letters and other papers which Mr. Savage had sent to the President, to be printed and laid before every member of the Congress; and to Mr. Savage we are indebted for the copy of the pamphlet which was printed and circulated under that order.

We cannot conceive how any one can have read these papers and thrown them aside without consideration; we can understand still less, how any one in authority, who possessed the faintest sympathy for suffering manhood, as such, could silently have disregarded the appeals which, five times, were urged upon him, in this case. Least of all can we understand why those in Washington, who are the President's particular friends, should now, in the face of this unexplained disregard of them, seek to entice the recently liberated prisoners to the Capital, for the purpose of extending to them the cold, speculative welcome of those who care nothing for them and the hospitalities of him who, during their imprisonment, like the Priest and the Levite, in the parable, had thus "passed by, on the other side." But this is a strange world: Irishmen are known to have votes; and, in these latter days of the Republic, when old things have passed away and all things have become new, the desire to secure those votes is the form in which "patriotism" and an "enlarged humanity" are developed.

XIV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

Lady Fenwick.—This lady and her history have been recently brought again to the notice of the world, by reason of the necessity which has arisen to disturb her long-buried remains, in order to make way for certain railroad structures at Saybrook, Connecticut; and we transfer to our pages the passing narratives of the event, as we find them—the first, in *The New York Sun;* the second, in *The Hartford Courant*, for the last-named of which, we are indebted to Mr. Trumbull, whose historical summary is included therein.

I

Hartford, Nov. 19.—The construction of the Valley Railroad, running from this city along by the Connecticut-river bank, to Saybrook, on Long Island Sound, made it necessary to remove the Lady Fenwick monument at Saybrook-point, where the southern depot of the road is to be built.

For some weeks, considerable of a controversy has been going on, with regard to the remains of Lady Fenwick, several writers urging that they were washed away, by the great gale of 1815, at which time the tomb itself, a slab resting on standards, was removed for its preservation. The Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, the best historian we have, disbelieved these stories, and wrote one or two articles to disprove them. Yesterday, the discussion was forever set at rest, by the finding of the remains, where the historical records located them.

Lady Fenwick died in 1648, and, consequently, two hundred and twenty-two years have elapsed since her interment. There was a large multitude in attendance, to witness the removal of the tomb, or, more properly, monument, to the town burying-ground, near by; and, after this had been done, spades were put at work, digging for the remains. There were many in the throng, who fell in with the opinion, that no vestage of the body would be recovered; but, after a little patient waiting, the bones of the eminent lady were unearthed, together with a large quantity of braids and ringlets of hair, of a light auburn color. The bones of the body were mostly recovered, so as to form almost the entire skeleton, and were in a remarkably good state of preservation. The skull, which is very large, showing a development of the brain not common, now-a-days, in fashionable circles, was perfect in every particular, and, what is more singular still, the teeth, completely preserved, were every one in place in the jaw. There were, also, found several small pieces of the coffin, with nails or screws. The hair excited the greatest curiosity among the people, who gazed upon the wonderful exhumation. It was matted, as if pressed in a book, as curls frequently are, in remembrance of the dead; but when taken in the hand and slightly pressed, it crumbled away to dust.

On Wednesday of next week, a service is to be held in the Congregational church, Saybrook, at one P. M., when historical Addresses are to be delivered, after which the remains are to be re-interred, with appropriate funeral ceremonies, in the cemetry. A handsome burial casket is to be provided for the reception of the remains.

II.

The re-interment of the remains of Lady Fenwick, took place at Saybrook, on Wednesday afternoon, the twenty-third of November, 1870. The bones, forming nearly a complete skeleton, were arranged in a neat coffin, on the lid of which, was a plate with the inscription:

"LADY ALICE APSLEY BOTELER,
"WIFE OF GEORGE FENWICK,
"DIED 1648."

It has been widely published, that a removal of the remains is rendered necessary, by the location of the new Valley rail-road. It is exceedingly creditable to Saybrook, that the necessity was met with such good taste and honorable respect by the citizens.

The commemorative services were held at one o'clock in the Congregational church, both the bells of the town being tolled on the occasion. The Reverend Mr. McCall presided. George H. Chapman, Esq., one of the oldest and most public-spirited inhabitants of the town, and Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Town, to take the matter in charge, read a written statement of the doings of the Committee. The Reverend Mr. Shephard read the nintieth Psalm, and then the Reverend Mr. Cheseborough offered prayer. After the singing of a hymn, Mr. Mc Call announced that the Hon. J. H. Trumbull was not able to be present and deliver an historical discourse, as had been expected. He made a few remarks on the history of the days of Lady Fenwick, both in England and in what is now known as Connecticut. The Reverend Mr. Heald read a sketch of her life. Lady Fenwick, as she is called, was the daughter of Sir Edward Apsley, and the heir of her brother, who was the last of the Apsleys of Apsley. Her first husband was Sir John Boteler, commonly called Lord Boteler, and from him she took her title which she kept to the time of her death.

Professor Gilman, of Yale College, next spoke of the early history of Saybrook, as the center of an original and independent government, the mother City from which Norwich was founded, the old seat of Yale College, and the place made famous by the Platform.

The Hon. Ralph D. Smith, of Guilford, made an interesting address on the facts of Lady Fenwick's history. She sailed from London, near the twentieth of May, 1639, in company with Mr. Fenwick, whom she had lately married. Whitfield was a fellow passenger. They arrived about the fifteenth of July; and the delight of the Captain at the appearance of the harbor, gave the names of Fair Haven and New Haven to the towns on the shore. Lady Boteler gave Whitfield all the cows that were brought over; and he carried them with him to Guilford. From the allusions to his wife, which are found in Governor Fenwick's letters, we find that hers was a character of great cheerfulness. She cultivated fruits and flowers; had a "shooting-gun," which must have been for sport, as the Pequot War was over; and kept pet rabbits. All indicates a life of cheer. She lived here only nine years, in which time three children were born. The fort was burned in 1647; and it is said that Lady Boteler was buried within its palisades. If so, it would seem that her death must have been before 1648. In 1648, Fenwick was reëlected first magistrate of Connecticut; and, on the seventh of November, in the same year, he was in England, a Colonel in the Army of the North. He was appointed, but did not act, as a Judge in the trial of Charles I.; was a lawyer of Gray's Inn; sat in Parliament; was Governor of Tynemouth; and died on the fifteenth of March, 1657, Governor of Berwick on the Tweed.

The Hon. H. P. Haven, of New London, was the next speaker. He spoke of the great interest which he took in the history of Lady Boteler or Fenwick; and of the good work which the citizens of Saybrook had done, in caring for the remains which had been exhumed. Saybrook was a separate Colony till 1644, when it was transferred to the jurisdiction of Connecticut. He spoke of all that the Pilgrim mothers did for the country; and returned thanks for the reverence shown to antiquity. Then he gave a brief history of the old tombstone. Lady Fenwick was not the first white woman who died in Connecticut; but the first woman to whom a tombstone was erected, in what is now this State. Matthew Griswold furnished the stone; and seven pounds was paid him for it. There is no probability that any inscription was placed on the stone, originally; probably Colonel Fenwick died before sending out any inscription for it. The inscription on the monument of Henry Wolcott, in Windsor, which is of about the same age, is still quite legible.

Mr. McCall said that the community was under obligations to Mrs. Commodore Joseph Hull, for the care which she has taken of the old monument.

J. H. Grannis, M.D., read an account of the condition in which the skeleton was found. It was clearly the skeleton of a white woman, of middle age, having no peculiarity except a remarkable curvature of the spine.

A poem, written twelve years ago, by the late Miss Francis M. Caulkins, on *The Tomb of Lady Fenwick*, was then read by the Reverend Mr. Hart, of Trinity College. After a second hymn had been sung and those who desired had reverently viewed the remains, a procession was formed, the remains were carried to the old burial-ground, at the Point, where they were committed to the ground, by the Reverend Mr. Heald. So all that is left of Lady Fenwick, rests not far from where she was laid, more than two centuries ago. The old stone will be set up over the grave; and it is proposed to place by it, a slab to commemorate its removal.

All the speakers expressed great regret that Mr. Trumbull was not able to prepare and deliver the Address which was expected from him. It is confidently hoped, however, that he will deliver his historical discourse at some future

erhaps when the old tomb-stone is set in e.

STRACT OF MR. TRUMBULL'S ADDRESS.]

Trumbull was not well enough to venture e journey to Saybrook and the additions it would have imposed upon him. But kindly permitted us to give the following of the *historical portion* of his Address:

orge Fenwick, Esq., the founder of Say-, belonged to an ancient and honorable y, well known in the annals of Northumnd and the Scottish border, that traced scent from a De Fenwyke, who was Lord e Manor and Castle of Fenwyke, in fordham, Northumberland, in the time of Stephen. He was the great grand-son of ohn Fenwick, chief of the name and on ancestor of the Fenwicks of Wallingrinkburn, Stanton, Whitton, etc. The burn family was founded by Tristram, a son of this Sir John, who received, in eign of Edward VI., a Grant of Brink- Priory, on the river Croquet, about twenmiles northwesterly from Newcastle. hn Fenwick, of Wallington, son of Tris- was created a Baronet, by Charles I., in It is not quite certain whether George ick was the son or the nephew of Sir of Wallington; but there is sufficient evithat he was a member of this branch of mily, and nearly related to the Sir John ck, who emigrated to New Jersey, in 1675. name first appears in connection with England, among the signers of the Arti- Agreement between the Lords and Gen- interested in the Earl of Warwick's or, as it has been called, the Old Patent nnecticut, and John Winthrop, Junior, date of the seventh of July, 1635. and Commission of the same date, granted Company, to Winthrop, 'as Governor e River of Connecticut, in New England, f the harbours and places adjoining,' for ar from his arrival there. This Commis- was subscribed by Arthur Haselrigge, Fenwick, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Henrence, and Henry Darley, 'in their own and in the name of the Right Honor- Viscount Say and Sele, Robert Lord e, and the rest of their company.'

"It appears that the company interested in the ent had determined to establish a consid- Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut, or in e valley above. Lion Gardiner, an engi- who had been in the service of the of Orange, was employed to plan and ct, under the orders of the Governor, a nd to lay out a town. He arrived in on the eighteenth of November, 1635.

"Mr. Winthrop had already despatched a few "men to the River's mouth, to take formal pos- "session for the Patentees and commence build- "ing, against the next Spring, when, as Gardiner "informs us, there were expected 'to come "'from England, three hundred able men, "'whereof two hundred should attend fortifica- "'tion, fifty to till the ground, and fifty to "'build houses.'

"John Winthrop returned from England with "his Commission, in October, 1635, and with "him came Sir Henry Vane and Hugh Peters, "authorized to represent the Patentees in negoti- "ations with the parties who were about remov- "ing from Massachusetts to the Connecticut Val- "ley, and in other matters.

"The vessel in which Lion Gardiner came, a "month later, brought provisions and supplies "for the projected fort and plantation, with a "letter from Sir Arthur Haselrigge and Mr. Fen- "wick, to John Winthrop, 'to encourage his "'forwardness, in a work of such exceeding "'consequence' to his employers.

"Why the principal Patentees deferred and "finally abandoned their purpose of emigration "to New England, need not be told here. In "the Spring of 1636, 'our great expectation at "'the River's mouth,' says Lion Gardiner, 'came "'only to two men, Mr. *Fenwick* and his man; "'who came with Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. "[*John*] 'Oldham and Thomas Stanton,' from "Boston.

"Mr. Fenwick came over in May, 1636. The "author of the *Wonder Working Providence*, "noting his arrival, calls him 'a godly and able "'instrument to assist in helping to uphold the "'civil government of the second and third Col- "'onies here planted;' and 'a good encourager "'to the Church of Christ at Hartford.'

"On the tenth of June, 1636, the elder Gover- "nor Winthrop wrote from Boston to his son, "who was then at the River's mouth:

"'Mr. Fenwick, of Gray's Inn, one of those "'who employ you, hath written to you by Mr. "'Hooker, and intends, about a month hence, "'with my brother Peter, to be with you. The "'gentlemen seem to be discouraged in the de- "'sign here; but you shall know more when "'they come to you.' *

"A week afterwards, he wrote again:

"'Mr. Fenwick, my brother Peter, etc., set "'forth, on horseback, on the 29th of this month, "'and will expect you shall be at the upper "'towns to carry them down the River,' etc.

* He wrote, April 7th, to his father from PASBESHAUKE,—the Indian name of the River's mouth or of Fort Point—announcing his safe arrival at that place, on the first instant. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, IV., vi., 514. Lion Gardiner wrote this name, PASHPESHAUKS, alias "Saybrooke Forte."—J. H. T.

"On the first of July, Sir Henry Vane, who "had been chosen Governor of Massachusetts, "wrote to his 'much-respected friend, Mr. John "'Winthrop the younger,' referring him, for "counsel and direction, 'in the matters of Con-"'necticut.' to Mr. Fenwick, whom 'it hath "'pleased God to send into this country.'

"The first visit of Fenwick, to Saybrook, was "not a long one. He probably returned to "England, that Summer or in the early Autumn.

"Three years afterwards, in July, 1639, he "came again to Connecticut. 'In this month,' "as Governor Winthrop notes in his Journal— "'there arrived two ships at Quilipiack, [*New "*Haven*]. 'One was of three hundred and fifty "'tons, wherein came Mr. Fenwick *and his* "'*lady* and family, to make a plantation at "'Saybrook, upon the mouth of Connecticut.' "'Their passage was so ordered,' wrote the "Rev. Mr. Davenport, from New Haven, 'as it "'appeared that prayers were accepted, for they "'had no sickness in the ship, except a little "'sea-sickness. * * They attained to the "'haven where they would be, in seven weeks.'

"Lady Fenwick, or as she appears to have "been frequently called, Lady Alice Boteler, "was the second daughter of Sir Edward "Apsley, of Thackham, in the County of Sur-"rey, Knight, and, at the time of her marriage "with Mr. Fenwick, was the widow of Sir "John Boteler, eldest son of Sir Oliver Bote-"ler, of Teston, in Kent, Knight. The date of "Sir John's decease is not ascertained. He "died before his father, on whose demise, in "1632, the estate passed to a younger brother, "Sir William Boteler, who was created a Baro-"net, by Charles I., in 1641; espoused the King's "cause, against the Parliament; and was killed "at the battle of Cropredy Bridge, on the twen-"ty-ninth of June, 1644. The widow of the "elder son had, by courtesy only, the title of "'Lady Boteler;' for her husband had not "succeeded to the titles or estates.

"The Apsleys had been living at Thackham "(or Thakeham) Place, nearly four hundred "years, since the estate came to the family by "the marriage of Stephen Apsley, of Apsley "Farm, with Margaret, daughter of Stephen "Le Power, in the first half of the thirteenth "century. Elizabeth Apsley, the elder sister of "Lady Boteler, married Sir Albert Norton, "Knight, afterwards a Secretary of State; Ann, "the youngest sister, married Matthew Calde-"cott, Esquire, of Sherington, in Sussex. Ed-"ward, her only brother, succeeded his father, "in the estates at Thakeham, where he was liv-"ing in 1634.

"No record of the birth of Alice Apsley has "been found; and the family genealogy makes "no mention of her second marriage or her "death. Such omissions are not uncommon, in "the pedigrees of English families. After the "restoration of Charles II., neither the Apsleys "nor the Botelers desired to perpetuate the "memory of their connection with a parliamen-"tary officer who had been named by Cromwel "as one of the Judges of Charles I.

"By her first marriage, Lady Boteler had no "children. By her second, with Mr. Fenwick "she became the mother of two daughters "*Elizabeth*, born not very long after the estab-"tablishment of her parents at Saybrook, and "*Dorothy*, born, as the inscription on her tomb-"stone s ows, on the fourth of November, 1645 "These daughters bore the name of Lady Fen-"wick's two aunts, Dorothy and Elizabeth "Apsley.

"Of the domestic life of the Fenwicks, at the "Fort, we catch only an occasional glimpse "from contemporary correspondence. Thoma "Lechford, the London Attorney, who lived in "Boston for a few years, and returned to Eng-"land, in the Summer of 1641, tells us in hi "*Newes from New England*, that 'Master Fen-"'wike with the Lady Boteler' were living a "Connecticut-river's mouth, 'in a fair house "'and well fortified; and one Master Higgi-"'son, a young man, their Chaplain.' This wa "the Rev. John Higginson, afterwards the as-"sistant and successor of the Rev. Henry Whit-"field, at Guilford, and, later, the Minister o "Salem, Massachusetts, from 1660 to 1708 "'These plantations, [*in Connecticut*] have "'Patent. The Lady was lately admitted o "'Master Hooker's Church [*in Hartford*], and "'thereupon her child was baptized.'

"In a letter, addressed to Governor Winthrop "of Massachusetts, in October, 1639, Mr. Fen-"wick wrote as follows:

"'I am lastly to thank you kindly, on my "'wife's behalf, for your great dainties; we "'both desire and delight much in that primi-"'tive employment of dressing a garden, and "'the taste of so good fruits, in these parts "'gives us good encouragement. We both "'tender our love and respect to yourself and "'bedfellow.'

"The next Summer, he found himself in em-"barrassed circumstances, in consequence o "the non-receipt of expected supplies from "England. Apologizing to Governor Winthrop "for requesting the payment of a debt, he said

"'My occasions are such, and my disap-"'pointments have been so great, that I have "'been and am like to be more straightened "'for moneys this year than, in that little time "'I have lived, I have ever been. * * The "'Lord's will be done. If He see not meet my "'occasion should proceed, according to my "'own order and provision, I hope He will

"'give me a heart, with all humbleness, to be "'contented to have them stayed or carryed on "'after His good will and pleasure.'

"In May, 1641, he writes, less despondingly:

"'I have received the trees you sent me, for "'which I heartily thank you. If I had any "'thing here that could pleasure you, you "'should freely command it. I am pretty well "'stored with cherry and apple-trees, and did "'hope I had a good nursery of apples, of the "'apples you sent me last year, but the worms "'have in a manner destroyed them as they "'came up.'

"Soon after Mr. Fenwick's arrival at Say-"brook, the General Court at Hartford, on the "eighth of August, 1639, appointed a Commit-"tee to consult with him 'about a Treaty of "'Combination which is desired again to be on "'foot with the Bay.' They reported, the next "week, that 'they found Mr. Fenwick every "'ways suitable to their minds.' He was ready "and willing to join with Connecticut and Mas-"sachusetts, in 'entertaining a firm combina-"'tion, for defensive and offensive war, and all "'mutual offices of love and friendship.' This "prepared the way for the Confederation of the "United Colonies of New England, which, how-"ever, was not perfected till 1643. In October, "1639, the General Court nominated Mr. Fen-"wick for a Magistrate, '*provided* he should "'become a Freeman of the Colony,' before "April, 1640. The condition was one he "could hardly comply with, without surrender, "thereby, of his title, by Patent, under which he "and his associates claimed proprietorship and "independent jurisdiction. But he became a "party to the Confederation of the Colonies; "and, with Edward Hopkins as the other Com-"missioner from Connecticut, subscribed the "Articles of Union, at Boston, in September, "1643.

"The history of the negotiation for the sale "of Saybrook Fort, belongs to that of the Col-"ony and State, and need not be rehearsed "here. It is probable that before the close of "1643, most, if not all, of the Patentees in Eng-"land had abandoned their purpose of emigra-"tion to Connecticut. Mr. Fenwick, though he "continued to act in behalf of 'himself and "'some noble personages by Patent interested,' "had become, in fact, the sole representative of "the Saybrook Company. In October, 1644, "the General Court appointed a Committee 'to "'treat with him concerning the settling of the "'River's Mouth,' etc., and 'to determine and "'conclude with him as they shall judge meet.' "On the fifth of the ensuing December, Articles "of Agreement between Mr. Fenwick and 'the "'jurisdiction of Connecticut-river' were sub-"scribed, by which the former conveyed the "Fort at Saybrook and all his interest in lands "upon the river, with a reservation of land and "buildings improved by himself, for his own "use, and a stipulation that double house-lots "should be assigned to 'any other of the ad-"'venturers that may come into these parts,' "with right of 'free warren' and 'liberty for "'a fowler for his, or their, own occasions,' etc.

"At the next Session of the General Court, "April, 1645, Mr. Fenwick was chosen a Magis-"trate of the Colony. In July, he was appoint-"ed one of the Commissioners to the meeting of "the United Colonies, at New Haven; and a "letter was addressed to him by the Court, to "desire him, 'if his occasions will permit, *to go* "'*for England*, to endeavor the enlargement of "'the Patent, and to further other advantages "'for the Country.' His name appears among "the Magistrates present at the Court of Octo-"ber 8; and, on the eleventh of the same "month, he subscribed an additional agreement "respecting the mode and time of payment for "the Fort. Not long after this, he sailed for "England.

"The precise time of his departure has not "been ascertained; but an order of Court, made "in December, directing payment of the Fort "Rate to be made to Mr. Hopkins, 'as Mr. "'Fenwick's *assign*,' seems to imply that he "was already gone. For two or three years, "the Colony regarded his absence as only tem-"porary; as appears by his re-election to the "magistracy, in 1647 and again in 1648. But "I find no evidence that he ever came again to "New England.

"Tradition finds the cause of his return in the "death of Lady Fenwick and the necessity of "seeking a more suitable home for his infant "children. But that event, though it may have "hastened his departure, was not his only reason "for leaving Saybrook; for, more than a year "before this, he had proposed the sale of the "Fort to Connecticut, 'when he intended to re-"turn to England.'

"His wife's death must have occurred shortly "after the birth of her daughter, Dorothy, on "the fourth of November, 1645.

"The two children remained, probably, till "they were old enough to be sent to England, "in charge of Mr. Fenwick's sister Elizabeth "and of a Mrs. Mary Fenwick, who is occasion-"ally mentioned in the Winthrop correspond-"ence. These ladies were both at Saybrook, "with the Chaplain, Rev. Thomas Peters, in "the Autumn of 1646.* Mrs. Mary may have "been the widow of the Colonel John, the elder "brother, or cousin, of George, Fenwick—who

* *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, IV., vi., 520; Savage's *Winthrop's Journal*, i., Appendix A., 66.

"married Mary, daughter of Sir George Selby; "and who was killed at Marston Moor, in 1644.

"Almost immediately upon his return to Eng- "land, Mr. Fenwick began to take an active part "in public affairs. His name appears, on the fif- "teenth of May, 1646, as one of the Parliament's "Commissioners for the Plantations in America, "subscribed to an Order, in favor of Samuel "Gorton and his company. In July, 1645, he "was appointed by Parliament one of the "'Commissioners to establish and secure Peace "'between England and Scotland.' In May, "1647, he was serving in the Army, in Ireland. "The next year, he was at the North, in his "native County of Northumberland, co-operat- "ing with his friend, Sir A. Haselrigge, then "Governor of Newcastle, for the Parliament. "In 1648, '*Colonel* Fenwick commanded Nor- "'thumberland's newly-raised Regiment;' and, "in July, he participated in 'a gallant victory "'against Langdale's forces,' under Sir Rich- "ard Tempest, for which a public Thanksgiving "was ordered by Parliament. He continued in "active service, and with distinguished success, "till October, 1651, when he was appointed one "of the Commissioners for the Affans of Scot- "land—a Commission in which he was associated "with Chief-justice St. John, Sir Henry Vane, "General Monk, and other leaders of the Par- "liamentary party. In 1652, he was made Gov- "ernor of Berwick; and, on the twentieth of "November, the same year, he married, at "Clapham, in Surrey, Katherine, eldest daughter "of Sir Arthur Haselrigge, by his second wife, "sister of Robert, Lord Brooke. This lady sur- "vived her husband and was again married "to Colonel Philip Babington, of Harnham, "Northumberland. When she died, in 1670, "the Church, which had placed her under ban "for some alleged contempt of its censure, re- "fused her body Christian burial. Her coffin "was placed in a cave, or grotto, in the cliff on "her husband's estate, at Harnham, where it re- "mained until the beginning of the present "century, when the remains were built into a "tomb.

"In 1656, Colonel Fenwick was returned as "Member for Berwick, in Cromwell's new Par- "liament, but he was one of the considerable "number who were excluded from their seats "for 'want of the approbation of the Council'— "in other words, because Cromwell, whose power "was now supreme in the State, doubted their "entire subserviency to his views and purposes. "His last appearance in public life, is as one of "the subscribers to a memorial or remonstrance, "addressed to the Speaker of the House, Sep- "tember, 1656, inveighing against this unwar- "ranted usurpation of power and infringement "of the liberties of Parliament, by Cromwell.

"He died early in the ensuing Spring. In "his Will, executed on the eighth of March, he "declared himself as "at present in good "'health.' His death occurred only seven days "afterwards. When I was in Berwick-on-Tweed, "fourteen years ago, I visited the church, where "a monument was erected to his memory, bear- "ing this inscription:

"Col. George Fenwick,
"of Brinkburn, Esq.
"Governor of Berwick, in the year 1652,
"was a principal instrument of causing
"this Church to be built, and died
"March 15th, 1656.
"A good man is a public good."

"Of his two daughters, *Elizabeth*, the elder, "married her cousin, Roger Fenwick, of Stan- "ton, and their son, John, married Margaret, "daughter of William Fenwick, of Bywell, "thereby united the three families and estates "of Brinkburn, Stanton, and Bywell.

"Dorothy, the younger daughter, married "Sir Thomas Williamson, of East Markham, "in Nottinghamshire, and afterwards of North "Wearmouth Hall, Durham, Baronet. The "inscription on her monument names her as "'one of the daughters and co-heiresses of "'George Fenwick, of Brinkburn, Esquire.' "'She died, on the fourth of November, 1699, "'*her birth-day*, aged fifty-four.'

"A copy of Colonel Fenwick's Will is pre- "served in the State Archives; and an abstract "of it is printed in the Appendix to the first "volume of *The Colonial Records of Connec- "ticut.*

"One of the sisters of George Fenwick was "married, on the twentieth of May, 1648, to "Captain John Cullick, an early proprietor and "prominent citizen of Hartford, and Secretary "of the Colony, from 1648 to 1658. He re- "moved to Boston, in 1659, and died there, "January, 1663. His widow married Richard "Ely, of Boston. She had, by her first hus- "band, a son, *John*, who graduated at Harvard "College, in 1668, and died, not long after- "wards; and two daughters, *Elizabeth* and "*Mary*. Elizabeth married Benjamin Batten, of "Boston, afterwards of London.

"The monument to the memory of Lady "Fenwick, which has just been removed, was "erected at the cost of this Benjamin Batten, "the son-in-law of Mr. Fenwick's sister, as ap- "pears by the receipt of Matthew Griswold, "given, in 1679, and recorded at Saybrook."

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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I.—"THE MOTLEY LETTER." *

By Henry B. Dawson.

Morrisania, Westchester Co., N. Y.
July 5th, 1861.

John Lothrop Motley, LL.D., D.C.L., &c.

Sir: Grave responsibilities rest upon all who assume the duties of public instructors; and from those unto whom much has been given, especially, much is expected. For this reason, the advent of a truly great mind among those who have undertaken to lead and direct the sentiment of a People or to instruct an enquiring world has always been hailed with peculiar delight; and you may judge, therefrom, with what satisfaction your countrymen learned that you had undertaken to direct the wayward sentiment of the people of Great Britain, through the columns of *The Times*—the intelligence, as it sped from city to city and from State to State, adding fresh wreaths to your bays and increasing the volume of applause, to your honor, which had already swept from Continent to Continent and filled two hemispheres with your renown.

You may judge, also, of the sad disappointment which was experienced, by many, when the mails brought the letter through which you had endeavored to direct the intelligence of Europe, when it was seen that you had disregarded the authenticated history of the United States, in your illustrations, and had cited, as your data, facts which (if they had ever occurred) had never found a recording hand to give them a place in the annals of your country; when it was seen that the fidelity and laborious research with which, it was said, you had examined the history of the Dutch, had not been extended to your examination of the history of the United States; and when it was seen, also, that the same truthfulness which, it is said, characterize your former historical works had not been made, also, the characteristic of your last.

The disappointment of your more careful readers, to which I have referred, has not been diminished, either in volume or character, by the recollection that our country *has* a history, which is as trustworthy, as consistent, and as

* This letter was mainly written in a sick-room to which its author was confined, during several weeks, in 1861, by a violent attack of inflammation of the lungs—the subsequent additions, made immediately after his recovery, being confined to a few authorities and to some details, in one portion of the narrative, which his own library had not enabled him to introduce into the original rough draft.

It was read or shown, when completed, to an intimate personal friend of its author; and, by that gentleman's advice, because of the prevailing temper of the times and of the misconstruction which would probably be placed on the author's motives in writing it, by those who were then interested in suppressing the facts which it would present to its readers, it was laid aside, among other historical papers from the same pen, soon to be forgotten.

It pleased Mr. John Jay, however, very soon afterwards, to invite the attention of the world to the existance of this unpublished and, almost, unread letter, concerning the purpose of which he had seen a passing allusion in a pamphlet published by Mr. J. S. Wright, and to contrive from that allusion a charge against its author of treason and one of conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the constitutional Government of the United States—the distinguished jurist of New York, Hon. Charles O'Conor, and other eminent gentlemen, in Europe and America, being specifically referred to as his confederates in the alleged wrong doing.

From these repeated accusations of its author, widespread over the country, by Mr. Jay; from the vindication of his character and conduct, which the former made, in his own behalf, both through the public press and the Courts of the State of New York; from the generous sympathy which the great public has not ceased to extend to its author, from the date of the publication of his vindication, until now; from the successive Judgments which, one after another, three distinct Courts—after elaborate argument, in Mr. Jay's behalf, by eminent Counsel—have pronounced against the veteran accuser; and from other causes, originating in that controversy, "The Motley Letter" has become famous, throughout the United States; *notwithstanding, no one, beside the personal friend of its author, by whose advice it was originally withheld from publication, and the Counsel by whom his actions against his reckless accuser have been so admirably and triumphantly carried through the Courts, has yet seen more than small and detached portions of it.*

The occasion has now passed which induced the author of this letter, as soon as it was written, to throw it aside; and it is deemed to be no longer either unsafe or unwise to exhibit the harmless paper on which was founded one of the most serious accusations of *conspiracy* and *treason* which the public and the bench have ever listened to. It is submitted to the world, therefore, through The Historical Magazine, *in the form and terms of the completed draft, without alteration, or addition, or material abbreviation*—in one case, where some statements were repeated, in that draft, the repetition has been omitted in this copy—and its author continues to wish his ingenious accuser and those who sympathize with him, much joy over the *treason* which they shall be able to find in it.

The foot-notes which accompany the letter, formed no portion of the original draft, against which alone Mr. Jay directed his comments.

honorable as is that of any other country, either of ancient or of modern times; that you were not, therefore, obliged to shift among the uncertain mysteries and positive falsehoods which surround the earlier annals of European countries; and that your countrymen have no occasion to resort to *questionable* authorities to sustain the present or any other contest in which they are now, or may have been, heretofore, engaged.

In your letter to the London *Times*, to which the preceding remarks are intended to apply, you have asserted,

I. That "*the thirteen rebel Provinces, afterwards the thirteen original independent States of America, had been united to each other, during the Revolutionary War, by Articles of Confederacy;*" and that "*the League or Treaty, thus drawn up, was ratified, not by* THE PEOPLE *of the States, but by the State Governments—the Legislative and Executive bodies, namely, in their corporate capacity.*"—*Page 6.*

In this you are entirely correct; and you are equally correct when, from these circumstances, you prove to your readers that the United States, at that time, was "a League of petty Sovereignties."—(*Page 6.*) "The people of "the whole land, in their aggregate capacity," had not, at that time, voted for or against the Federal code, or *Articles of Confederation*, nor were they expected to vote on it, nor to decide on any of its features, except through the media of their State Governments—"the "Legislative and Executive bodies, namely, in "their corporate capacity"—by whom, however, it was assented to, *in the name of the People* of the several States;* and the United States were, therefore, necessarily, what you have properly styled it, "a League of petty Sovereignties."

I will not ask you to reconcile yourself with yourself, in your positive *denial*—within a few lines from your deliberate use of the word, in its widest meaning—of the force of the term "sovereign," when applied to the States of the "League" to which you have referred. I desire, however, to record my belief that you err, when you remark—after your candid admission, just referred to—that, "in the *Declaration of Independence*, the Provinces declared themselves 'free "'and independent States,' but the men of those "days knew that the word 'sovereign' was a "term of feudal origin; that, when their connection with a time-honored feudal monarchy was "abruptly severed, *the word 'sovereign' had* NO "*meaning for us*" (*Page 8*), referring you, for one of the reasons of my dissent, to the second Article of the Confederation—"*Each* State "*retains** its *sovereignty*, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, "which is not, by this Confederation, expressly "delegated to the United States, in Congress "assembled"—which shows that, as recently as March 1, 1781, "the men of those days" not only used the word "sovereignty" but they had, also, a meaning for it which is entirely different from that which you have supposed.

II. That "*the Continental Congress, which was*

* It may be well for you to bear in mind that, when the several State Governments ratified the *Articles of Confederation*, and thereby formed the "League of helpless, "petty Sovereignties" of which you speak, they acted as much *in behalf* of "the People" of the several States, as such, and as much in *the name* of "the People" of those States, as such, as, years afterwards, the several State Conventions did, when those same States, through those several Conventions, ratified the Constitution under which we now live. If, therefore, "the People" of the several States, in the one case, did *not*, necessarily, form *a Nation* by reason of its action through an authorized Agency, instead of directly; might it not also be possible, years afterwards, for the same "People," acting within the same States as before, by a similar line of action—changing only the agencies through whom they severally conveyed the expressions of their several wills—also, *not* to form a *Nation*, a second time? And was it not possible for those several "Peoples," by a similar process, to organize, a second time, a "League of petty Sovereignties," less helpless than the last?

That I may not be misunderstood, let me invite your attention to the instruments through which your State, Massachusetts, gave her assent to both the Federal Constitutions—that of 1781 and that of 1789—and to ask you what in those papers—the only bonds of her Union—makes Massachusetts less "a petty Sovereignty," at this time, than, under the *Confederation*, she was in 1783?

RATIFICATION OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, BY THE GENERAL COURT, MARCH 10, 1778.

"We, therefore, the Council and House of Representatives of this State, in General Court assembled, Do, IN "THE NAME AND IN BEHALF OF THE GOOD PEOPLE OF THIS "STATE, instruct you their Delegates to subscribe said "*Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union*, as they "were recommended by Congress" &c.

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY THE STATE, IN CONVENTION, FEBRUARY 6, 1788.

"*In Convention of the Delegates of the People of the "Commonwealth of Massachusetts, February 6*, 1788.

"The Convention having impartially discussed, and fully "considered the Constitution FOR the United States of "America, and submitted to us by a Resolution of the General Court of the said Commonwealth, passed the 25th "day of October last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts, * * Do, IN THE NAME AND BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, assent to "and ratify the said *Constitution* FOR *the United States of "America*."

* It is not clear how "*each* State" could "*retain*" that which, if Mr. Motley was correct, it never possessed; nor is it very clear how the *retained* "sovereignty" of the several States could have produced all that alleged mischief in the Confederacy, prior to the establishment of the *Constitution for the United States*, in 1789, which he has so eloquently described, in another part of his letter to *The Times*, if, as he also pretends, that "word 'sovereignty' "had no meaning for us."

Mr. Motley must determine in which of the two portions of his letter—that wherein he denied the power, if not the existence, in the States, of any "sovereignty" which they specifically *retained;* or that wherein he attributed to that reserved "*sovereignty*" the production of all the anarchy and ill-success which, he said, attended the Confederacy, from 1781 until 1789—he most sacrificed the truth to partizanship; unless he shall prefer to admit—*which would be nearest the truth*—that he was a swift witness in behalf of falsehood, in *both* the portions of his letter to which we have referred.

"*the central administrative Board, during this* "*epoch, was a Diet of Envoys from sovereign* "*States. It had* no power *to act on* individuals. "*It could not* command *the States. It could* "*move only by requisitions and recommendations.* "*Its functions were essentially diplomatic, like* "*those of the States-General of the old Dutch* "*Republic, like those of the modern Germanic* "*Confederation.*"—*Page 6.*

In some portions of this, I regret to say, I am constrained to differ from you; and you will pardon me while I look back to the acts of "the "men of those days," in order to ascertain which of us is correct in his conclusions.

An *Envoy*, in the era of the Revolutionary War, as he still is, was purely an *Executive* officer, whose acts possessed no binding force beyond the letter of his credentials, or until they were approved and ratified by the Government or authority which sent him forth: while, on the other hand, the Delegates of the several States, in the Federal Congress, were nothing more than simple citizens until the majority of the several delegations from a majority of the States had legally assembled in the Federal Hall, when THE STATES—*not the Delegates, or Envoys*, as you style them—and *the States* only, by their accredited Delegates, possessed *Legislative* powers, without, as you have admitted elsewhere, possessing any *Executive* authority, worth noticing.

Again, the United States, in Congress assembled, by virtue of the *Articles of Confederation*, which you treat so disrespectfully, possessed "the sole and exclusive right and power" (*Art. IX*) to determine on Peace and War; of sending to or receiving from other countries, Ambassadors or Envoys; of concluding Treaties and making Alliances with foreign Nations; of adjudicating prizes; of granting letters of marque and reprisal, in times of peace; of organizing Courts for the trial of pirates and felons, for crimes committed on the high seas; and of deciding, *as a Court of* FINAL *appeal, any dispute which then existed, or which might thereafter arise, between two or more States of the League.* The Congress of the United States also possessed "the sole and exclusive "right and power" of regulating the alloy and value of coin to be struck, either by its own authority (to do which it was vested with full, but not *sole*, powers) or by the several States; of fixing the standard of weights and measures; of regulating the trade, and managing all the affairs, with the Indians, not members of any of the States; of establishing and regulating post-offices and post-roads, and of exacting postage; of appointing all officers of the Army, except Regimental officers, and all officers of the Navy, of every grade; and of making rules for the government of both arms of the service, in every respect.—(*Articles of Confederation, Art. IX.*) All these powers were vested "*solely and exclusively*" in the Congress of the United States; and every State pledged itself to abide by the determination of that Congress, on all questions which, by the terms of that Confederation, were or might be submitted to the Congress.—(*Articles of Confederation, Art. XIII.*) The *Articles of Confederation*, with the unanimous approval of every party concerned, declared that every part of them should "be inviolably observed" by every State; "and that the union should be perpetu- "al."—*Articles of Confederation, Article XIII.*

If you will compare the above provisions with those of the *Constitution for the United States*, (*Art. I. Sec. VIII*) you will find that, in some very essential features, the Congress, under the *Articles of Confederation*, possessed *greater powers* than it now possesses, as, for instance, in being, then, "the sole and exclusive" arbiter between the States, when disputes arose between them, on any subject whatever; while the right of the Congress, at that time, to appoint *all* the officers of *State* troops employed in the Federal service, except the Regimental Officers, afforded a greater control of the Sword than is now possessed by the President or the Congress, under the Constitution.

I desire, also, to ask, if, with such extensive powers thus vested in the Congress of the United States, under the provisions of the Confederation, you were justified in saying of that Congress, especially, "it could move only by "requisitions and recommendations;" and, if, with the *Articles of Confederation* before you, you have correctly stated that "the functions" of that Congress "were essentially *diplomatic?*"

III. That "*when the War had ceased, when* "*our independence had been acknowledged, in* "*1783, we sank rapidly into a condition of* "*utter impotence, imbecility, anarchy,*" (*Pages 6, 7*) that "*the absence of law, order, and securi-* "*ty for life and property was as absolute as* "*could be well conceived, in a civilized land.*" —*Page 26*

If my reading of American history has served any good purpose, I trust that I may be enabled to show that, in thus declaring that they were incapable of self-government during a time of peace, and for so short a period as four years, you have not done justice to the men who gained our independence, to the great political principles which they proclaimed, nor to the Government which they had instituted, while they were still struggling with the enemy.

As I cannot occupy the space which would be required, were I to trace the operations of the

inhabitants of each State, separately,* I will content myself, and I trust you will be satisfied, by a reference to the condition of New York—at that time a State of some importance; at the present time not less entitled to your respect.

In his Message to the Legislature, delivered December 9th, 1783—two weeks after the enemy had left the State—Governor George Clinton remarked: "Permit me to number with the "pleasing Events which call for our Praise, the "Attention of those Patriots, both Citizens and "Soldiers, who have returned to this City, to the "Honor and Dignity of Government. By their "Obedience to the Laws, and their Care to Pre-"serve Peace and good Order, they have Disap-"pointed the Wishes of our Enemies, and con-

* As Mr. Motley is a Massachusetts-man, and as that State is assumed to be a model Commonwealth in all that is patriotic and self-sacrificing for the common weal, it may not be improper for me to invite the attention of that gentleman to the records of Massachusetts, in order to illustrate my meaning in thus contradicting him, and my reasons for doing so.

The *Confederation* was signed and went into effect on the first of March, 1781; and the *Resolves of the General Court, * * * Begun and held at* Boston, *in the County of* Suffolk, *on Wednesday the Twenty-Fifth Day of* October, *Anno Domini*, 1780, and those of the Second Session of that body, extending from the fourth of January until the nineteenth of May, 1781. present no evidence, whatever, concerning the internal condition of Massachusetts—certainly none concerning the existence of any such disorder in that State, at that time, as Mr. Motley has described.

On the thirtieth of May, 1781, a new General Court was convened at Boston; and the published volume of the *Resolves* of that body is as silent as the last, on all matters concerning the alleged disorder, anarchy, and insecurity for property and life, at that time, of which Mr. Motley has written.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1782, another General Court assembled at Boston; and the published volume of its *Resolves* afford no evidence whatever of any unusual disregard of the laws, by the citizens of that State, nor of any unusual danger to either life or property, within its borders.

On the twenty-eighth of May, 1783, another General Court met at Boston, the published *Resolves* of which are wholly silent concerning the local disorders, if any such really existed, which Mr. Motley has described.

On the twenty-fifth of May, 1784, another General Court was assembled; and, on the twenty-eighth of the same month, Governor Hancock delivered the usual *Speech* to that body—the earliest of the series, between 1781 and 1800, which I have found—but nothing is seen in that Speech which indicates any disorder, insecurity, or anarchy, within Massachusetts, at that period. He manifested an earnest desire "that this State will not be the last in adopting such "measures as shall support our credit abroad, and dimin-"ish the foreign and domestic debt;" he told that "a "punctilious regard to our engagements as a nation is "absolutely necessary to the support of our credit, and a "strict attention to the law of nations, together with a "body of good laws, executed with justice and energy, "cannot fail to support our freedom and render us a "happy people;" he alluded to the fact that "the people "feel the necessary taxes so heavy upon them;" but not a single word was said, either in the Speech or in any of the *Resolves*, of any disorders, or want of safety to person or property, or anarchy, in any part of the State.—*Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1784, pp. 15, 16.

On the twenty-fifth of May, 1785, another General Court was assembled at Boston: and, on the thirty-first of that month, Governor Bowdoin delivered the usual *Speech*—the second of the series, between 1781 and 1800, which I have found. In that *Speech*, the Governor alluded, kindly, to the "patriotism" of the citizens; to the duties imposed by "our constitution of government," and his entire willingness to discharge those constitutional duties; to the displeasure "of the good people of the Commonwealth," at "any infringements made upon, or any measures pro-"posed or taken, that have a tendency to subvert," the Constitution of the Commonwealth; to the extravagant importation and use of foreign manufactures, and the consequent large balance against the State; to the scarcity of money, because of the exportation of it, to meet the debts resulting from the extravagance referred to; to the "means "of remittance at present in our power," for the satisfaction of their trade balances, abroad; and, very significantly, in this connection, he says of "those means," they "*have* "*been greatly lessened by the war*," but "ARE GRADUALLY "ENLARGING," although they could not "soon increase to "their former amplitude, so long as Britain and other "nations continue the commercial systems they have "adopted since the war"—an item of information, by the way, which Governor Bowdoin was very poorly qualified to write about, if we may judge from a Message which he sent to the House, ten days later, in which he acknowledges his ignorance of the subject of which he had thus written, and solicits the means for informing himself concerning it.* Not a single word was uttered, in the Speech referred to, which indicates any lawlessness within the State or any want of safety, for either life or property, within her borders.—*Supplement to the Resolves of the General Court*, 1785, 68-70.

On the fourth of June, the two Houses sent a formal Reply to the Governor's Speech, to which we have referred, —*Supplement*, etc., 72-74,—in which they, too, display their entire ignorance of the lamentable disaffections and disorders, the irregularities and dangers, to which Mr. Motley has so eloquently referred.

They, indeed, "express their sincere and cordial ac-"knowledgements to your Excellency for the early atten-"tion TO THE MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS *of the Common-*"*wealth*, SO FULLY EXPRESSED in your Excellency's late "address." They said, too, "the Senators and Reprenta-"tives of the people of this Commonwealth have, with "your Excellency, the highest sense of *those* VIRTUOUS "EXERTIONS *of their fellow citizens which*, aided by a "kind providence, *have* OBTAINED, SUPPORTED, *and* PRE-"SERVED *the excellent Constitution we now enjoy*, and "under the auspices of which we are, at present, assem-"bled, to promote and maintain the public interest, safety, "and happiness." They referred, too, to the embarrassments of trade, legitimately resulting from the undue extravagance of the inhabitants and the unusual inducements to trade which were offered by Great Britain; and they promised to co-operate with the Governor, in attempting to remove, by legislative enactments, the evils which had followed individual recklessness and which could be removed only, if at all, by individual economy and individual good sense. They alluded, too, to that portion of the Governor's Speech in which "the federal compact" was mentioned, and approved of that officer's suggestions, concerning its amendment, so as to give greater powers to the Congress; and they alluded, also, to "our present difficul-"ties," and honestly and truly declared "the principal "source" of those "difficulties" to be "the want of some

* "AS WE ARE MUCH UNACQUAINTED *with the Acts and* "*Laws of the several States in union with us, the knowl-*"*edge of which might be in many respects beneficial and,* "*in respect to their influence on our trade, necessary*, I "would recommend to your consideration, whether it would "not be proper to procure from each of the United States, "all their Acts, now in force, and also all such as shall be "made in future.

* * * * * *

"FOR THE SAME REASON, *would it not be proper to pro-*"*cure the Acts of the British Parliament and of other* "*European Governments that relate to the vessels and* "*products of the United States?*"—*Resolves of the Gener-al Court*, 1785, Supplement, 75.

It is evident, from this testimony, that Mr. Motley was not the first Massachusetts-man who formed a judgment before he had seen the testimony, or who wrote concerning the history of his country without having consulted the authorities on which, alone, such history can properly be founded.

"vinced the World, by their Moderation in "Prosperity and Fortitude in Adversity, that "they merit the Prize for which they have so "nobly contended."—*Journal of the Senate*, Edit, N. Y. 1784, *page 4*.

In 1785, Governor Clinton submitted no Message to the Legislature, on the opening of the Session; but he promised the Senate, (*January 24th*) "if any new matter should turn up, he "would send a Message to the Legislature;" and as he sent none, on Federal or general subjects, there is just reason to infer that, in New York, at least, during 1784, there was a general peace.

At the opening of the Session of 1786, (*January 16th*) the same patriotic Governor informed the Legislature of the *general prosperity*, during the

"plan of *national œconomy and frugality*"—evidently as ignorant, at that time, as I am, to-day, of the lawlessness, anarchy, insecurity of life and property, etc., either as causes of those "difficulties" or otherwise, which Mr. Motley's imagination has contrived and foisted into prominence.

I have examined every Message which Governor Bowdoin subsequently sent to the General Court, during that Session, without finding the least allusion to any difficulty, or irregularity, or lawlessness, anywhere.

The second Session of the same Court was commenced on the nineteenth of October, 1785; and, on the twentieth, the Governor made the usual opening Speech—*Resolves of the General Court*, 1785, 81-86. In that customary exhibit of the condition of the Commonwealth, I fail to find any evidence whatever to sustain Mr. Motley's invention of anarchy; and I have the best of reasons for believing that no such anarchy or lawlessness was *then* known, either in Massachusetts or in any other State.

The Governor told of the peaceful solution of the boundary dispute with New York; of the land-claims, in Western New York; of his friendly correspondence with other States and with the Massachusetts Delegates in the Congress, concerning a proposed extention of the authority of Congress, in the matters of Navigation and Commerce; of the requisition, for the year, by the federal Congress, of $448,854.; of their local debt, amounting to £1,468,554, 7s., 5d., Massachusetts currency, bearing an annual interest of £88, 112, 13s., 3d., Massachusetts currency; of "a Plan "and calculation," for the liquidation of that debt, which the Treasurer had formed, the tax for carrying out which Plan, even when added to "the annual requisition of Con-"gress, for our proportion of the National debt, *will not be distressing to the State*;* of the propriety of charging interest on deferred payments of taxes; of the balance of £80,000, "subject to your appropriations," in the Treasury, when the unpaid Taxes should be collected; of the expediency of selling the public lands, in order to secure the means to pay the public debt; of the propriety of amending the Militia laws; of the movement, in Maine, to secure the independence of that Province; and of no other subject whatever.

On the first of December, the General Court adjourned without having taken any measures to relieve the State from its financial "difficulties"—the Massachusetts-men, of that day, evidently *objected to being taxed, even ninety-three cents, for the payment of her debts*; and the General Court, like other politicians, was controlled by that popular prejudice.

On the first of February, 1786, the General Court met again; and, on the third of that month, the Governor sent a Message reviewing the condition of affairs, without making the slightest allusion to the existence of any disorder or uneasiness, anywhere, except in the Federal Treasury, which was suffering from the neglect of the General Court, at its former Session, to provide for the payment of the requisition made by the Congress on the State of Massachusetts.—*Resolves of the General Court*, 1786, 152, 153.

On the twenty-fifth of that month, the Governor sent a special Message to the General Court, concerning the continued "extravagant importation of manufactures, since "the conclusion of the War," and the effects of that extravagance on the local manufactures of Massachusetts—they could *buy* cheaper than they could *make;* and, like sensible people, they *bought* rather than *made* the goods they used—*Resolves of the General Court*, 178[illegible], 165.

On the thirty-first of May, 1786, the General Court met again; and, on the second of June, following, the Governor made his annual Speech before that body—*Resolves of the General Court*, 1786, 10-16.

In that Speech, among a great variety of other subjects, the Governor said "that, *in most of the United States, there "is now a remarkable disposition in favour of literature "and science: for promoting and encouraging of which "there appears among them a most laudable spirit of "emulation.*" Not a word was spoken, besides these, concerning the temper of the inhabitants or the condition of the Commonwealth.

On the twenty-eighth of September, 1786, the General Court assembled in Special Session, pursuant to the Governor's Proclamation; and, on the same day, the Governor made the usual opening Speech to those bodies—*Resolves*, etc., 1786, 87-92.

The occasion of this extraordinary Session was "the "tumults and disorders which have lately taken place in "several Counties within this Commonwealth"—those which are known, in history, as "The Shay Rebellion"—but the causes of that disorder were purely of local character; the remedy for those causes were wholly within the General Court; and the control of the disorders was purely held by the Commonwealth, as is stated in the text. Besides, the very fact that those disorders were promptly and effectually suppressed, by the Commonwealth, as soon as it was seen that moderate measures were unavailing, ought to have satisfied Mr. Motley and those whose tool he was, that anarchy, rebellion, and lawlessness were not tolerated and, therefore, were not the prevailing condition of affairs, within or without Massachusetts, at the period referred to.

On the twenty-first of October, the General Court sent a Message to the Governor, calling his attention to a "prob-"ability that some attempts may be made to prevent the "sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court, at Taunton, on "Tuesday next"—*Resolves*, etc., 116—and, two days later, the Governor communicated to the General Court, by Message, the measures which he had adopted "to support "the dignity of Government" and to secure the proper organization of the Court—*Resolves*, etc., 117, 118,—measures which were probably sufficiently powerful for the preservation of the public peace, at that time and place, since the Governor, very soon after, congratulated the General Court on the success of the measures which he had adopted for that purpose.—*Message, November* 9, 1786—*Resolves*, etc., 133, 134.

On the fourteenth of November, the Governor sent a Message to the General Court, informing that body of the measures which he had adopted to protect the Supreme Judicial Court, in its Session at Cambridge, and of the "ardor to distinguish themselves, in support of Govern-"ment and the Constitution," which had been displayed by the Militia which had been called out to preserve the public peace, on that occasion.—*Resolves*, etc., 140, 141.

At the opening of the Session, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1787, the Governor again congratulated the General Court "upon the success" of "the late measures of Gov-"ernment respecting the Rebellion;"—*Resolves*, etc., 1787, 261—and, on the second of May, the House of Represent-

* Mr. Jesse Chickering (*Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts, from* 1765 *to* 1840, page 10) estimated the population of Massachusetts proper, in 1784, as 346,653, with an annual increase of 1.8362 *per centum*, or a probable population, in 1785, of 353,018. With a local debt of £1,468,554, 7s., 5d., currency, and an annual tax of £100,000, as proposed by the Treasurer, the debt, in 1785, averaged only £4, 3s., 2d., ($13.86) per person, and the annual tax only £0. 5s., 7d., ($0.95) per person, which, when compared with the debt and annual tax of 1870—$ of the former and $ of the latter, per soul of the population—was, truly, "not distressing to the State"

year 1785, in these words: "It affords me the "most sensible pleasure to observe, that nothing "hath happened since the close of the last ses- "sion, to disturb the public tranquillity; that "good order, obedience to the laws, and the "due observance of justice, have generally pre- "vailed;—that the different districts of the State, "by the industry of the citizens, are rapidly "recovering from the waste and desolation of "of war; and that the toils of the husbandman "have been amply rewarded by a fruitful season, "and a plentiful harvest. For these, among "other distinguished blessings, unfeigned grati- "tude is due to our bountiful Creator. * * * "Relying on your zeal for the fœderal interest, I "have the fullest confidence, that every measure "calculated to support our national credit, and "warranted by the confederation, will meet "your cheerful concurrence. When we reflect, "that, under Divine Providence, it is to the "early and steady exertions of the public credi- "tors, by their loans, their labors, and their "military services, that we are indebted for our "Liberty and Independence, it is greatly to be "regretted that the peculiar circumstances of the "State have hitherto prevented the adoption of "more effectual measures for their relief. Our "resources, if equally and judiciously drawn "forth, and œconomically applied, will, I trust, "be found competent; and as the impediments "which stood in the way of this necessary bus- "iness are now in a measure removed by the "return of peace, and the arrangements which "have since taken place, a regard to justice, as "well as the consideration of its being essential "to public credit, in future, that past engage- "ments be faithfully fulfilled, will, I am per- "suaded, prevent a farther delay."—*Journal of the Senate*, Edit. N. Y., 1786, *page 4*.

When opening the Tenth Session of the Legislature, on the twelfth of January, 1787, in alluding to the amicable adjustment of the boundary dispute which had been pending between Massachusetts and New York, and had threatened serious legal trouble, Governor Clinton made, also, the only allusion to the general state of the

atives answered the congratulations conveyed in that Speech, in these words: "With pleasure, we accept your "Excellency's congratulations on this success; and cannot "but flatter ourselves that, by a continuation of those "measures, *the wished-for blessings of peace, order, and "tranquility will be fully* RESTORED *to those Counties in* "which alarming commotions had risen and prevailed."—*Ibid*, 282. What stronger evidence is needed than this, that, even in the most disaffected Counties of Massachusetts, the "blessings of peace, order, and tranquility" had prevailed, prior to the Rebellion; that, on the suppression of that Rebellion, soon after, those same "blessings" were "restored;" and that, except during the prevalence of the Rebellion,—and, probably, at that time, also—Mr. Motley's supposed anarchy and insecurity had no existence, there?

On the thirtieth of May, 1787, the General Court assembled at Boston; and, on the second of June, Governor Hancock delivered the usual opening Address; but neither in that Address nor in any subsequently delivered, during that Session, do we find any allusion to any existing disorder within that Commonwealth.

On the seventeenth of October, 1787, an adjourned Session of the General Court was held; and, on the eighteenth, the Governor delivered the customary opening Speech. In that Speech, these words appear: "I have the "pleasure to congratulate you, Gentlemen, *on the* RETURN "*of peace and good order, thus far;* and, while I sincere- "ly lament those insurrections which have greatly injured "the interest and character of our country, I am persuad- "ed you will join with me in the sentiment, that *this un- "happy occurrence cannot be considered as a certain mark "of the indisposition of the people to good order and "government.* Similar insurrections are found in the "history of all countries; and, although in this State, "where no tax can be levied or law made, but by the "consent of the immediate Representatives of the people, "and where every grievance can be redressed in a consti- "tutional way, they are inexcusable; yet, from my knowl- "edge of the great degree of intelligence which our "fellow-citizens at large possess, I am obliged to believe "that a sense of their own reputation and the regard they "have to their own interests and happiness will produce a "due subordination to Government and a regular obedi- "ence to the Laws, without a further application to mili- "tary force."—*Resolves*, etc., 1787, 48.

On the twenty-seventh of February, 1788, the General Court met in adjourned Session; and Governor Hancock, on the same day, made the customary Speech, which he closed with these words: "GENTLEMEN: As that Being, in "whose hands is the government of all the nations of the "earth, and who putteth down one and raiseth up another, "according to his sovereign pleasure, has given to the "people of these States, a rich and an extensive country; "has, in a marvellous manner, given them a name and a "standing among the nations of the world; has *blessed "them with external peace and internal tranquility;* I "hope and pray that the gratitude of their hearts may be "expressed, 'etc.—*Resolves*, etc, 1788, 101.

On the twenty-eighth of May, 1788, the General Court assembled in regular Session; and, on the third of June, the Governor delivered the usual Speech.—*Resolves*, etc., 7.

In that Speech, the Governor commenced thus: "GENTLE- "MEN OF THE SENATE AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF "REPRESENTATIVES: *The complete* RESTORATION *and per- "fect establishment of peace and tranquility, within the "State, leaves me but little to offer, except my most cordial "congratulations on these interesting and important "events;* and I am fully convinced that the satisfaction "you will derive from these considerations, cannot be "inferiour to my own."

On the fifth of June, the General Court sent the customary *Answer to the Governor's Speech*, which was opened in these words: "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: The "two branches of the Legislature have attended to your "Excellency's address, at the opening of the present Ses- "sion; and, with the greatest pleasure, contemplate with "you *the complete* RESTORATION *and perfect establishment "of the public peace and tranquility*, and we assure your "Excellency that no measures, on our part, will be neglect- "ed which may tend to restore an harmony of sentiment "among the citizens and a union of exertion *to continue "and establish the blessings of good order and regular "government which are now happily* DIFFUSED THROUGH "THE COMMONWEALTH."—*Ibid*, 10.

I have carefully examined the existing printed records of Massachusetts, from 1781, when the *Confederation* was perfected and went into effect, until 1789, when it was amended by the adoption of *The Constitution for the United States;* and, while I find abundance of testimony showing that there could have been no such disorder and and insecurity as Mr. Motley has pretended, within that Commonwealth, I find positive testimony, presented, from time to time and in the words which I have quoted, to convict that gentleman of wilful and deliberate falsehood, in bearing false testimony against his country and against the great principles of Government which distinguished his country from all others, in the paragraphs under consideration.

What is true of the condition of Massachusetts and New York, between 1781 and 1789, is equally true of the condition of every other State of the confederacy, at that time.

country, during 1786, which appeared in his Message—"While through the Divine Goodness "we enjoy the inestimable blessing of internal "peace and good order, it must afford the most "solid satisfaction that the animosities and dis-"advantages to which we have been exposed by a "controverted jurisdiction, are, at length, de-"cisively terminated."—*Journal of the Senate*, Edit. N.Y., 1787, *page 5*.

Finally, the same officer, in his Annual Message, delivered on the eleventh of January, 1788, says: "It must afford the highest satisfaction to "observe, that, under the blessing of Heaven, "tranquility and good order continue to prevail "throughout the State, and that, by the Industry "of the Citizens, the Country is in a great mea-"sure recovered from the wastes and injuries of "War."—(*Journal of the Senate*, Edit. Poughkeepsie, 1788, *page 4*.) I might go on, to the entire exclusion of other matter, with a detailed refutation of your views and those of "Peter "Porcupine"*—which you have only revived and enforced—but I will confine myself to the general disproval of your premises from the commercial statistics of our country.

I beg to remind you, in general terms, that Commerce is exceedingly sensitive, and that it flourishes only where peace and quiet predominate. This general truth is equally applicable to our own commercial affairs; as will be seen in the effect of the earlier revolutionary movements on the commerce of New York and Philadelphia. In the year 1774, before the opening of the War of the Revolution in New England, New York imported from England, goods to the amount of £437,937. 12s. 1d., and Philadelphia to the amount of £625,652. 3s. 3d., sterling, while in 1775—while no hostile movements in the vicinity of either place interfered with its trade—New York imported, from the same country, to the amount of £1,228. 2s. 6d., and Philadelphia to the amount of £1,366. 8s. 0d. From these examples, it will be seen that American Commerce, like that of other countries, cannot thrive amidst even the *distant* murmurs of War: let us also learn, from the same sources, its condition while the country, if you are correct, was impotent, imbecile, and anarchical, and judge therefrom of the truth of your premises.

During the last six years that the thirteen Colonies were dependants of Great Britain—1770 to 1775—the average value of their exports to England and Scotland was £1,456,479. 4s. 11d; while, during the same period, their imports, from the same countries amounted to an average of £2,396,226. 16s. 5d. This period has been selected in order that the general amount of the trade with the mother country, during times of Peace, may be ascertained, and a more accurate view of the effects of that "anarchy," of which you speak—if it really existed—be fairly obtained. Let it also be remembered, that this period embraced none of that in which the country at large was engaged in hostilities; that the town of Boston, was the only theater of War; that Newport, New York, and all other ports, along the Atlantic sea-board, southward, as far as Florida, were open; and that no unusual restraint had been placed on their trade. In contrast with this return, the reports show that, during the five years next succeeding the War—1784 to 1788—when the country was but a wreck, when the farms were unstocked, the fences torn down, the industry of the country paralyzed—the exports of the same thirteen States to England and Scotland amounted to an average of £880,694. 6s. 9d.—not far from two-thirds of the average exports, before the war; and, during the same period, their imports, from the same countries, averaged £2,298,242. 4s. 7d.—within £98,000 of the average during the more favored years preceding the Revolution. Does this report indicate much anarchy during the period last referred to? With all the embarrassments which surround all new Governments, even those which are most favored, can a commerce so successful as that was, be said, truly, to have been conducted by an impotent, imbecile, and anarchical people; who despised all Governments and all laws; who paid none of their debts; among whom neither life nor property was secure? —*Page 7*.

In addition to these evidences of the unsoundness of your premises it may be well for you to recollect, that, during that period of assumed anarchy and lawlessness, the United States had concluded *and fulfilled* Treaties with France, (*February 6, 1778,*) Holland, (*October 8, 1782,*) Great Britain, (*November 30, 1782,*) Sweden, (*April 3, 1783*) Prussia, (*July, August, and September, 1785*) and Morocco, (*January 1, 1787*); while the Orders of the King in Council, dated December 26, 1783, and renewed, from time to time, thereafter, had opened the ports of Great Britain and her West Indian Colonies to American commerce, in the most liberal spirit—with far more liberality, indeed, than has been extended, under any Treaty of Commerce, since that time*—that, as early as 1784, the commerce of New York had been extended as far as Canton, in

* "They had gained independence but they had lost "their Government, with its chief blessings, domestic "quiet, security, and freedom; a rebellion, which they "had begun with the cry of '*Liberty and Property*,' "had ended with depriving them of both."—*Porcupine's Works*, Edit. London, 1801, i., 28.

* I am not insensible of the radical difference which exists between this averment and the generally received history of that period, as that history has been written by

China, opening that important trade with the East, which has since proved so honorable and useful to our country (*Samuel Shaw to John Jay, May 19, 1785*); that the capitalists in Europe were not unwilling, during that period, to make loans to the United States, without any other security than the public faith, (*Journal of Congress, October 11, 1787*); that the foundations of "a Federal City"—the future capital of the Union—were then laid (*Journal of Congress, December 23, 1784, February 8, 10, and 11, 1785*); that the unoccupied lands of the West were then receiving crowds of occupants, much to the discomfort of Great Britain—Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, especially, being peculiarly favored (*Taylor's Ohio* ; *Marshall's*

partizan writers, anxious only for the success of their party, and by those historians, so called, who read their authorities, when they read them at all, only through the dirty or tinted spectacles of others; and, in this foot-note, I propose to illustrate my meaning more fully than I have done in the text of the letter to Mr. Motley.

The close of the War of the Revolution found the thirteen united States not only independent of, but full of the most bitter resentment against, the Mother Country and all that were related to it; closely allied to France and Holland; and offering an open market for the necessary supplies which the protracted War had prevented the great body of their citizens from procuring in Europe—a market, too, which some one must occupy, at the earliest possible moment. Great Britain, at that moment, was smarting under the mortification of defeat; and her Ministry, wounded by the formal censure of the House of Commons, because of the peculiarly disagreeable terms of the Treaty, had retired to private life and given place, on the second of April, 1783, to a new Ministry, with the Duke of Portland at its head. Her Statute-books presented laws prohibiting all Trade and Intercourse with the Colonies (16 *Geo. III., Cap. V.*) and in other ways, obstructing the occupation, by her anxious Merchants, of the opening market in America—in fact, a Bill which the late Ministry had introduced, for the modification of the restrictions referred to, was among the measures which the members of the incoming Government had opposed and obstructed in the Parliament; and the changes in the Cabinet served to embarrass rather than to relieve the eager aspirants, in England, for the opening trade with the young Republic.

At that time, as much as at the present, Great Britain was "a nation of shopkeepers;" and her trade was the primary object of her care—indeed, her Colonial system was wholly based on that great principle; and she cared for her Colonies mainly because of the markets which they afforded for her goods Her Merchants, therefore, had promptly accepted the situation in which the Preliminary Treaty had left them, regardless of the heartburnings of the King or the censures of the Parliament; and the advent of the new Cabinet found "a number of vessels, richly "freighted for America, detained in harbour," because of these unrepealed Statutes; "no regulations whatever "having been stipulated by the Treaty of Peace, the commercial interests of the country were suffering, very "materially;" "there was great danger of having the "market preoccupied by our rivals;" and, in this emergency, the greatest possible uneasiness prevailed throughout the Kingdom. There was no time to be lost. The dignity of the Crown and the consistency of the Government must be disregarded when the common weal would be hazarded by delay: and, as was most truly said of her, in connection with her conduct, on that occasion, Great Britain promptly "rose from amidst all her dangers and "difficulties, to offer to the world such a spectacle of "renown as the annals of time had never recorded."

The Bill which the former Ministry had introduced into the Parliament, and which was opposed and obstructed by those who had succeeded it, need not be adopted, and was not: but, as an equivalent for that Bill, two others were promptly pushed through the Parliament—one (23 *Geo. III., Cap. XXVI.*,) repealing all the prohibitory enactments to which I have referred; the other (23 *Geo III., Cap. XXXIX.*,) removing the necessity of requiring any Manifest, Certificate, or other document whatever, from any vessel, belonging to the United States, on its arrival in or clearing from any port in Great Britain; and giving to the King and Council, for a limited period, full power to make such other regulations, in the premises, as might be considered expedient.

On the fourteenth of May, 1783, a Proclamation was issued, in conformity with the terms of the Act referred to, authorizing the admission, into the ports of Great Britain, until further orders, of either British or American vessels laden with any unmanufactured commodity, the product of the United States—and the United States, at that time, had no other commodity to send to Europe—on paying the same duties which were paid on the importation of the same articles from the British Colonies in America; and the United States were further favored, not only by the suspension of all laws requiring from vessels sailing from their ports to those of Great Britain, either Manifests, or Certificates, or any other document previously required—on which the greater number of port-charges were based—but the same Drawbacks and Bounties which were allowed on goods exported to the British possessions in America, were allowed on those exported to the United States; and all vessels belonging to the United States, which had arrived in Great Britain since the twentieth of January preceding, were to be entitled to the benefits thus conferred

The effect of these measures was as remarkable as it was immediate. "The rancour which the War had kept "up between the inhabitants of Britain and those of "America was now at an end. Sentiments of harmony "and kindness, connections interrupted, indeed, but not "quite broken off, by the War, and the ties of kindred "and of former friendships, like springs long withheld "from their natural direction, now resumed their original "force; and the poet-laureat prophecied that Great Britain "and America would become

"'The Tyre and Carthage of a wider sphere.'"

"The truth was, that Great Britain, instead of being "ruined for want of commerce with America, as had been "predicted, was in danger of suffering from the too great "ardor of the merchants for forming new connections in "that Continent, many of which, as they found to their "cost, were with people who could never have obtained credit for a shilling from those among whom "they resided.*

"With respect to the political arrangements for the "commercial intercourse, many people, in the zeal of "their renewed friendship for America, went so far as to "propose that the Americans, though as completely detached from any political connection with this country as "the people of Turkey or Japan, should be admitted to "the commercial privileges of British subjects; and that "the Navigation Act, so long esteemed the Palladium of "the naval power of Britain, should be infringed by a free "admission of their vessels into the ports of the West "India islands. The press teemed with pamphlets written "in support of these new maxims of commercial policy; "and some of the Governors of the islands, in reality, "acted as if they thought the Peace had placed the Americans in precisely the same condition they were in, "before the Revolution, and freely admitted them into their "ports. Many of the West India planters, also, were "induced to think that the prosperity of the islands depended upon allowing the independent citizens of the "United States a free participation of the commerce of "the West Indias. In short, even the Government was "like to be carried away with the stream and on the point "of confirming, by law, those concessions, with respect

* "Many of these adventurers, immediately upon their "arrivalin America, converted their goods into ready money, "*at any prices*, and then shipped themselves off for the "Continent of Europe or hid themselves in the boundless "back countries of America, under the new-assumed "character of land-jobbers."

Kentucky, i. 164; *Ramsay's Tennessee*, 280); that a Mint was then established by the Federal Congress, although the extreme poverty of the country prevented the coinage of any thing but copper coin, (*Journal of Congress, August 8, October 10 and October 16, 1786*); that Colleges were established at Annapolis, Abingdon, and Georgetown, Maryland; at Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; in the City of New York; and the University of the State of Georgia, (*Holmes's Annals*, Edit. Cambridge, 1829, *ii., 353, 357, 367*); legislative encouragement was given to Science, Agriculture, and the Arts, (*Holmes*, ii, 353, 357, 361, 366); the population of the several States increased—Massachusetts, from three hundred and forty-nine thousand, and

" to the commerce of the West Indies, which were hitherto " granted by the mistake or connivance of some servants " of the Crown, when Lord Sheffied published his *Obser-* " *vations on the Commerce of the American States*, who " was soon followed by Mr. Chalmers, in his *Opinions on* " *interesting subjects of public law and commercial* " *policy arising from American independence*," which served to check the excitement and restore reason to her throne.

On the sixth of June, 1783, also in conformity with the terms of the Act to which we have referred, the King in Council issued a second Proclamation, allowing the importation ot Tobacco, the product of the United States, into Loudon, Bristol, Liverpool, Cowes, Whitehaven, and Greenock, and to be warehoused, under the custody of the Revenue officers, on the payment, down, by the importer, of five per cent of its value, in part payment of the duty—which duty, in the aggregate, it will be remembered, was to be no more than the amount which was then paid on the same article, imported by British subjects, on British bottoms, from British Colonies.

On the second of July, 1783, a third Proclamation, by the King in Council, was issued, permitting British subjects to carry, in British vessels, all kinds of Naval Stores, Spars and Lumber, Horses and all other kinds of Live Stock, and all kinds of Grain, Flour, and Bread, the products of the United States, from the United States to the West India islands, and to carry from those islands to the United States, Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Chocolate, Nuts, Ginger, and Pimento, the products of those islands, on paying the same duties and conforming to the same regulations as if the former were received from, and the latter cleared for, a British Colony.

On the fifth of November, 1783, the King in Council was advised that the obligation to pay five per cent of the value of American Tobacco, warehoused under the provisions of the Proclamation of the sixth of June, preceding, already noticed, was found "too great a hardship;" and a modification was promptly conceded, in another Proclamation, of that date, allowing the *whole* of the duty imposed by law to be bonded.*

The official year, in Great Britain, at that time, ended with Christmas-day; and the various Orders to which I have referred, which the King in Council had issued, from time to time, for the regulation of the intercourse between the United States and Great Britain, having expired on that day. I may be pardoned if I review the result of the liberal measures which, on the part of the British Government, had been adopted during the year 1783.

During the greater portion of the period of which I write, 1782–3, the United States were yet occupied by the Royal troops; and their inhabitants were not entirely relieved from the hazards and excitements of War. They were not, therefore, enabled to produce, for home consumption, much less to export from the surplus of the products of the labor of preceding years, when War had generally raged over the country—and of the latter must the exports from the United States principally have been, during 1782–3—as much as they could have done, had a general Peace then prevailed. At the same time, their present necessities were just as great and just as urgent, in the nakedness of the country, as were possible for them to be. The War had created extraordinary necessities which mere non-production, from any cause, in Peace, would not have called into being. The steady destruction of property, by the military power, during the preceding seven years, on the one hand, had been made still more disastrous, on the other, throughout the greater number of the States, because of the constant strain on their resources and their consequent inability to re-place what was thus destroyed; and these causes, when added to the constant and necessary diversion of the labor of the adult males from the fields of industry to the fields of strife, will afford sufficient reason for the inability of the struggling republicans to produce, for export, much that they needed not, at home. When the proffer of relief came, therefore, it was joyfully accepted; and if it was accepted beyond the present ability of the purchasers to pay for, it need not excite either surprise or indiscriminate condemnation.

During the year ending on Christmas-day, 1783, the United States imported from Great Britain, as follows:

	From England,	From Scotland,
New England,	£199 558.. 1..10	£2.997..15..2
New York,	547.132.. 0.. 7	56.020.. 2..5
Pennsylvania,	239.462.. 5..11	5.795..15..9
Maryland and Virginia	199.657.. 2.. 4	30.177.. 4..5
Carolina	226.736..10.. 4	23.644..19..8
Georgia,	22.682..10.. 5	

It will be remembered that the Royal troops occupied New York, during a great portion of the period; and the heavy imports into that port were, probably, to a considerable extent, at least, for the use of those troops and of those, refugee loyalists and others, who had found shelter within the royal lines and, subsequently, left the country, on the withdrawal of the Royal Army.

During the same period, the West India islands exported to the United States, as follows:

Sugar	Cwt.	5.651
Rum	Galls.	679.760
Molasses	..	53.000
Cotton	Lbs.	1.500
Coffee	Cwt.	444
Cocoa	..	55
Pimento	Lbs.	57.400
Ginger	Cwt.	143
Dyewoods	Tons	7
Salt	Bushels	3.500
Beef and Pork	Bbls.	851½
Negroes	..	200

besides Mahogany, Hides, Tobacco, Soap, Candles, Limes, etc., of which the respective quantities were not noted.

As I have said, the surplus of the products of the United States, during preceding years, from which, mainly, they could, at that time, export anything in payment of their purchases abroad, must have been extremely limited in amount; yet the Reports indicate, even under these adverse circumstances, a very respectable export trade. The following is an abstract of those Reports, as far as Great Britain was concerned—those of our trade with Ireland and of that with the West Indies have, hitherto, eluded my search.

	To England,	To Scotland,
New England	£ 26.350.. 9..6	£ 175..15.. 3
New York	83.412..18..3	19,365..14.. 7
Pennsylvania	30.053.. 7..3	800..10..11
Maryland and Virginia	93.888.. 4..5	11.174..14.. 7
Carolina	74.589.. 1..5	3.151.. 9..10
Georgia	5.764..17..6	

It will be seen that, as the Reports stand, the balance of trade was seriously against the United States, as, under

* It is worthy of notice, in this place, that the planters of Virginia, as early as 1732, had seen the advantage which such a favor would afford to them, and had prayed Parliament to make such a provision, for their benefit; but they were denied the coveted privilege, and only as foreigners—citizens of a Republic whose trade was desired by the Mother Country—were they allowed to realize the benefits of that anxiously-desired indulgence.

ninety-four, in 1776, to three hundred and fifty-seven thousand, five hundred and ten, in 1784; and New York, from one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and seventeen, in 1756, to two hundred and thirty-eight thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-seven, in 1786, (*Holmes, ii, 354, 360*); and every possible evidence of prosperity and peace—save only the insurrections, hereinafter referred to—prevailed throughout the Union.

IV. That, when the War had ceased, "*no laws could be enforced*,"—*Page 7*—that "*Courts could enforce no decrees.*"—*Page 26.*

A *detailed* reply to this sweeping assertion

the circumstances, it may reasonably be expected to have been; but the United States were, nevertheless, benefited by the facilities, in trade, which had been afforded to them by the Mother Country, and it ill becomes an American writer to misrepresent the policy of Britain, in its relations with the young Confederacy—a policy, too, which was as widely different from that adopted by France, of which Mr. Motley and other partisans say nothing, as it very well could be.

The pretensions of those against whom I write are, that Great Britain refused, *because of the nature of the Confederacy*, to make Commercial Treaties with the United States or to open a trade with them: the records show that she not only did not thus refuse, for any reason, but actually removed all necessity for such a Treaty, as her Merchants aptly said, (*John Adams to John Jay, Secretary. June* 26, 1785,) *by removing all the barriers to trade* which had previously embarrassed it, and by making it ABSOLUTELY AS FREE AS WAS THAT OF HER OWN MOST FAVORED SUBJECTS. To pretend that the advantages which were thus afforded by Great Britain were not useful to the United States, in their then existing necessities, would be preposterous; and the subsequent embarrassments and bankruptcy, which were consequent only on the recklessness of purchasers, in buying beyond their reasonable expectations of ability to pay for, will be paraded, as evidence to the contrary and of the unfriendliness of Great Britain, only by such publishing partisans as Mr. Motley is and by those whose dirty work he so cheerfully performed.

The United States, at the period of which I write, (1782-3) were destitute of supplies and, to a great extent, incapacitated for developing their own resources. Extraordinary facilities were immediately and liberally afforded, by their recent enemy and former Home Government, not only for supplying them with what they needed, but for receiving, in payment, the surplus of their products; and those facilities, thus liberally extended to them, were joyfully and, sometimes, indiscreetly employed, not only for assisting the labor and developing the resources of the Confederacy, but, as we shall see, for unduly gratifying the disposition for "extravagence," among the inhabitants, which Governor Bowdoin and other prudent men of that period so loudly lamented and condemned. The consequences which always follow extravagence necessarily followed it, in the case before us. Those, in America, who spent more than they received, who lived beyond their incomes, sooner or later, became embarrassed and bankrupts; and the several States composing the United States, as I shall see, very soon experienced the disasters which necessarily follow individual unthriftiness and indisposition to labor. But I fail to see, in all this, wherein, *for any cause or to any extent, whatever*, Great Britain was justly chargeable with illiberality toward the young Confederacy; nor, as far as my examinations have extended—and I do not know of any existing authority or source of information, on this subject, in America, which I have not carefully examined—have I yet seen the least warrant for the wholesale abuse which, because of their alleged unfriendliness to the confederated "thirteen united States of "North America," at the period of which I write, has been thrown on the nations of the Old World, generally, by Mr. Motley and those who, like that gentlemen, are partisans rather than historians, and monarchists in their prejudices rather than republicans.

I am not insensible of the fact that, under the provisions of the Proclamation of the second of July, 1783, the *carrying trade*, between the United States and the British West India Islands, was confined to *British* subjects and *British* bottoms; but the market for supplying those islands with Lumber of all kinds, as well as Naval Stores, Horses and other Live Stock, and Grain and Flour, was, because of their contiguity, almost wholly to the United States, and their markets actually furnished those staple articles and the welcome "Exchange on England," which they produced, to an extent which the mass of our readers are little aware of—three hundred and eighty-six vessels, of forty-three thousand, three hundred, and eighty tons burden, and manned with two thousand, eight hundred and fifty-four men, being employed in that carrying-trade, alone, in 1787. Could not Great Britain reserve to her own subjects, in all her varied relations with the United States, no other advantage over foreigners than this petty privilege, without exposing herself to the unmeasured and unceasing abuse of partisan falsifiers, and the United States to a second Revolution of Government, in a material alteration in the original *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union?* We shall see.

The Act of Parliament under which the King in Council was authorized to issue Orders for the regulation of the American trade (23 *Geo. III., Cap. XXXIX.*) was supplemented, from time to time, by other Acts which extended the term during which the King should thus regulate it, through the entire period between the close of the War and the establishment of "the new system," under the presidency of General Washington; (24 *Geo. III., Session I, Cap. XV.*; 24 *Geo. III., Session* 2, *Cap. I., XXIII., XLV.*; 25 *Geo. III., Cap. V.*; 26 *Geo. III., Cap. IV.*; 27 *Geo. III., Cap. VII.*; 28 *Geo. III., Cap. V.—the latter of which extended it to April* 5, 1789—) and I beg the reader to bear this fact in mind, as I shall continue to recite, step by step, the action of the Government on the subject and the effect of that action on the welfare of the United States.

On the twenty-sixth of December, 1783, in conformity with the Act, another Proclamation was issued by the King in Council, promulgating, anew, with slight variations, the regulations previously provided for. It permitted the importation of any unmanufactured goods, not prohibited by law, (except Oil,) and Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Indigo, Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits, being the produce of the United States, either by British or American subjects, in British or American vessels, on paying the same duties as were payable on the importation of similar goods from British Colonies, by British subjects, in British vessels; and the Manifests and other documents required by law were dispensed with: and all Drawbacks, Exemptions, and Bounties on goods exported from Great Britain to the United States were allowed as fully as on such goods when exported to the British Colonies. Tobacco, the produce of the United States, was allowed to be imported, in the same manner, into any port in Great Britain, the importer, on paying down the duty called "The Old Subsidy," being permitted to warehouse it, under the King's locks, and to give Bonds for the payment of the balance due for duties, payable within the time prescribed by law; while those who imported it into London, Bristol, Liverpool, Cowes, Whitehaven, Greenock, and Glasgow were indulged with permission to give Bonds for *the entire amount of the duties*, and to have their Bonds discharged on exporting the Tobacco within a specified time. The intercourse between the United States and the West Indies was to be regulated agreeably to the terms of the Order, dated the second of July, 1783, which I have already described and discussed.

The effect of this continued good spirit, on the part of the British Government, and of the eagerness to trade, which British Merchants exhibited, led to the importation into the United States, from England and Scotland, during the twelve months ending on Christmas-day, 1784, as follows:

New England	£ 526.560..15..11
New York	709.547..11.. 6
Pennsylvania	689.491.. 9.. 9
Maryland and Virginia	1.182.346..13.. 1
Carolina	492.833..14.. 4
Georgia	47.239..15.. 3

will not be expected—the space which such an answer would require forbidding any attempt to make a complete one. In equally *general* terms, therefore, I beg to remark that the several Courts sat, during the years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788—with some exceptions, within the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, which were produced by a *tempo-*

During the same period, the United States imported from the British West India islands as follows:

Sugar	Cwt.	47.595
Rum	Galls.	2.742.277
Molasses	..	5.800
Cotton	Lbs.	36.250
Coffee	Cwt.	674
Cocoa	..	74
Pimento	Lbs	169.500
Ginger	Cwt.	1.116
Dyewoods	Tons	61
Salt	Bushels	6 316
Beef and Pork	Barrels	120
Negroes		203

n addition to some Mahogany, Hides, Tobacco, Soap, etc., of which no detalled Report was made.

It will be seen that the quantity of goods imported from Great Britain into the United States was largely increased, during the year 1784; but, notwithstanding the year 1783 was, necessarily, unproductive, to a great extent, the exports were increased in about the same ratio, as will be seen in the following abstract of the Reports of those exportations, to England and Scotland, during the period under consideration:

From New England	£	51.078..13..3
.. New York		47.302..18..9
.. Pennsylvania		70.263..10..9
.. Maryland & Virginia		390.250.. 6..1
.. Carolina		167.545.. 4..2
.. Georgia		22.888..14..0

Let it not be supposed, however, that the aggregate mass of either this balance of £2.898.681. 12s., 10d., sterling, in our direct trade with Europe, or that of the cost of the imports from the British West Indies, to which I have alluded, was allowed to hang over the United States in the form of a debt, nor that it was necessarily paid in specie arbitrarily and rigidly drained from the hoards of the aged and the money-boxes of the children, throughout the Confederacy.

The trade with the West India islands was largely in favor of the States,* even at that early period; and they obtained, from that source, during the entire period—1783 to 1789—under review, not only the Rum which New Eng-

* I have not found the Returns of the outward trade from the United States to the islands; but its extent, at this early date, may be judged from a single entry in the Report of the Privy Council's Committee on *The Representations of the West India Planters*, made May 31, 1784, which states that, from the twelfth of December, 1783, to the seventeenth of March, 1784,—three months—seventy-five vessels arrived at the single port of Kingston, in Jamaica, with cargoes of Lumber and Provisions; and that, of those, *sixty-four* were from *the United States*. It shows, too, that these vessels carried into Kingston, eighteen thousand barrels of Flour; five hundred and fifty-nine thousand, and fifty Staves and Heading; seven hundred and ninety-six thousand, two hundred, and fifty-three feet of Boards and Scantlings; and one million, four hundred and fifty thousand, seven hundred, and ninety Shingles—the flour being equal to the consumption of the entire island of Jamaica for nine months.

All these went into *one port*, during only *three months and five days:* what went into other ports, and other islands, during other periods, as well as this, I do not know; but the Returns of vessels employed in the West India trade,—*Vide page* 168, *post*—indicate that the trade with other islands than Jamaica was not less active and important.

tary supremacy of mobs, subsequently suppressed by STATE *power, solely*—as regularly and as efficiently as they do, at the present day, within this State or Massachusetts. I will content myself with citing only a single authority, although hundreds of others, equally clear in their tenor, can be furnished, if you shall desire any further evidence of the incorrectness of your

land so largely used in her profitable trade with slave-producing Africa, but the Specie which was used for general purposes and in the large trade with China and the East,* and the Sterling Bills of Exchange which served to liquidate their balances in England and Scotland.†

During the year 1785, an Act was passed (25 *Geo. III., Cap. LXXXI.*) concerning the importation of Tobacco into Great Britain; but, consistently with the policy of the Government, American Tobacco was allowed to be imported, directly from the United States, in either American or British vessels, and warehoused and bonded, in like manner as if it had been the product of a British Colony, by a subject of the Crown, and the freight of a British bottom.

It was during this year (1785) that an antagonistic spirit, on commercial subjects, was first manifested against Great Britain, in the United States; and that antagonism first appeared, it seems, in Massachusetts, whose restless population seemed to be impatient, because, in some portions of the territory of the King of Great Britain, they were considered as foreigners and strangers.

The British Government, as I have shown, allowed the importation, into the ports of Great Britain, either in American or British bottoms, of the staple products of the United States, on the same terms—sometimes on better terms—than she allowed the importation of the same articles from her own Colonies; and against that portion of her policy, Massachusetts seems to have entertained and exhibited no dissatisfaction. She seems, also, to have freely purchased, on credit, the goods which the British merchants freely sold to her without demanding immediate payment for them; and I have already shown, from Governor Bowdoin's Messages and Speeches, how much, in those purchases, she allowed her "extravagence" to get the better of her prudence, and how much the disposition of her citizens to live beyond their incomes, at the expense of those who had given them credit for goods, crippled her trade and embittered her population against those who had thus befriended them.

It will be remembered, too, that while the staple products of the United States were generally allowed to be imported into the West India islands belonging to Great Britain, and while the United States were allowed to purchase in those islands what, of their products, those States should desire to purchase, the Home Government reserved to British bottoms and British subjects the sole right of carrying those goods thus bought from or sold to the United States; and the Home Government also seems to have reserved, for British subjects, some local rights in her American fisheries from which she excluded not only the enterprising sons of Massachusetts, who had ceased to be British subjects, bu

* It may serve to illustrate this subject to invite the attention of my readers to the indulgence to American Commerce which the Earl Cornwallis and the Supreme Council extended to it, during 1788–9, to which I have elsewhere allnded; and the prosperity of the American trade with China, in 1789, is seen in the fact that, during that year, of eighty-six foreign vessels which were at Canton, three were Portugese, five were Dutch, one was French, one was Danish, twenty-one were of the British East India Company, *and fifteen were of the United States*—the remainder, forty, belonging to the neighboring British East Indies.—*Meares's Voyage*, lxxxviii.

† The statements of Edwards and other historians of the West Indies, show that the Southern States were paid for their produce sent to the Islands, about one-half in goods and one-half in dollars; the Middle States, about one-quarter in goods and three-quarters in dollars and Sterling Bills; the New England States, about one-tenth in goods and nine-tenths in dollars.

remark on this subject. In the *Columbian Magazine*, for November, 1786 (*i, 151*) appear the following remarks: "*Philadelphia, November 22.* On Friday, the 17th instant, arrived in "town from the Western Circuit over the moun- "tains, the Chief Justice and Judge Rush, "having held Courts of Oyer and Terminer and "Nisi Prius in the Counties of Franklin, Fayette, "Washington, Westmoreland, and Bedford. "The same Judges have, in the course of "last year, held Courts in every County beyond "the Susquehannah, and travelled near a thous- "and miles; and it will doubtless please the "friends of virtue and humanity to hear, that in

the enterprising sons of all other foreign nations, European and American.

These not very unreasonable regulations, made for the benefit, within their own country, of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, gravely offended our Puritannic brethren, in Massachusetts; and that offence was greatly increased "at the establishment of British factors in their "country—*a measure rendered necessary by the enormous "deficiencies of some of those who assumed the character "of Merchants in America, immediately after the Peace.*" A spirit of retaliation was promptly raised; and the Federal Congress was appealed to, to adopt retaliatory measures, while, on the twenty-third of June, 1785, the General Court of the State unwisely destroyed one of her own markets, by enacting a Law prohibiting the exportation, from any port of Massachusetts, in *British* bottoms, of any goods of *American* manufacture or product, after the first of August ensuing; and, from that very small beginning of petty spite arose those overflows of indignation at what was considered British intolerance and British ill-feeling toward the United States, of which the inventions of Mr. Motley, now under consideration, afford one of the latest and most glaring instances.

The inhabitants of the United States, during 1785, imported from England and Scotland very much less than they had imported in 1784, and, during the same period, their Exports to those countries were considerably increased; and, from that stern fact, Mr. Motley might have learned, had he desired to learn the truth, how rapidly the United States were recovering from the disasters of a prolonged and devastating War; how prosperous their industry was; and how baseless, in fact, were all his misrepresentations concerning either the business or the morals of the Confederacy.

The following are the Reports of the Imports and Exports referred to, during the year 1785, taken from the British Customs:

	Imports into	Exports from
New England	£ 163 348.. 5..3	£ 56.647..11..11
New York	405.762..12 .0	61.671..10.. 9
Pennsylvania	369.2 5.. 8..5	57.705.. 6.. 5
Maryland and Virginia	1 015.102.. 8..3	443.580.. 6.. 2
Carolina	310.198.. 3..7	228.070..15..10
Georgia	44.396.. 4..6	45.919..14.. 7

From the West India islands, the imports into the United States, during 1785, were as follows:

Sugar	Cwt.	46.142
Rum	Galls.	2.188.000
Molasses	..	43.800
Cotton	Lbs.	11.750
Coffee	Cwt.	1.202
Cocoa	..	154
Pimento	Lbs.	54.300
Ginger	Cwt.	1.362
Dyewoods	Tons	60
Salt	Bushels	19.022
Beef and Pork	Bbls.	55
Negroes		468

During 1786, there seems to have been very little change either in the polity or the policy of Great Britain, as far as her relations with the United States were concerned. An Act was passed (26 *Geo. III., Cap. LII.*) to prevent the fraudulent removal of Tobacco and for fixing the duty on that article; but there was no change in the status of that which was the product of the United States—it was treated exactly as if it was the product of a British Colony—and, as if to reciprocate the general good-will of all classes in Great Britain, the State of Pennsylvania, in glowing contrast with the narrowness of Massachusetts, repealed all the local Statutes which had hitherto imposed extra charges upon the shipping, belonging to British subjects, which entered her ports, and declared that the vessels of all countries should, thenceforth, be admitted, therein, upon the same terms as those of the United States.

The Imports from England and Scotland into the United States, during 1786, amounted, in the aggregate, to £1,603,466., 0s., 9d.,—a decrease of nearly one-third since 1785, and of five-ninths since 1784—while the Exports from the United States to England and Scotland, during the same period, amounted, in the aggregate, to £843,119., 1s., 0d., —also a decrease, since 1785, of about £50.000. The Imports from the West India islands, during 1786, were as follows:

Sugar	Cwt.	35,801
Rum	Galls.	1,399,040
Molasses	Galls.	1,800
Cotton	Lbs.	
Coffee	Cwt.	1,874
Cocoa	..	181
Pimento	Lbs.	16,900
Ginger	Cwt.	487
Dyewoods	Pieces	370
Salt	Bush.	1,330
Beef and Pork	Bbls.	
Negroes		337

Notwithstanding the partisan misrepresentations and personal and local bitterness which were constantly thrust before the world by those, in America, who were anxiously endeavoring to change the character of the Confederacy, there seems to have been no change in the commercial policy of the British Government, in its relations with the United States, during the year 1787; and the Custom House Reports indicate the same activity, in their commerce, as had previously prevailed.

The direct trade between the United States and Great Britain, in 1787, amounted, in their Imports from that country, to £2,014.111., 18s., 7d., and, in their exports to that country, to £893,637., 16s., 1d.; while their trade with the West India islands, as the following tables will indicate, was very extended.

I.

Vessels employed in the trade with the United States, by the several West India islands, in 1787, *as displayed in the British Customs Reports.*

	Vessels	Tonnage	Men
Jamaica	133	13.041	898
Tortola	3	372	21
St. Christophers	21	2.457	140
Mont Serret and Nevis	20	1.850	138
Dominica	16	2.003	147
Antigua	71	8.281	582
St. Vincents	21	2.587	174
Grenada	47	6.373	410
Barbadoes	54	6.416	379

II.

Exports from the British West India islands to the United States, in 1787.

Sugar	Cwt.	19.333
Rum	Galls.	1.620.205
Molasses	.	4.200
Cotton	Lbs.	3.000
Coffee	Cwt.	3.246
Cocoa	..	124
Pimento	Lbs.	6 450
Ginger	Cwt.	339
Dyewoods		
Salt	Bushels	2.304
Beef and Pork	Bbls.	72
Negroes		184

progress through so great a part of the
not a single person has been capitally
cted before them."

you shall reflect on this subject, and bear
the characteristics of a frontier popula-
feel confident that you will not only see
have been misled, but, on the other hand,

ear 1788 is notable, in the annals of the United
ecause of the culmination of that system of local,
agitation which was set in motion and sustained
of their citizens as preferred the system of Gov-
which Great Britain was controlled by, to the
epublican system which then prevailed in the
States; and, as becomes a faithful writer of the
f my country, it is my duty to say that, even in
od of deep excitement and misrepresentation, in
with the exception hereafter noted, concerning
India trade, there was no perceptible change in
mercial policy of Great Britain, in her relations
United States—the Act of 28 Geo. III., Cap. V.,
extended the authority of the King in Council, to
egulations for the government of the American
til the fifth of April, 1789; and the latter having
changes, whatever, in that matter.

gulation of the trade between the British Colonies
ca and the United States was assumed, directly, by
iament, early in 1788; and there can be little doubt
Government was prompted to make some changes
n retaliation of the obstructions to British trade
ere raised by the Legislatures of Massachusetts and
ier New England States and of the violent abuse
representations with which the partisan press, in
, teemed, at that time. Indeed, so much uneasi-
s manifested by the Ministry, in England, on that
subject, that it was formally brought to the notice
Embassy, at London; and it is a matter of surprise,
who are acquainted with the subject, that the direct
th Great Britain was allowed to remain unshackeled
iprocal fetters, during the entire year and until
lay, in 1789. But it was so; and only the Colonial
th the United States was subjected to any unfriend-
ge.

e tenth of March, 1788, an Act was passed (*28 Geo. III. Cap. VI.*) to supersede the Orders of the King in , whereby the importation of Tobacco, Tar, Pitch, ine, Hemp, Flax, Masts, Yards, Bowsprits, Lumber inds, Horses, Cattle and other Live Stock, Bread, eas, Beans, Potatoes, Wheat, Rice, Oats, Barley er Grain, the produce of the United States, into the dia islands, *in British vessels*, legally navigated, rmanently authorized; and the goods or produce ould, legally, be exported to any foreign country, in as well as Sugar. Molasses, Coffee, Pimento, and Ginger, were allowed to be exported to the States, *also in British vessels*. In all this, there material change; but the only articles of export ort, from and to the islands, which were favored es for duties, were Cocoa and Ginger, which, alone, e exported on the payment of the same duties which posed on the exportation of the same goods to a Colony in America. On the other hand, the islands t permitted to import from any foreign West India ny of the goods which they were thus authorized to from the United States, except in cases of distress; monopoly of the West India market was, there- actically continued to the United States, subject mport duties imposed by the Government. No goods er, were allowed to be imported from the United nto Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, St. Newfoundland, or their dependencies, except in f temporary distress, when *British* vessels might upplies, for a limited period: and no goods were l to be carried, *by sea*, from the United States to Can- any pretense whatever—the reason for the different which prompted the peculiar regulations enacted control of the Canadian and Provincial trade will ions to all my readers: *New England chiefly suf- herefrom.*

g the year 1788, the Exports from the United States at Britain amounted to £1,023,789, 13s., 0d.,—a

that you will admit that, even if your averment is correct, generally, the frontiers of Pennsylvania—unlike all other sections—were an unusually civil and submissive section of the country, during the years 1785–6.*

V. That, during that period, "*no insurrections could be suppressed.*—*Pages 7, 26.*

greater sum than they had ever reached, before that year—and the Imports into the United States, from Great Britain, during the same period, amounted to £1,886,142., 2s., 10d., —a very considerable reduction from those of the preceding year—and, if I may be allowed to judge of the elements of a nation's prosperity, these Reports clearly indicate that the United States were steadily recovering from the effects of the War, and as steadily strengthening the independent position, as business communities, which, as political communities, they had already attained.

The trade of the United States with the East has been referred to; and I may be permitted to return to the subject, to indicate to Mr. Motley how little reason he had, in fact, as far as that particular subject is concerned, for the petty misrepresentations of which he has been guilty.

In the latter part of 1788, or early in 1789, the Earl Cornwallis, America's last trophy during the War of the Revolution, who was then Governor-general of India, gave orders that American vessels should be treated, at the Company's settlements, in all respects, as the most favored foreigners; and, when the *Chesapeake*, the first American vessel which was allowed to trade, or even to show her colors, in the Ganges, appeared, she was welcomed by the Supreme Council of Bengal with an exemption from the Government Customs, which all foreign vessels were bound to pay.

During the year 1789, the absolute prohibition of trade between Canada and the United States was found to be inconvenient, in practise; and it was modified so far as to allow the King in Council to authorize the importation of necessary supplies from the United States, in time of distress—a measure which was demanded by the teachings of a recent famine in Quebec, rather than prompted by any kind feeling, on the part of the Government, to the restless spirits, in the Eastern States, who were principally benefitted by it.

During the same year, more stringent laws for the regulation of the American fisheries were enacted (*29 Geo. III., Cap. LIII.*,) and for preventing smuggling of Tobacco, (*29 Geo. III., Cap. LXVIII.*,) but the aggregate importations into the United States, from Great Britain, amounted, in value, to £2,525,299., 9s., 2d., and the aggregate value of exportations, to £1,050,199., 4s., 0d.,—the former indicating very little, if any, loss of credit, in England; the latter indicating quite as little anarchy, at home.

As "the new system," with General Washington at its head, went into operation early in 1789, I pursue the subject no further, unless in presenting, for the sake of contrast, a continuation of the tables of Imports from and Exports to Great Britian, taken, like those which have preceded them, in this Note, from the British Custom-house books and in Sterling money.

	Imports	Exports
1788–89	£ 2,525,299.. 9.. 2	£ 1,050,199.. 4.. 0
1789–90	3,431,779..17.. 7	1,191,072.. 1.. 9
1790–91	4,225,448.. 1.. 0	1,194,232..16.. 3
1791–92	4,271,418.. 9.. 3	1,038,707.. 9.. 0
1792–93	3,514,681..10..11	904,040.. 7.. 8
1793–94	3,859,871..11..10	625,733..13.. 8
1794–95	5,254,118..18.. 7	1,352,136..15.. 7
1795–96	6,054,238.. 9.. 2	2,080,970..19.. 2
1796–97	5,056,822..13..10	1,175,512..18.. 9
1797–98	5,580,370.. 3.. 2	1,782,720.. 2..10
1798–99	7,056,558..18.. 3	1,818,941..13.. 8

My readers need not be told that these Tables indicate that the United States, under the *Confederation*, were

*This subject will be illustrated further from what has been said of the Courts of Orange-county and the City of New York on pages 171–173, of this number.

Only three insurrections—between the close of the War and the organization of the new Government, under President Washington—disturbed the United States. The *First*, was that of the Connecticut settlers, in the valley of the Wyoming and its vicinity, in consequence of the refusal of the State of Pennsylvania to confirm the titles to their lands—a subject over which the Federal Congress had no control, either directly or indirectly, (*Proclamation of the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, October 5, 1784; Minutes of the Council 1784–6; Resolution of the General Assembly of Connecticut, October, 1783; Proclamation of Governor Trumbull, November 15, 1783; Memorial of John Franklin, et al., October 20, 1784; and the action of the Assembly of Connecticut thereon; Hildreth's United States, iii., 471*) and one which was settled by the parties in interest—the States referred to—without the employment of any military force whatever. (*Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 44, 45; Minor's Wyoming; Peck's Wyoming, 66*). The *Second*, was "The Shay's Rebellion" in southern and western Massachusetts, which was organized in resistance to the action of *the State*, to prevent the Sessions of *the State* Courts, and, in no wise, affecting the Federal Government or the *Articles of Confederation*. (*Minott's History of the Rebellion; Hildreth, iii.*, 472–474; *Bradford's Massachusetts, ii.*, 272–278.) This rebellion, also, as you probably know, was promptly suppressed by General Benjamin Lincoln, acting exclusively under the authority of *the State*, and without the co-operation of any other force than *the State* troops. (*Minott; Hildreth, iii.*, 474–477; *Bradford, ii.*, 280–310.) The *Third* was an insurrection in New Hampshire, in 1786, also originating in an opposition to the *State* policy concerning taxes, paper-currency, actions at law, &c. It was not affected, in the least, by the Federal relations; nor were the Federal authorities concerned in its suppression, in the remotest degree. (*Belknap's New Hampshire*, Edit. Boston, 1791, 459–476; *Hildreth, iii.*, 473.)

VI. That, during the same period (*1783–1788*) "*no debt could be collected*,"—*Page 7*—that "*debts could not be collected*."—*Page 26*.

Like several of the propositions which have been noticed already, this is so sweeping in its character that no *complete* answer can be expected, within the limits of this letter. I am aware that, among the grievances of the insurgents, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was a stern dislike to the Courts and lawyers—probably based on a desire to avoid the payment of their obligations—but I am also aware that these insurgents were *not* sustained in the exercise of so questionable a taste. I am also aware that, in the Mayor's Court in the City of New York, on the second day of its organization, after the enemy had evacuated the city, (*February 24*, 1784) one hundred and sixteen writs were returned; on the third day, one hundred and sixty-seven; and in the July Session, one hundred and ninety-eight—Messrs Hamilton, Burr, Troup, and Livingston being among the principal Attorneys employed. (*Records of the Mayor's*

quite as prosperous—that they exported quite as much, in proportion to their imports, and ran in debt for imported goods quite as little, beyond their net products—as the same United States did, under the *Constitution*, Mr. Motley to the contrary, notwithstanding; and they indicate, too, that, to say the least of it, there was quite as much thrift, and quite as much industry, and quite as little "extravagence," before, as there were after, the *Constitution* was established between the several States of the Confederacy, unpleasent as that fact will be to Mr. Motley and those whom he served.

So much for the pretended intolerance of Great Britain of which Mr. Motley has said so much and so untruly: what of the relations of France with the United States, of which Mr. Motley has said nothing?

The French, very reasonably, expected to secure great advantages in commerce, from their alliance, during the War, with the United States; but their expectations were not realized—indeed, the trade of France with the United States, was never a brisk one; and, very soon after the Peace, so indiscreetly was the subject handled by the French Government, it almost entirely ceased.

In March, 1784, the French Government decreed that, in the West Indies, only the single port of Cap Nicholas Mole should be open to the American trade with the French Colonies; and, at that port, it limited the exports to Molasses and Taffia—bad Rum. The effect of this short-sighted regulation was immediately seen; and, in November of the same year, after the old associations of the Americans, in the *British* islands, had been restored, and the trade *with them* fully and sympathetically renewed, it was modified by the designation of other ports, but even that modification was accompanied by other provisions, as obnoxious as the former, which perfectly neutralized all the commercial purposes of the Government and failed to attract the trade of the United States.

In France, proper, Dunkirk and three or four other ports were officially opened to the American trade; but, as far as I have found any authority on the subject, that Government relied on its recent alliance, in War, more than on its present commercial facilities, in Peace; and the effect was seen in the supremacy of the control exercised by "the almighty dollar," and in the present profits afforded by the respective policies of the rival nations. *Great Britain made the* BEST *offer for the trade of the young Republic; and* SHE SECURED IT: *France, disappointed and indignant at what she considered the* INGRATITUDE *of America, very soon found, in San Domingo and in France, other and more important subjects, and quietly surrendered, to her successful rival, the trade which the latter had, already, so completely secured.*

Beyond a single general remark, I need offer no comments on the evidence which I have thus presented of Mr. Motley's glaring infidelity to the truth and his consequent unfitness for writing on either historical, legal, or commercial subjects, whenever it will probably pay him to misrepresent them—*that man who can wilfully misrepresent the truth, even concerning his own country,* IN ORDER TO SECURE A FOREIGN MISSION, *cannot be prudently depended upon, on any subject,* WHENEVER THE PRICE OFFERED SHALL BE SUFFICIENT TO COMPENSATE HIS MISREPRESENTATION AND TREACHERY. Mr. Motley, therefore, together with his pretended unfriendliness in foreign nations and equally fictitious indisposition, abroad, to open and continue commercial relations with "the thirteen united States "of North America," between 1783 and 1789, is dismissed to that Netherlandish history which, *it is said*, his scholarly elegance of style has so much adorned and so little improved.

Court, 1784.) As these were, generally, actions for the collection of debts, it would appear that the citizens made repeated attempts to do what, you say, was not possible; and the frequent advertisements, in the several papers of the period, of the sales of property for the payment of such debts, indicate that, in a fair proportion, at least, they were successful.

VII. That, during that period—*1783–1788*—"*neither property nor life was secure*"—*Page 7*—that "*the absence of law, order, and security "for life and property was as absolute as could "be well conceived in a civilized land.*"—*Page 26.*

I have reason to believe that you have been misled on this subject, as grossly as on those to which I have before invited your attention; but the same difficulty exists in this, respecting the extent to which a *complete* refutation of your charge on our predecessors would carry this reply. A single line in your letter affords space enough to malign the character of "thirteen "petty sovereignties," their inhabitants, their laws, their Governments, and their political principles; they are transformed, by half a dozen words, from your pen, into as many distinct masses of robbers and assassins; and the very maxims of thieves—among whom, in their intercouse with each other, there is said to be a regard to personal honor—if you are correct, were disregarded by the Washingtons, the Schuylers, the Greenes, the Franklins, the Waynes, the Rutledges, and their neighbors and families, from Nova Scotia to Florida, from 1778—the date of the Confederacy—to 1789, when the Federal *Constitution* was established. Strange news are these, from a historian of world-wide celebrity, whose supposed careful examination of the original authorities and whose faithful utterance of their teachings, on other subjects, have won for him both honor and wealth. How singularly loose in their statements, too, if you are correct, must Judges Shippen and Rush have been, in the paragraph which I have cited under the fourth division of my subject; how lamentably ignorant, too,—or how hypocritical and insulting—must Governor Bowdoin have been, in his correspondence with Captain Stanhope, of His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Mercury*, while in Boston harbor, in July and August, 1785, when the latter complained of an insult which had been offered to him by the inhabitants of Boston, and was answered "Foreigners are "entitled to the protection of the law, as well as "amenable to it, equally with any citizen of the "United States, while they continue within the "jurisdiction of this Commonwealth. Any "learned practitioner of the law, if applied to, "will direct you to the mode of legal process in "the obtaining a redress of injury, if you have "been injured, and the judiciary courts will "cause due inquiry to be made touching riotous "and unlawful assemblies and their misde-"meanors, and inflict legal punishment on such "as, by verdict of a jury, may be found guilty." (*Governor James Bowdoin to Captain Stanhope, August 1, 1785.*)

How remarkable it is, too, that, during the years 1784 to 1788, inclusive—the five years next succeeding the War—when the country was demoralized from that cause, and during the period in which, if you are correct, it was in a state of anarchy and general criminality, without Government and without shame, the aggregate of crime was *less* than it was during the first five years of the Presidency of General Washington, when the "magical" effects of the new Constitution, *you* being again the witness, had so suddenly and so effectually restored order out of "chaos," and, "as if by magic," had converted from barbarism, an unprincipled, thievish, murderous community, among whom "neither "life nor property were secure," into a peaceful, law-abiding, conscientious people!

To prove this, let us turn to the records of Orange-county in this State—a district of country which was so peculiarly "rural" in its character, that, immediately before the War, during a period of thirty years, not a single action in law, on any subject, had been known within its bounds.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF ORANGE-COUNTY, NEW YORK, FROM 1784 TO 1793, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

I.—*From* 1784 *to* 1788—*five years*, UNDER THE CONFEDERATION.

Disorderly House	1	
Assault and Battery	10	
Felony	3	
Compounding a Felony	1	
Petty Larceny	1	
		16
Which were thus disposed of.		
Indictment quashed	1	
Not known	12	
Convicted	3	
		16

II.—*From* 1789 *to* 1793—*five years*, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

Trespass	6	
Arson	1	
Horse-stealing	1	
Larceny	2	
Assault with intent to com. rape	2	
Sedition	1	
Assault and Battery	6	
		19
Which were thus disposed of.		
Acquitted	7	
Not known	8	
Convicted	4	
		19

From these pictures of the peculiar "anarchy" of rural New York—for which we are indebted to the efficient Clerk of the County—let us turn to municipal New York, during the same period, as the reports appear on the records of the Criminal Courts of that City.

In the Office of the Clerk of the Court of Sessions of the City and County of New York, is a venerable volume, in manuscript, entitled *A General List of all persons Indicted and Convicted in the City and County of New York, from the end of the American Revolution to the year 1820.* From that volume,—pages 1–40—through the courtesy of Henry Vandervoort, Esqr., the veteran Clerk of the Court, I have collected the information contained in the following Table:

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, FROM JANUARY, 1784, TO MARCH, 1794.

I.—*Indictments found, from January, 1784, to March, 1789—five years and two months,* UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total
Altering a Bill of Credit	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Arson	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Assault	-	1	1	2	17	3	24
Assault and Battery	36	13	31	25*	9	1	115
Bigamy	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
Body-snatching.†	-	-	-	-	12	-	12
Breaking into a vessel	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Burglary	14	11	18	8	1	-	52
" Accessory to	2	3	-	-	-	-	5
Challenge, Sending one	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
" Acting as second	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cheating	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Conspiracy to defraud	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Contempt of Court	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Counterfeit money, Passing	1	3	1	-	-	-	5
Counterfeiting	-	13	-	-	-	-	13
"Deceit"	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Disorderly House	24	11	9	3	6	-	53
Disturbing neighbors	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Embezzlement	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Extortion	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
" as Aldermen	-	7‡	-	1§	-	-	8
False Pretences	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Felony	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
" Accessory to	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Forgery	1	5	12	5	1	6	30
" Accessory to	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
Forged papers, Passing them	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Grand Larceny	26	7	10	13	11	5	82
High Treason	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Highway Robbery	-	1	1	2	-	-	4
Horse-stealing	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
"Ignoramus"	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
Kidnapping negroes	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Keeping billiard table	-	-	18	-	2	-	20
Larceny	3	6	15	23	8	-	55
Libel	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Lotteries, Advertising one.*	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
" Promoting.*	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Misdemeanor	-	-	2	-	1	1	4
Misprision of Treason.†	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Murder	3	2	-	-	7	-	12
Not recorded	-	-	1	2	-	2	5
Nuisance	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Perjury	2	-	1	3	-	-	6
Petty Larceny	14	2	12	9	7	7	51
Pocket-picking	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pretending to be a Watchman	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Publishing prophane books	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Rape	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Receiving stolen goods	3	1	2	11	1	-	18
Riot	3	26	9	-	13	-	51
" & Assault & Battery	6	29	15	-	-	-	50
Robbery	5	1	-	2	-	2	10
Sedition	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
" Stealing."	-	-	-	1	3	-	4
Trespass	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Usury.‡	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Window-breaking	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	156	157	186	118	108	29	754

* Matthias Ogden and Abijah Hammond, well known Lawyers, were among these.

† The robbery of the Burying-grounds which led to "the "Doctors' Mob," wherein John Jay and Colonel Hamilton were among the *posse comitatus* and the former was wounded.

‡ Aldermen B Blagg, A. P. Lott, W. W. Gilbert, Jeremiah Wool, John Broome, William Neilson, and James Monell.

§ Alderman A. P. Lott.

Of these Indictments, there were in the Court of Sessions, four hundred and eighteen, and in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, three hundred and thirty-six. They were thus disposed of:

Acquittals	98	
Not brought to trial	302	
Nolle prosequi	3	
Laid over	1	
Quashed	18	
Discharged	13	
Removed to other Courts	2	
Indictments amended	5	
Convictions	312	
		754

The Convicted were thus disposed of:

Branded	19	
" in the cheek and imprisoned	1	
" and flogged	3	
Burned in the hand	3	
Fined	131	
" and imprisoned	9	
Flogged	32	
" and carted	2	
" and imprisoned	4	
Hanged	28	
Imprisoned	19	
New trials granted	2	
Pardoned	15	
Pillory	2	
" and imprisonment	1	
Sentences not recorded	40	
" suspended	1	
		312

* James Rivington, whose violent abuse of the Americans, while Editor of *The Royal Gazette*, in New York, is so well known. He was convicted on the first of these two charges and acquitted on the last.

† Gilbert Livingston and William Weisham.

‡ Brockholst Livingston, subsequently a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

II.—*Indictments found, from March, 1789, to March, 1794—five years, under the* CONSTITUTION.

	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	Total
Assault	1	–	1	1	–	–	3
" and Battery	7	27	35	42	40	8	159
" with intent to murder	–	–	–	–	2	–	2
Attachment	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Bigamy	–	1	–	2	–	–	3
Billiard table, Keeping one	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Burglary	5	3	1	3	2	–	14
Challenge, Sending one	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Cheating	–	–	–	2	–	–	2
Contempt	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Counterfeit Certificate, Passing	–	4	–	–	–	–	4
Disorderly house	7	1	12	4	6	–	30
Extortion	1	–	1	–	–	–	2
False pretence	–	2	–	–	–	–	2
Felony	–	1	2	2	–	–	5
Forceable entry	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Forged Exchange, Passing	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Forgery	11	–	2	2	22	8	45
Forging Certificates	–	2	–	–	–	–	2
Forging and passing certificates	–	2	–	–	–	–	2
Fraud	–	1	–	–	2	–	3
Gaming	–	1	2	–	–	1	4
Grand Larceny	9	9	2	4	6	5	35
Highway Robbery	1	1	–	–	–	–	2
Horse-stealing	–	1	2	1	–	–	4
Larceny	7	2	–	1	–	–	10
Libel	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Lottery, Private	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
" Promoting.*	–	–	3	–	–	–	3
" tickets, Selling	–	–	2	–	–	–	2
Manslaughter	–	1	1	1	2	–	5
Misdemeanor	2	–	–	–	–	–	2
Murder	–	–	1	1	3	–	5
Nuisance	–	–	4	2	1	–	7
Perjury	1	–	–	2	–	–	3
Petty Larceny	6	20	7	6	16	3	58
Picking Pockets	–	–	4	1	–	–	5
Rape	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Receiving stolen goods	5	11	1	1	–	2	20
Rescue	3	–	–	–	–	–	3
Riot	–	–	2	–	3	1	6
" with Assault & Battery	–	–	8	7	–	–	15
Robbery	6	4	2	–	–	–	12
" accessory	–	2	–	–	–	–	2
Sheep-stealing	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Shuffle-board, Keeping one	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Vagrancy	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
	74	98	99	86	108	28	493

Of these Indictments, one hundred and seventy six were in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and three hundred and seventeen were in the Court of Sessions. They were thus disposed of:

Acquittals	55
Not brought to trial	133
Nolle prosequi	11
Laid over	3
Quashed	8
Discharged	3
Removed to other Courts	6
Convicted	274
	493

* Samuel Louden and Thomas Greenleaf, the well-known Editors and Publishers, were in this party.

The Convicted were thus disposed of:

Fined	134
" and imprisoned	15
Flogged	54
" and imprisoned	6
" and transported	9
Hanged	13
Imprisoned	27
Judgment reversed	1
Pardoned	3
Pillory and imprisoned	1
Respited	2
Sentences not recorded	6
Transported	2
" and imprisoned	1
	274

These tables indicate a considerable decrease in crime, in the City of New York, as the passions and distress produced by the War subsided; and it is evident that that decrease was not controlled, in any way, by the change in the Federal Constitution, nor, indeed, by any merely political action of either the State or the Confederacy. Thus, of Assaults and Assaults with Battery, from thirty-six, in 1784, the number had decreased, in 1788, to twenty-six, and, in 1789, to twelve, after which they gradually increased, notwithstanding the *Constitution;* while, of Burglaries, the decrease was from fourteen, in 1784, to one, in 1788, after which the number was insignificant, unless as evidence of the general good morals of the inhabitants. The same result is seen in the arrests for keeping disorderly houses, larceny, murder, receiving stolen goods, riot—the "Doctor's Mob," in 1788, with its accompanying "body-snatching," serving to swell the number of rioters arrested during that year—and robbery; while forgery, in its various phases, enjoys the solitary distinction of extended influence. The aggregate of indictments, also—excluding those frivolous charges which were never prosecuted or, on being tried, were pronounced invalid—steadily diminished, until after the new *Constitution* was established; and of these the total number, during the first-mentioned five years and a sixth. —1784, to March, 1789 —was three hundred and twenty-three, and that, during the last mentioned five years—March, 1789, to March, 1794—was two hundred and ninety-four.

What better evidence than these records is needed to show that merely political Constitutions, in the United States, have had no effect on either the production or the diminution of Crime: and that, even if Mr. Motley was correct in his maintenance of the opposite hypothesis, *which I deny*, a very slight *increase* of crime, under "the "new system," in both the rural and the municipal communities, affords only a sorry support

for his partisan inventions concerning the morals of the United States, during the supremacy of the *Articles of Confederation?*

VIII. That "*Great Britain had made a "Treaty of Peace with us, but she scornfully "declined a Treaty of Commerce and Amity; "not because we had been rebels, but because we "were not a State—because we were a mere dis-"solving League of jarring Provinces, incapable "of guaranteeing the stipulations of any Com-"mercial Treaty.*"—*Page 7.*

In this conclusion, also, I believe you have been misled. It is very certain that, in her constant and intense desire to secure our trade, rather than allow France to secure it, while she studiously endeavored to conciliate the Americans by granting every possible commercial indulgence and by studiously guarding against every possible contingency, Great Britain *never* "scornfully *declined* a Treaty of Commerce "and Amity" with the United States, as you remark; on the contrary, on the seventeenth of June, 1785, when the Marquis of Caermarthan, the British Secretary of State, first received Mr. Adams, for business purposes, "his "Lordship began the conversation, by saying "that he could answer for himself and, he "believed, for the rest of the King's servants, "that they were sincerely desirous of cul-"tivating the most cordial friendship with "America, and for doing everything in "their power for dissipating every little animos-"ity that might remain among individuals" (*John Adams to John Jay, June 17, 1785*). The same able American Minister, writing from Westminster, nine days later, informed Mr. Jay, the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, "I "am every day astonished at the ignorance of "all ranks of people of the relation between "this country and ours. '*Cui bono?*' they cry. "'To what end a Treaty of Commerce, when "'we are sure of as much American trade as "'we have occasion for, without it? The "'experiment has been tried, and the Americans "'have found that they cannot supply them-"'selves, elsewhere,'" (*John Adams to John Jay, June 26, 1785;*) and who shall say that those Englishmen, in view of the then notorious facts of English liberality and American willingness to be well-served, were not only well-informed as to the facts referred to, but, bluntly, truth-telling, when they thus addressed Mr. Adams? The visit of Lord Hood to Mr. Adams, about the same time, and his conversation concerning a Treaty of Commerce;* the anxious conversation of Mr. Adams and Mr. Pitt, the Foreign Secretary, on the subject of the proceedings of the State of Massachusetts on the same subject, after that State had enacted a local Navigation Act;* and numerous other similar topics, abundantly scattered over the history of the Diplomacy between the United States and Great Britain, from 1783 to 1789, all prove that the ability of the United States, or their disability, to guarantee the stipulations of any Commercial Treaty, had nothing to do with the delay in the adjustment of the terms of a Treaty of Commerce. Let these authorities, all well-known to every student of American history, together with Mr. Adams's very elaborate report of his first official interview, on business, with Mr. Pitt (*Letter to John Jay, August 25, 1785*) suffice to show to you that the alleged incapacity of the United States to guarantee the stipulations of any Commercial Treaty had no part in the procrastinated negociations between the two countries.

Nor is the statement correct that Great Britain scornfully declined a Treaty of Commerce and Amity with the United States, "because we "were not a State." She had already entered into a Treaty of Peace with us, notwithstanding, in 1783, we were the same "League of petty "sovereignties" as in 1785; Mr. John Adams had been received by her King and Queen, and recognized as an Envoy, in the most enlarged sense of the term; she had opened her ports and those of her Colonies to our Commerce, on the most liberal principles;† and she had opened and continued her diplomatic relations with us, at Paris, before Mr. Adams was accredited as Minister to her Court, and before a change in the

* "A few days since, my servant announced Lord Hood "would be glad to see me, if I was at leisure. I desired "his Lordship might walk up. I was surprised that, "among so many visits of ceremony, his Lordship should "not be content with leaving his card. But, in the year "1768, I had appeared before him, then Commodore Hood, "in a special Court of Admiralty, for the trial of four "sailors for killing Lieutenant Panton, in defending them-"selves from his press-gang. His Lordship took advan-"tage of this very transient acquaintance of seventeen "years standing to make a friendly visit; he soon began a "conversation about the Boston proceedings;" [*the unfriendliness for Great Britain recently manifested in Boston*] "it is not necessary to repeat what was said, as it "was of no consequence for you to know, excepting that "his Lordsip was very sorry to see the account of those "proceedings; *was very much afraid they would obstruct "the return of friendship and prove a bar to what he "wished to see*—A GOOD TREATY OF COMMERCE. I told his "Lordship that those proceedings were prefaced with "'WHEREAS there is NO Treaty of Commerce,' and, as I "understood them, they were not to be in force any longer "than there should be no Treaty of Commence. His Lord-"ship concluded by *saying that 'the sooner such a Treaty "'was made, the better.'* I HAD NO DOUBT, THEN, AND "HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED BY OTHERS, SINCE, IN THE OPINION "THAT HIS LORDSHIP DID NOT COME OF HIS OWN HEAD."—*John Adams, Minister to Great Britain, to John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Westminster, June* 26, 1785.

* John Adams, Minister, etc., to John Jay, Secretary, August 25, 1785—Sparks's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783-1789, iv., 329-335—See, also, Mr. Adams's letter of August 31, 1785—*Ibid*, 351, 352.

† Vide pages 163-170, *ante*, *Note*.

form of the Federal compact had been made or suggested. If the fact that none but "a State" — by which you evidently mean a consolidated, national Government—could have been treated with by Great Britain, in what manner had the Treaty of 1783 been made and ratified? Why, in such case, had the negociations between the Duke of Dorset and the Embassy of the United States been opened and continued, in Paris, from October, 1784, to May, 1785—as those between the same Embassy and Mr. Hartley had been, prior to that period; and as those between the Embassy and the Marquis of Caermarthen had been, in London, after May 26, 1785? And why had the continued intercourse between the old Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation—also Leagues, but "not "States"—and Great Britain been maintained for so long a period?

IX. That "*we were unable even to fulfil the* "*condition of the Treaty of Peace and enforce* "*the stipulated collection of debts due to British* "*subjects; and Great Britain refused, in conse-* "*quence, to give up the military posts which she* "*held within our frontiers.*"—*Page 7.*

The United States *had never* "stipulated" a collection of debts due to British subjects by American citizens and residents. The Fifth Article of the Treaty of Peace had equally bound *both* parties to allow no lawful impediments to be thrown in the way of creditors of *either* country, in their attempt to collect the debts due to them, in the territory of the other:—"It is "agreed that creditors on either side, shall meet "with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the "full value, in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts "heretofore contracted" (*Article IV.*) and "it "is agreed that all persons who have any interest "in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage-"settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no "lawful impediment in the prosecution of their "just rights." (*Article V.*) Such is the language of the Treaty, on the subject of collection of debts; and, although the Earl of Caermarthan in his interview with Mr. Adams, on the twentieth of October, 1785, appears to have "insinuated"—I use Mr. Adams's own word—that the payment of the debts which were due to British subjects had been "stipulated" by the United States, it has remained for you to enjoy the questionable honor of having been the first American who has concurred with his Lordship in that "insinua-"tion:" I am content to abide by Mr. Adams's prompt and energetic denial—"Paid! my Lord! "that is more than ever was stipulated. No "Government ever undertook to pay the private "debts of its subjects; and, in this case, nobody "ever had such a thought." (*John Adams to John Jay, October 21, 1785*)—and to submit the matter, with the Articles on which it is based, for decision, to every one who can read and understand the English language, whether in Europe or America.

X. That, "*in the period between 1783 and* "*1787, we were in chaos*"—*Pages 8, 9*—"*the* "*chaos of 1785.*"—*Page 17.*

I trust that I have proved that the "chaos" of which you speak had no existance, at any time; that it is a creation of your own imagination, and exists only in your own opinions of American history. In July, 1785—the only year which you have especially designated as chaotic (*Page 17*), Mr. Adams informed Mr. Jay: "I "have been lately obliged to a fellow-citizen "(Captain C. Miller) for the Laws of New York "of the second meeting of the eighth Ses-"sion of the Legislature, amongst which, to my "great satisfaction, I find the United States, in "Congress assembled, vested, for fifteen years, "with powers to prohibit any goods, wares, or "merchandise from being imported into, or ex-"ported from, any of the United States, in ves-"sels belonging to, or navigated by, the subjects "of any person with whom the * * * States * "shall not have formed Treaties of Commerce; "and also with powers of prohibiting the "subjects of any foreign State, Kingdom, or "Empire (unless authorized by Treaty) from "importing into the United States any goods, "wares, or merchandises which are not "the produce or manufacture of the dominions "of the Sovereign whose subjects they are. *I* "*read this Act with pleasure, because it is very* "*nearly all that is wanting.*" (*John Adams to John Jay, July 19, 1785.*)

Either the "chaos" of which you speak must have been of that very slight and transient character which could have been restored to order with perfect ease by the passage of a simple Act, on commercial affairs, or a fabrication of your own fancy, in your zeal to enlighten the people of Europe on the early political history of the United States—my readers may determine to which of these propositions the subject belongs.

XI. Having disposed of the Confederation, you next approach the Constitution: and you inform the inhabitants of Europe that "*the* "*Constitution was not drawn up by the States.*" —*Page 9.*

If you mean, by this, that *all the inhabitants*, or that even *the body of the People*, of the several States did not meet together and draw it up, you are correct; but, in that case, "the States," as you understand the term, never did anything, at any time, although *they* were, and are still,

* President Sparks would have better served the truth of history if he had printed this sentence exactly as it was written. The asterisks, in that place, may, possibly, conceal what would serve the truth, very usefully.

said to have met in Congress, from time to time, from 1775 to the present day. If, on the other hand, as is undoubtedly the case, you mean that the Delegates who met in Convention, in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the express purpose of *revising the Articles of Confederation*, AND THAT ONLY, were not sent there by the "*States*," as such, nor even by their agents and representatives, the State Governments—"the legislative and executive bodies, namely, in their "corporate capacity," as you describe them—that they were sent there by "the people of "the whole land, in their aggregate capacity," you are equally in error. In either case, as I have said, you are in error, as the official idea of a Convention for the revision of the *Confederation* originated in, and was carried into effect by, a *State* Government, the agent of a *State*;* from causes which only affected a *State*; the Delegates, in every case, were appointed by a *State* Government, in its representative capacity; and they met, in Convention, and acted there, only as representatives of *the States* as such—the "inhabitants," or the "People" of the States, or of either of them, "in their primary assemblies," having had no part nor lot in the matter, from the first movement, when the Convention was originally suggested, until the last, when General Washington was inaugurated as President of the United States.

The requisitions on the several States for the Federal Government—the "helpless League of "bankrupt and lawless petty Sovereignties," of which you have spoken (*Page* 26)—having been more or less disregarded, from 1783 to 1787, by all the States except New York—she having paid into the Treasury not only all the requisitions which had been made on her, but additional sums to supply the deficiencies produced by the negligence of her sister States, (*Gen. Hamilton's Speech in the Assembly, Feb. 18, 1787* †)—that State, very properly, took measures, through her "legislative and executive bodies, "namely, in her corporate capacity"—not by the *inhabitants* of the State, but by the political agents or representatives of *the State*, as a sovereign, free, and independant Commonwealth—to prevent a recurrence of the imposition; which was the first effective moving cause which led to the Convention of 1787 and the establishment, between the several States, of the *Constitution for the United States*.

To this end, on Saturday, the seventeenth of February, 1787, General Malcolm offered a Resolution in the Assembly of the State (Greenleaf's *New York Journal and Weekly Register, 2104, Thursday, March 1, 1787,*) in the following language: "*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate "concur) that the Delegates of this State, in "Congress of the United States of America, be, "and they hereby are instructed, to move in "Congress for an Act recommending to *the* "*States composing the Union*, that a Convention "of Representatives *from the said States* respectively, be held, and meet at a time and place "to be mentioned in such recommendation, *for* "*the purpose of revising the* Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the "United States of America, *and reporting to* "*the United States in Congress assembled, and* "*to the States* respectively, such alterations and "amendments to the said *Articles of Confederation*, as the representatives met in such "Convention, shall judge proper and necessary, "to render them adequate to the preservation "and support of the Union.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Purdy deliver a copy "of the last preceding resolution to the Honorable the Senate."

I have quoted theResolution and Order from *The Journal of the Assembly*, Edit. New York, 1787, *page 55*; and so little were the able legislators of New York, at that day, aware of what appears, *from your letter*, to have been a stern necessity for a new form of Government

* That my readers may understand how accurately I have here described "a *State* Government," even in the face of the senseless party-cry to the contrary, which has recently prevailed, I beg to submit the following extract from the Constitution which Massachusetts—Mr. Motley's own State—adopted in 1780, and which is still in force throughout that State: "All power residing originally in "the people, and being derived from them, *the several* "*Magistrates and other officers of Government*, vested "with authority, whether Legislative, Executive, or Judicial, *are their substitutes and agents*, and are, at all "times, accountable to them." (*Constitution or Frame of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, Part I., Article V.—Edit. Boston, 1789, 10.)

† "The universal delinquency of the States, *during the* "*War*, shall be passed over with the bare mention of it. "The public embarrassments were a plausible apology for "that delinquency; and it was hoped the Peace would "have produced greater punctuality. The experiment has "disappointed that hope, to a degree which confounds "the least sanguine. A comparative view of the compliances of the several States, for the five last years, will "furnish a striking result.

"During that period, as appears by a statement on our "files, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, "and Georgia *have paid nothing*—I say *nothing*, because "the only actual payment is the trifling sum of about "seven thousand dollars, by New Hampshire; and South "Carolina has credits; but these are merely by way of discounts on the supplies furnished by her during the War, "in consideration of her peculiar sufferings and exertions "while in the immediate theatre of it. Connecticut and "Delaware have paid *about one-third of their requisitions;* "Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Maryland *about one-half;* Virginia *about three-fifths;* Pennsylvania *nearly* "*the whole;* and New York MORE THAN HER QUOTA. These "proportions are taken on the specie requisitions: the "indents have been very partially paid and, in their present state, are of little account." (General HAMILTON'S *Speech on the Revenue System—Works*, ii., 365, 366.) See, also, Judge Story's *History of the Constitution*

Is it at all wonderful, under the circumstances, that New York moved for a revision of the *Articles of Confederation* and opposed the ratification of the *Constitution*, as it was originally proposed?

for the Confederacy, that it does not appear to have been adopted without considerable dissent, even after much discussion and sundry amendments. (*The Daily Advertiser, Vol. iii., No. 621, Tuesday, February 20, 1787.*)

On Monday morning, the nineteenth of February, 1787, the Resolution was carried to the Senate, the records of which thus relate the proceedings thereon, in that body:

"A Message from the Honorable the Assem-
"bly, by Mr. Purdy, was received with the fol-
"lowing resolution for concurrence, viz.:

"'*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate
"'concur herein) that the Delegates of this
"'State in the Congress of the United States of
"'America, be, and they hereby are instructed
"'to move in Congress, for an act, recommend-
"'ing to the States composing the Union, that
"'a Convention of Representatives from the
"'said States respectively be held, and meet
"'at a time and place to be mentioned in such
"'recommendation, for the purpose of revising
"'the *Articles of Confederation and perpetual*
"'*Union between the United States of America*,
"'and reporting to the United States in Con-
"'gress assembled, and to the States respec-
"'tively, such alterations and amendments to
"'the said *Articles of Confederation*, as the
"'Representatives met in such Convention
"'shall judge proper and necessary to render
"'them adequate to the preservation and sup-
"'port of the Union.'

"*Ordered*, That the consideration of the said
"resolution be postponed."

On the following morning (*Tuesday, February 20, 1787*) "the Senate proceeded to the con-
"sideration of the resolution of the Honora-
"ble the Assembly received yesterday; propos-
"ing that the Delegates of this State be instruct-
"ed to move in Congress for an act recom-
"mending that a Convention of Representatives
"*from the several States in the Union*, to be held
"for the purpose of revising the *Articles of*
"*Confederation and perpetual Union between*
"*the United States of America*; and after con-
"siderable debate thereon, the President put
"the question, 'Whether the Senate do concur
"'with the Honorable the Assembly in their
"'said resolution?' and it was carried in the
"affirmative in manner following, *viz.*:

"For the AFFIRMATIVE. Mr. Stouten-
"burgh, Mr. Tredwell, Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr.
"Townsend, Mr. Peter Schuyler, Mr. Hopkins,
"Mr. L'Hommedieu, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Philip
"Schuyler, Mr. Morris.

"For the NEGATIVE. Mr. Yates, Mr.
"Haring, Mr. Ward, Mr. Russell, Mr. Swart-
"wout, Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Parks, Mr. Wil-
"liams, Mr. Van Ness.

"Thereupon, *Resolved*, That the Senate do
"concur with the Honorable the Assembly in
"their said resolution.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Morris deliver a copy of
"the preceding concurrent resolution to the
"Honorable the Assembly."

I have quoted from the *Journal of the Senate*, Edit. New York, 1787, *Pages 34, 35*, in order that you may learn that the movement which first led to the Convention, was not originated among "the inhabitants, in their primary
"assemblies," but in the legal representative of the sovereignty of the State—the Assembly and Senate, convened and acting under the Constitution of the State—in other words, that the *first* movement toward the drawing up of the Constitution, (*Page 9*) was by A State, "in
"its corporate capacity."

The *second* step toward the drawing up of the Constitution was the presentation of the Resolution, to which I have referred, to the "Congress
"of the United States of America," by the Delgates from New York, in conformity with the instructions which that Resolution also conveyed; and I quote from *The Journal of the United States, in Congress Assembled, Published by Order of Congress, Vol. XII., M,DCC,LXXXVII*, pages 15–17:

"Wednesday, *February* 21, 1787.

"Congress assembled—Present as before.

"The report of a grand committee, consisting
"of Mr. Dane, Mr. Varnum, Mr. S. M. Mitch-
"ell, Mr. Smith, Mr. Cadwallader, Mr. Irvine,
"Mr. N. Mitchell, Mr. Forrest, Mr. Grayson,
"Mr. Blount, Mr. Bull, and Mr. Few, to whom
"was referred a letter of 14th September, 1786,
"from J. Dickinson, written at the request of
"commissioners from the states of Virginia,
"Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New
"York, assembled at the city of Annapolis, to-
"gether with a copy of the report of the said
"commissioners, to the legislatures of the states
"by whom they were appointed, being an order
"of the day, was called up, and which is
"contained in the following resolution, viz.

"'Congress having had under consideration
"'the letter of John Dickinson, Esq. chairman
"'of the commissioners who assembled at
"'Annapolis, during the last year; also the pro-
"'ceedings of the said commissioners, and
"'intirely coinciding with them, as to the ineffi-
"'ciency of the federal government, and the
"'necessity of devising such farther provisions
"'as shall render the same adequate to the exi-
"'gencies of the union, do strongly recommend
"'to the different legislatures to send forward
"'delegates, to meet the proposed convention,
"'on the second Monday in May next, at the
"'city of Philadephia."'

"The delegates for *the state* of New York, "thereupon laid before Congress instructions "which they had received from *their constitu-"ents*, and in pursuance of the said instruc-"tions, moved to postpone the farther consid-"eration of the report, in order to take up the "following proposition; viz.'

"'That it be recommended to *the states* "'*composing the union*, that a convention of "'representatives from *the said states* respective-"'ly, to be held at , on , "'for the purpose of revising the *articles of* "'*confederation and perpetual union between the* "'*United States of America*, and reporting to "'the United States in Congress assembled, "'and to *the states* respectively, such altera-"'tions and amendments to the said *articles* "'*of confederation*, as the representatives met "'in such convention, shall judge proper and "'necessary to render them adequate to the "'preservation and support of the Union.'

"On the question to postpone for the purpose "above-mentioned, the yeas and nays being "required by the Delegates for New York,

"*Massachusetts*	Mr. King.....*ay*	
	"Mr. Dane.....*ay*	*ay*
"*Connecticut*	Mr. Johnson.....*ay*	
	"Mr. S. Mitchell.....*no*	*dd*
"*New-York*	Mr. Smith.....*ay*	
	"Mr. Benson.....*ay*	*ay*
	"Mr. Cadwalader.....*ay*	
"*New-Jersey*	Mr. Clarke.....*no*	
	"Mr. Scheurman.....*no*	*no*
	"Mr. Irvine.....*no*	
"*Pennsylvania*	Mr. Meredith.....*ay*	
	"Mr. Bingham.....*no*	*no*
"*Delaware*	Mr. N. Mitchell.....*no*	* †
"*Maryland*	Mr. Forrest.....*no*	* †
"*Virginia*	Mr. Grayson.....*ay*	
	"Mr. Madison.....*ay*	*ay*
"*North-Carolina*	Mr. Blount.....*no*	
	"Mr. Hawkins.....*no*	*no*
"*South-Carolina*	Mr. Bull.....*no*	
	"Mr. Kean.....*no*	
	"Mr. Huger.....*no*	*no*
	"Mr. Parker.....*no*	
"*Georgia*	Mr. Few.....*ay*	
	"Mr. Pierce.....*no*	*dd* ‡

* "Divided," and, therefore, not counted in the determination of the pending question.

† The number of Delegates required by the Orders of the Legislatures of the respective States of Delaware and Maryland not having been present, when this vote was taken, the minority of the Delegations from those States, respectively, were *not entitled to be counted* on this question.

‡ Georgia, because her Delegation was "divided," was also not counted, as Connecticut had not been; and the pending question was lost, on a vote of three Ayes and four Nays, only.

"So the question was lost.

"A motion was then made by the delegates "for Massachusetts,* to postpone the farther "consideration of the report, in order to take "into consideration, a motion which they read "in their place; this being agreed to, the "motion of the delegates from Massachusetts "was taken up, and being amended, was agreed "to as follows:

"'Whereas there is provision in the *articles* "'*of confederation and perpetual union*, for "'making alterations therein, by the assent of a "'Congress of the United States, and of the "'legislatures of the several states; and whereas "'experience hath evinced, that there are defects "'in the present confederation, as a mean to "'remedy which, several of *the states*, and "'particularly *the state of New York*, by "'express instructions to their delegates in Con-"'gress, have suggested a convention for the "'purposes expressed in the following resolu-"'tion; and such convention appearing to be "'the most probable mean of establishing in "'these states a firm national government.

"'*Resolved*, That in the opinion of Congress, it "'is expedient, that on the second Monday in "'May next, a convention of delegates, who "'shall have been appointed *by the several states*, "'be held in Philadelphia, *for the sole and* "'*express purpose of revising the articles of* "'*confederation*, and reporting to Congress and "'the several legislatures, such alterations and "'provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in "'Congress, and confirmed *by the States*, render "'the federal constitution adequate to the exigen-"'cies of the government, and the preservation "'of the union.'"

Thus was the *second* step taken by *the States*, as such, while the inhabitants of such States were alike innocent of any individual co-operation in the matter.

The *third* step toward the drawing up of the Constitution, was the publication of the Resolution of the Congress, *by the authority of that Congress* and signed by "CHARLES THOMSON "*Secretary*," in the newspapers of the day. If you have any curiosity to learn, from the original authorities, whether or not "the People of "the whole land, in their aggregate capacity," or any other People, as such, had any part in that publication, you may gratify it by turning to Greenleaf's *New York Journal, and Weekly Register, No. 2104, New York, Thursday, March, 1, 1787*, and to Childs's *Daily Advertiser, Vol. iii., No. 625, New York, Saturday, February 24, 1787*, in both of which it originally appeared.

* It will be seen that, throughout all these proceedings in the Congress, the individual Representatives were not recognized: even the Resolutions were offered by State Delegations, as such, and not by individual members.

The *fourth* step toward the drawing up of the Constitution, was the official transmission, *by the United States in Congress assembled, to the Governors of the several States*, of copies of the Resolution, adopted by that body, on the twenty-first of February, which I have quoted; the official transmission of the same, by the several Governors, to the Legislatures of the respective States; and the action of the latter thereon.

I will quote, at length, the proceedings, in that case, of the State of New York, only, contenting myself, from their extreme length, with a simple reference to those of the other States, in order that the whole truth may be placed before you.

In the *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, Edit. N. Y., M.DCC.LXXXVII, *page 63*, the record stands thus:

"FRIDAY, 10 *o' Clock* A.M., *February* 23, 1787.

* * * * *

"A Message from his Excellency the Governor, delivered by his Private Secretary, was "read, and is in the words following, *viz.*:

"'GENTLEMEN:

"'By this Message I have the honor of laying "'before you, a resolution of the United States "'in Congress assembled, of the 21st instant: "'With it you also receive a letter from Simeon De Witt, Esquire, Surveyor General, on a "'subject which appears to me to merit the "'attention of the Legislature. *

"'GEO. CLINTON.

"'New York, February 23, 1787.'"

"The resolution and letter which accompanied the said Message of his Excellency the "Governor, were also read.

"*Resolved*, that the said Message of his Excellency the Governor, and the papers which "accompanied the same, be committed to a "Committee of the whole House."

On Monday morning, the twenty-sixth of February, 1787, (*Journal of the Assembly, Page 68,*) "the House resolved itself into a Committee "of the whole House, on the Message of his "Excellency the Governor, of the 23rd instant "and the Resolutions of the United States "of America, in Congress assembled, which accompanied the same; and after some time "spent thereon, *Mr. Speaker* re-assumed the "Chair, and Mr. Clark, from the said Committee, reported, that the Committee had made "some progress therein, and had directed him "to move for leave to sit again.

"*Ordered*, That the said Committee have "leave to sit again.

"*Resolved*, (If the Honorable the Senate concur herein,) that five Delegates be appointed "on the part of this State, to meet such Delegates as may be appointed on the part of the "other States respectively, on the second Monday of May next, at Philadelphia, *for the "sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation*, and *reporting to Congress, and to the several Legislatures*, such "alterations and provisions therein, as shall, "when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by "the several States, render the Fœderal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government "and the preservation of the Union; and that "in case of such concurrence, the two Houses "of the Legislature will meet, on Thursday "next, at such place as the Honorable the Senate shall think proper, for the purpose of "electing the said Delegates, by joint ballot.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. John Livingston deliver "a copy of the last preceding resolution, to the "Honorable the Senate."

The Governor's Message and the Resolution of the United States which accompanied it, with the Resolution of the Assembly thereon, were sent to the Senate during the afternoon of the same day; and, after they had been read, the further consideration of them was postponed until the next morning.

On the following morning, Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of February, 1787, the Senate nonconcurred in the preceding action of the House, the Journal of the former body thus describing the action of dissent: "The Senate proceeded "to the consideration of the resolution received "from the Honorable the Assembly yesterday, "proposing that five Delegates be appointed by "the two houses of the Legislature by joint ballot, on the part of this State, to meet Delegates "on the part of the other States respectively at "Philadelphia for the purpose of revising the "confederation, which resolution was read and "the President having put the question, whether "the Senate do concur with the Honorable the "Assembly in their said resolution, it was carried in the Negative. Thereupon

"*Resolved*, That the Senate do not concur "with the Honorable Assembly in their said "resolution.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Williams deliver a copy "of the preceeding resolution of nonconcurrence to the Honorable the Assembly." (*Journal of the Senate of the State of New York*, Edit. N. Y, M,DCC,LXXXVII, *Page 43.*)

On the following morning, Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of February, 1787, the Senate took action on the same subject, by instituting new proceedings, which were thus described

* The letter from Mr. De Witt, as Greenleaf informed his readers, (*New York Journal, and Weekly Advertiser, No.* 2105, *Thursday, March* 8, 1787,) was one "concerning "certain boundaries on the northern part of the State"—not, in the least concerning the Confederacy or the Convention.

in the Journal of the day: "Mr. Philip Schuy-
"ler moved, that the Senate adopt the following
"resolution, *viz.*: '*Resolved* (if the Honorable
"'the Assembly concur herein) that *five* dele-
"'gates be appointed *on the part of* THIS STATE
"'to meet such delegates as may be appointed
"'on *the part of the other States* respectively,
"'on the second Monday in May next, at Phil-
"'adelphia, for the sole and express purpose of
"'revising the *Articles of Confederation*, and
"'reporting to Congress and to the several Leg-
"'islatures, such alterations *and provisions*
"'*therein* as shall, when agreed to in Congress,
"'and confirmed by the several States render
"'the Fœderal Constitution adequate to the
"'exigencies of government and the preservation
"'of the Union; and that in case of such con-
"'currence the two houses of the Legislature
"'will on *Tuesday next*, proceed to nomin-
"'ate and appoint the said delegates in like
"'manner as is directed by the constitution of
"'this State for nominating and appointing
"'delegates to Congress' which resolution
"having been read,

"Mr. Haring moved, that instead of *five*, that
"*three* delegates be appointed for the purposes
"set forth in the said resolution. Debates
"arose, and the question being put thereon, it
"was carried in the affirmative, in manner fol-
"lowing, *viz.*

"FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE, Mr. Yates, Mr.
"Tredwell, Mr. Haring, Mr. Ward, Mr. Russell,
"Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Swartwout, Mr. Hathorn,
"Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Parks, Mr. Williams.

"FOR THE NEGATIVE, Mr. Stoutenburg,
"Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Morris,
"Mr. Peter Schuyler, Mr. L'Hommedieu, Mr.
"Philip Schuyler.

"Mr. Haring then moved to expunge, after
"the words *Tuesday next* to the end of the
"resolution, and to substitute the following, viz.:
"'Meet at such place as the Honorable the
"'Assembly shall think proper for the purpose
"'of electing the said delegates by joint ballot.'
"Debates arose, and the question being put
"thereon, it was carried in the negative, in
"manner following, *viz.*

"FOR THE NEGATIVE, Mr. Stoutenburgh,
"Mr. Tredwell, Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr. Townsend,
"Mr. Morris, Mr. Peter Schuyler, Mr. Swart-
"wout, Mr. L'Hommedieu, Mr. Humfrey, Mr.
"Parks, Mr. Williams, Mr. Philip Schuyler.

"FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE, Mr. Yates, Mr.
"Haring, Mr. Ward, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hopkins,
"Mr. Hathorn.

"Mr. Yates then moved to insert in the said
"resolution, after the words '*and provisions*
"'*therein*,' the following, *viz.* 'not repugnant to
"'or inconsistent with the constitution of this
"'State.' Debates arose, and the question
"being put thereon, it was carried in the nega-
"tive, in manner following, *viz.*

"FOR THE NEGATIVE, Mr. Stoutenburgh,
"Mr. Tredwell, Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr. Townsend,
"Mr. Morris, Mr. Peter Schuyler, Mr. L'Hom-
"medieu, Mr. Williams, Mr. Philip Schuyler.

"FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE, Mr. Yates, Mr.
"Haring, Mr. Ward, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hopkins,
"Mr. Swartwout, Mr. Hathorn, Mr. Humfrey,
"Mr. Parks.

"The Senate being equally divided upon the
"question, his honor the President voted in the
"Negative. Thereupon,

"*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Assembly
"do concur herein,) that three Delegates be
"appointed on the part of this State, to meet
"such delegates as may be appointed on the
"part of the other States respectively, on the
"second Monday in May next at Philadelphia
"*for the sole and express purpose of revising*
"*the articles of confederation*, and reporting
"to Congress and to the several Legislatures
"such alterations and provisions therein as shall
"when agreed to in Congress and confirmed
"by the several States, render the Fœderal
"constitution adequate, to the exigencies of
"government and the preservation of the
"Union; and that in case of such concurrence
"the two houses of the Legislature will on Tues-
"day next, proceed to nominate and appoint the
"said delegates in like manner as is directed by
"the constitution of this State, for nominating
"and appointing Delegates to Congress.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Williams deliver a copy
"of the preceding resolution to the Honorable
"the Assembly." (*Journal of the Senate, 1787, pages 44, 45.*)

On the same day, (*Wednesday, February 28, 1787,*) the action of the Senate on the two preceding days, was communicated to the Assembly, and the latter named body concurred therein; which has been thus recorded: "A copy
"of a resolution of the Honorable the Senate,
"delivered by Mr. Williams, was read, that the
"Senate do not concur with this House in their
"resolution of the 26th instant, relative to the
"appointment of five delegates, to attend at
"Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May
"next.

"A copy of a resolution of the Honorable
"the Senate, delivered by Mr. Williams, was
"read, and is in the words following, *viz.*

"*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Assembly
"concur herein, that three Delegates be appoint-
"ed on the part of this State, to meet such
"Delegates as may be appointed on the part of
"the other States respectively, on the second
"Monday in May next, at Philadelphia, for the
"sole and express purpose of revising the *Arti-*
"*cles of Confederation*, and reporting to Con-

"gress, and the several Legislatures, such alter-
"ations and provisions therein, as shall, when
"agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the
"several States, render the Fœderal Constitution
"adequate to the exigencies of government, and
"the preservation of the Union; and that in
"case of such concurrence, the two Houses of
"the Legislature, will, on Tuesday next, proceed
"to nominate and appoint the said Delegates,
"in like manner as is directed by the Constitu-
"tion of this State, for nominating and ap-
"pointing Delegates to Congress.

"*Resolved*, That the House do concur with
"the Honorable the Senate, in the said Resolu-
"tion.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Dongan deliver a copy
"of the last preceding resolution of concur-
"rence, to the Honorable the Senate." (*Journal of the Assembly, 70, 71.*)

At the appointed time (*Tuesday, March 6, 1787*) each House proceeded to *nominate* three Delegates to the Convention, reporting to the other its readiness to meet for the purpose of comparing such nominations; the Senate then met the Assembly, in the Chamber of that body, to compare the lists of persons *nominated* by the Senate and Assembly, respectively, as such Delegates; when, on comparing the lists of the Senate and Assembly, the two houses were found to have agreed in the nomination of Messrs. Yates, Lansing, and Hamilton, as such Delegates. The Senate then returned to its Chamber, when each body—the Senate and the Assembly, separately—passed Resolutions duly nominating and appointing the gentlemen referred to, Delegates on the part of this State.

The record of these proceedings, on the part of the Senate, is as follows: "The Senate pro-
"ceeded pursuant to the concurrent resolu-
"tions of the Senate and Assembly of the 28th
"of February last past, to nominate three Dele-
"gates on the part of this State to meet such
"Delegates as may be appointed on the part
"of the other States respectively, on the second
"Monday in May next, at Philadelphia, when
"*the Honorable Robert Yates, Esquire, John*
"*Lansing, junior, and Alexander Hamilton,*
"*Esquires*, were openly nominated. Thereupon,
"*Resolved*, that *the Honorable Robert Yates,*
"*Esquire, John Lansing, junior, and Alexan-*
"*der Hamilton, Esquires*, are nominated Dele-
"gates on the part of this State, to meet such
"Delegates as may be appointed on the part of
"the other States respectively, on the second
"Monday in May next, at Philadelphia, pur-
"suant to the concurrent resolutions of both
"Houses of the Legislature of the 28th of
"February last past.

"A Message from the Honorable the Assem-
"bly by Mr. N. Smith, was received with a
"resolution, that they would immediately meet
"the Senate at such place as they shall appoint,
"to compare the lists of persons nominated by
"the Senate and Assembly respectively, as
"Delegates on the part of this State, to meet
"such Delegates as may be appointed on the
"part of the other States respectively, on the
"second Monday in May next, at Philadelphia,
"pursuant to the concurrent resolutions of both
"Houses of the Legislature of the 28th of
"February last.

"*Resolved*, That the Senate will immediately
"meet the Honorable the Assembly in the
"Assembly Chamber, to compare the lists of
"persons nominated by the Senate and Assem-
"bly respectively, as Delegates on the part of
"this State to meet such Delegates as may be
"appointed on the part of the other States
"respectively, on the second Monday in May
"next, at Philadelphia, pursuant to the concur-
"rent resolutions of both of the Houses of the
"Legislature of the 28th of February last
"past.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Vanderbilt deliver a
"copy of the preceding resolution to the Honor-
"able the Assembly.

"The Senate accordingly met the Honorable
"the Assembly in the Assembly Chamber, and
"being returned, the President reassumed the
"chair and informed the Senate that on compar-
"ing the respective lists of the Senate and
"Assembly, they were found to agree in the
"nomination of *the Honorable Robert Yates,*
"*Esquire, John Lansing, junior, and Alexan-*
"*der Hamilton, Esquires.*

"Thereupon,

"*Resolved*, That *the Honorable Robert Yates,*
"*John Lansing, junior, and Alexander Hamil-*
"*ton, Esquires*, are duly nominated and
"appointed delegates on the part of this State
"to meet such delegates as may be appointed
"on the part of the other States respectively on
"the second Monday in May next at Philadel-
"phia, for the sole and exclusive purpose of
"revising the *articles of confederation*, and
"reporting to Congress and the several Legisla-
"tures such alterations and provisions therein,
"as shall, when agreed to in Congress and con-
"firmed by the Several States, render the Fœder-
"al constitution, adequate to the exigencies of
"Government and the preservation of the Union."
(*Journal of the Senate, 1787, 50, 51.*)

It will be unnecessary for me to quote, in full, the records of the Assembly, on this part of the subject, the Journal of the Senate, already quoted, confirming all I have said; but, should you desire to know further on the subject, you will find it recorded in *The Journal of the Assembly, 1787, Pages 82–84.*

Such was the action of one of the thirteen

States, in the appointment of Delegates to the Convention. I have been particular in quoting the records, at length, in order that you may learn how completely the State Government—the official representative of *the State*, in its corporate sovereign capacity—made the selection of the Delegates; and how completely "the inhabi-"tants of the State, in their primary assemblies," (*Page 8*) had no part nor lot in the matter. "The "People of the State of New York, one of the "United States of America, by the Grace of "God, free and independent," sent these Delegates, to Philadelphia, *Greeting*, as she had sent her sovereign command to her Delegates in the Congress of 1778, "entirely and absolutely, for "and in behalf of the People of this State, to "ratify and confirm *The Articles of Confedera-"tion;*" but the people, or the inhabitants, or either of them—*as individuals*, simply or collectively—took no action whatever on the subject. They were law-abiding, and they assumed none of the powers which, by the Constitution of the State, had been reposed in the chosen representatives of the sovereignty of the State—"bankrupt," "lawless," and "petty," as may have been that sovereignty, *you* being the authority.

Virginia, another of the States, had previously appointed her Delegates. I have before me, a certified official copy of An Act *for appointing Deputies from this Commonwealth to a Convention proposed to be held in the City of Philadelphia, in May next, for the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution*, which was enacted by "A General Assembly, begun and held at the "Public Buildings in the City of Richmond, on "Monday, the 16th day of October, in the year "of our Lord, 1786." The provisions of that Act, declared "That seven Commissioners be "appointed *by joint ballot of both Houses of "Assembly*, who, or any three of them, are "hereby authorized, *as Deputies from this Com-"monwealth*, to meet such *Deputies* as may be "appointed and authorized *by other States*, "to assemble in Convention, at Philadelphia, as "above recommended, and to join with them in "devising and discussing all such alterations "and further provisions, as may be necessary to "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the "exigencies of the Union, and in reporting such "an Act, for that purpose, to the United States in "Congress, as, when agreed to by them and "duly confirmed *by the several States*, will "effectually provide for the same." This Act may be found, complete, in *The Statutes at Large, Published by authority, by William Waller Hening*—Edit. Richmond, 1823—Volume xii., Pages 256, 257.

I have, also, before me, an officially certified copy of the records of the House of Delegates and of those of the House of Senators, of that State, in the separate action of those bodies, on Monday, the fourth day of December, 1786, when they severally and jointly appointed George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, George Mason, and George Wythe, Esqrs., the Deputies from *that Commonwealth*, in conformity with the Act of the General Assembly, already referred to.

I have also a copy of the certificate of Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia, stating that Patrick Henry had declined the appointment, as Delegate, before referred to, and that "*I* do, hereby, *with the advice of the Council "of State*, supply the said vacancy by nomin-"ating James McClurg, Esq., a Deputy for the "purposes aforesaid."

You will, therefrom, observe that Virginia, by her General Assembly and by her Governor and Council, appointed the Delegates "from [*that*] "Commonwealth;" while the "inhabitants, in "their primary capacity," were unknown in the transaction.

New Jersey, the second of the States, in order of time, had also appointed her Delegates before New York made the selection before referred to; and copies of three documents—*the first* addressed "To the Honorable David Brearly, "William Churchill Houston, William Patterson, "and John Neilson, Esqrs.," and dated November 23, 1786; *the second*, dated May 18, 1787, addressed "To his Excellency, William Living-"ston, and the Honorable Abraham Clark, "Esqrs.;" and *the third*, dated June 5, 1787—each certifying that "*The Council and Assembly*, "reposing especial trust and confidence in your "integrity, prudence, and ability, *have, at a "joint meeting, appointed you*, or any three of "you, Commissioners, to meet such Commis-"sioners," etc; and each of the documents bears the official signature of Governor Livingston and the Great Seal of the State—that particular "broad seal" of which the country heard so much, a few years since.

Pennsylvania had been the third to appoint Delegates; and she, too, had paid no regard to "the People of the whole land, in their aggregate "capacity." I have before me, a certified copy of An Act *appointing Deputies to the Convention intended to be held in the City of Philadelphia, for the Purpose of revising the Federal Constitution*, which was enacted "*by the representatives "of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Penn-"sylvania, in General Assembly met, and by the "authority of the same*," on the thirtieth of December, 1786; * together with a Supple-

* This is known, in *The Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Re-published under the authority of the Legislature, by M. Carey and J. Bioren*—Edit. Philadelphia, 1803—as "*Chapter MCCXLIX.*"

ment thereto, which was enacted by the same body and the same authority, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1787, appointing eight "Deputies from *this State*, to meet in the Convention "of the Deputies of *the respective States of* "*North America*, to be held at the City of "Philadelphia, on the second day in the month "of May next.*"

Next, the fourth on the list, came NORTH CAROLINA, whose *General Assembly*, on the sixth day of January, 1787, enacted AN ACT *for appointing Deputies from this State to a Convention proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia, in May next, for the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution*, in which it was provided "That five Commissioners *be* "*appointed by joint ballot of both Houses of* "*Assembly*, who, or any three of them, are "authorized, as Deputies *from this State*, to "meet at Philadelphia, on the first day of May "next, then and there to meet and confer with "such Deputies as may *be appointed by the other* "*States*, for similar purposes, and with them "to discuss and decide," etc.; and "That, in "case of the death or resignation of any of the "Deputies, or of their declining their appoint-"ments, *his Excellency, the Governor*, for the "time being, is hereby authorized to supply "such vacancies."

I have not been able to obtain a complete copy of this Act; but, as I have found the above extracts in the recital in the credentials of the Honorable William Blount, over the official signature of the Governor and the Great Seal of the State, I have no doubt of their correctness. At any rate, the credentials in which they appear were received by the Convention; and, under their authority, Mr. Blount voted therein and signed the new Constitution; and Mr. Hugh Williamson, another member, did the same, under the authority of a similar instrument.

The *fifth* State which appointed Delegates, was DELAWARE, an exemplified copy of an Act of whose *General Assembly*, passed on the third of February, 1787, is now before me. It is styled AN ACT *appointing Deputies from this State to the Convention, proposed to be held in the City of Philadelphia, for the Purpose of revising the Federal Constitution;* and by it "*the General* "*Assembly of Delaware*" enacted "that George "Read, Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, "Richard Bassett, and Jacob Broom, esquires., "*are hereby appointed* Deputies from *this State*, "to meet in the Convention," etc.†

GEORGIA was the sixth State which provided for a representation in the Convention; and the ORDINANCE *for the Appointment of Deputies from this State, for the Purpose of revising the Federal Constitution*, which was enacted on the tenth of February, 1787, by "the Repre-"sentatives of the Freemen of the State of "Georgia, *in General Assembly met*," is before me.

Next is NEW YORK, whose proceedings, in detail, are already before you; (*Pages 179--181, ante*) and SOUTH CAROLINA, which followed very closely after her, was the eighth State which provided, by Statute, for a representation in the Federal Convention.

The latter State, through "*the Legislature of the* "*State*, in their Act passed on the eighth day "of March, 1787," vested power and authority in her Governor, to commission five Delegates to meet in the Convention and represent her, therein. As I have not been able to find the Act in question, I have been dependent on the recital of its origin and character which appears, over the Great Seal of the State and the official signature of Governor Thomas Pinckney, in the several credentials which the Honorable Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Rutledge, and Pierce Butler, Esquires, presented to the Convention, before taking their seats therein, and under which they acted as Delegates from that State. I have no doubt of the correctness of that recital, and refer you to it, for other information concerning the powers of those Delegates and from whom those powers were derived.*

Ninth on the list of those who appointed Delegates, was MASSACHUSETTS, whose "General "Court," on the tenth of March, 1787, formally authorized Frances Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong, Esquires, as "*their* Delegates, to attend and "represent *this Commonwealth* in the said pro-"posed Convention;" and, on the ninth of April, her Governor officially commissioned the gentlemen referred to, as such Delegates. I refer you to the credentials—the only authority which I have been able to find, on the action of your State—for the evidence of the origin and character of the Delegation from Massachusetts; but, as the Great Seal of the Commonwealth and the signatures of her Governor and Secretary of State attest the authenticity of the

* This Act is known as "*Chapter MCCLXIX*," in *The Laws of the Commonwealth*, last referred to.

† See also, "*Chap. CXLVIII, b.*" in *Laws of the State of Delaware. Published by Authority.*—Edit. New Castle, M,DCC,XCVII—Volume II., Pages 892, 893, where the Statute may be found, in full.

* Since the text of this letter was written, I have found the Act referred to. It is known as "No. 1345," and is entitled AN ACT *for appointing Deputies from the State of South Carolina, to a Convention of the United States of America, proposed to be held in the City of Philadelphia, in the month of May*, 1787, *for the purpose of Revising the Federal Constitution;* and it may be found in *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Edited, under authority of the Legislature, by Thomas Cooper.*—Edit. Columbia, S. C., 1839—v., 4, 5.

referenee, I have no doubt of its correctness.*

Connecticut next responded to the invitation—the tenth on the list—and her *General Assembly*, also, aeted for her, as had those of the other States, severally, for them. A copy of An Act *for appointing Delegates to meet in Convention* of the States, *to be held at Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May, instant*, whieh was "enaeted by the Governor, Council, "and Representatives, *in General Court Assem-* "*bled*, and by the authority of the same," at the May Session, 1787, is before me. It apppointed, as "Delegates to attend the said Conven- "tion," Messrs. William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth; and direeted them to report the result of their labors and those of the Convention, "to the Congress of the "United States, and to the General Assembly "of this State"—even more completely than many others, overlooking the individual inhabitants of the State, "in their primary capacity."

On the twenty-sixth of May, 1787, some days after the time appointed for the organization of the Convention, Maryland—the eleventh State—through her "*General Assembly*," passed An Act *for the appointment of, and conferring Powers on, Deputies from this State to the Federal Convention*, a copy of which, attested by her Governor, is before me. It authorizes the gentlemen named, "*in behalf of this State*, to meet "such Deputies as may be appointed and "authorized, by any other of the United States, "to assemble in Convention," etc.; and, like Conneetieut, Maryland instructed her Deputies to report their proceedings and those of the Convention to the same General Assembly, at its next Session.

Lastly, came New Hampshire—Rhode Island was not represented in the Convention, at any time—whose "*Senate and House of Repre-* "*sentatives, in General Court convened*," on the twenty-seventh of June, 1787—more than a month after the Convention had commenced its labors—enaeted An Act *for appointing Deputies from* this State *to the Convention proposed to be holden in the City of Philadelphia, in May*, 1787, *for the Purpose of revising the Federal Constitution*, and designated therein, John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West, Esqrs., as her "Commis- "sioners."

Originating in a *State* grievance; sustained, officially, by the action of a *State Government*, the organ of *a State;* followed by the approval of a majority of "*the United States in* "*Congress*"—"the helpless League of bank- "rupt and lawless petty Sovereignties," to which you have introduced the people of England—responded to, in every instance, where it was responded to at all, by the Legislative and Executive authorities of the several States, as such, the legal representatives of the sovereignties (such as they were) of those States; the *fifth* step of the movement toward the drawing up of the Constitution was the issue of the credentials to the Delegates who had been thus appointed to represent the several sovereignties which constituted the Confederacy—a step in which, also, neither "the People, in their "primary capacity," nor the inhabitants of the several States, as such, in any capacity, took any part whatever.

By a reference to these credentials—copies of which were before you, when you wrote your letter, unless you quoted through some other reader—you will pereeive that those presented by the Delegates from New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were merely exemplified copies of the Acts of the Legislatures of those States; those presented by the Delegates from Virginia and Georgia were similar exemplifications, with separate Commissions based on and reciting the Acts of their Legislatures, which accompanied them; that presented by the Delegates from New York was only an exemplified copy of the Joint Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly, appointing the Delegation; while those presented by Massaehusetts, New Jersey, North Carolina, and South Carolina were regular Commissions from their respective Governors, based on and reeiting the Aets or Resolutions of the Legislatures, by virtue of which the several Delegations had been appointed. There is not, in any of these doeuments, the veriest shadow of a reference to any People, in its "primary "capacity," nor to the inhabitants of the respective States, in any capacity; nor can anything be drawn from *them* but the most unqualified evidence that the Delegations, by whom the Constitution was subsequently drawn up, were, respectively, the Representatives of *the individual States*, as such, and that your remark (*Page 9*) that "the Constitution was not drawn "up by the States," is anything less, to use the most charitable language concerning it, than a most unqualified fiction, unworthy of one whose

* Those who are interested in this matter may find, in *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (*Page* 55) the *Resolve appointing Delegates for Convention, to be Commissioned*, in the preamble to which it is said "the Legislature of this Commonwealth, "did, on the third day of this present month," [*March*, 1787] "elect the Hon. Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Na- "thaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong, Esquires, "Delegates, or any three of them, to attend and represent "this Commonwealth, at the aforesaid Convention, for the "sole and express purpose mentioned in the afore-recited "resolve of Congress."

I have not found the Journals of the General Court, for 1787; but this formal recital of the action of that body, on the third of March, within a week after it occurred, is conclusive.

good name, as a careful historian, should not have been thus trifled with.

I have thus accompanied you through *all* the preliminary stages leading to the formation of the Constitutional Convention of the United States; and, as we have traversed the circuitous route, from Capitol to Capitol, through twelve of the thirteen "bankrupt and lawless petty "Sovereignties" of which you speak, we have seen that the inhabitants of those States, "in "their primary capacity," were *not* revolutionists; that they were *not* of that class whom you might, with strict and entire justice, have termed "lawless," had they assumed the power which you have attributed to them; that, in strict accordance with the *Articles of Confederation*, the legal representatives of the sovereignty of a State had originated the movement, in a strictly *legal* manner; that the individuals of whom that State was composed, in their individual capacity, and those who merely resided within its territory were *not* referred to, nor had they, nor either of them, moved in the matter, in the remotest degree; that the Delegation from that State, in the Federal Congress, secured the approval of that body to the proposition, as by law had been provided; that that Congress, after approving the measure, had legally communicated it, in a formal communication, to the legal representative of each of the thirteen sovereign *States*—the Governor thereof; and that, in their turn, the respective Governors had sent it to the Legislatures of those States, by whom the naked proposition was vested with the attributes of vitality, in the selection of Delegates to represent the several States, as Sovereigns, in the proposed Convention, for the purposes specified in the proposition and in the credentials through which the authority of those Delegates was certified by the several Governors, in their official capacities—Rhode Island, of all the members of the "helpless League," alone preferring to remain as she then was, *you* being my authority, a "bankrupt and "lawless petty Sovereignty"—and sending no representative to the Convention.

I now propose to open the door of the chamber in which the Delegates from the twelve sovereign States had assembled, in secret conclave, and, with you, to examine the record of their proceedings, in order that we may learn which of the Delegations, if any of them, first proposed, and which sustained, the project of repudiating the authority under which the Convention had been assembled, and causing to be taken from the hands of *the States*, as you have asserted, the duty of drawing up the Constitution. I confess to you that, while listening to a reading of your letter to the London *Times*, I learned, for the first time, of such a repudiation: it was the first time I had heard of such a *coup d'etat*, in 1787: it was the first time I had heard that "the Constitution was not drawn up by *the* "*States*:" that "it was ordained and established "*over the States*, by a power superior to the "States—*by the people* OF THE WHOLE LAND, *in* "*their* AGGREGATE *capacity*." I desire, however, to confess, freely, that it has not been vouchsafed to me to travel abroad on missions of historical research; that a sight of the archives of Great Britain and of Continental Europe have never gladdened my sight; that even the musty bundles of our own State and Federal Departments have never been untied by my fingers, nor their contents pored over with the anxious hope of finding something new and more authentic than our printed histories—those privileges have been reserved to you and to such of my friends whose situations in life are more favorable to such pursuits than my own—and I may be pardoned, probably, for my ignorance of the existance of historical authorities, sustaining your remarks, last referred to, which, if they exist any where, can only be found in some forgotten bundle, stowed away in some obscure corner of Europe, and dragged into the light of day, for the first time, in the course of your laborious and, it is said, triumphant explorations in the service of Dutch history.

But we are at the door of the Convention over which General Washington—"a Deputy from "Virginia," in the language employed by himself, when he officially signed the Constitution—presided with so much silent dignity. The vote of secrecy having been removed from the proceedings, we will open the *Journal of the Federal Convention*, in order the more completely to accomplish our work. It opens thus:

"On Monday, the 14th of May, A.D., 1787, "and in the eleventh year of the independence "of the United States of America, at the State-"House, in the city of Philadelphia, in virtue of "appointments from their respective *States*, "sundry Deputies to the *Federal* Convention "appeared; but a majority of *the States* not "being represented, the members present "adjourned, from day to day, until Friday, the "25th of the said month, when, in virtue of "the said appointments, appeared, *from* THE "STATES of Massachusetts," etc.

You will perceive this is said, officially, to have been a "*Federal* Convention"—a meeting of the members of that "League" of which you have spoken—not a Convention of the inhabitants nor of the People of twelve States; that it is said to have been composed of "sundry Deputies" from "their *respective* "*States*," not from revolutionary, "lawless" assemblages, within the States, acting under a

notion of popular sovereignty, without regard to law; that "a majority of *the States* not being "represented," there was no quorum for the *legal* transaction of business, in the same manner as would have been the case had the same parties —the States constituting the United States—met under the *Articles of Confederation*, in any other session of the United States, whether in the Congress or in the Committee of the States; and that it was only when New York, by *two* of her Delegates; New Jersey, by *three;* Pennsylvania, by *four;* Delaware, by *three;* Virginia and North Carolina, by *three*, or more from each; and South Carolina by *a majority*, in conformity with the several Acts of the Legislatures of those States, respectively, were present—wholly regardless of the single member from each of the States of Massachusetts and Georgia, then present—that any business, beyond an adjournment from day to day, could be transacted; and if you will turn to Mr. Yates's report of *The Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Federal Convention*, Edit. Washington, 1836, Page 96, you will find that the credentials of no other than those Delegates whose *States* were *legally* represented, were, in the least degree, noticed by the Convention, at that time.*

You will perceive, also, from the *Rules to be observed as the Standing Orders of the Convention*, that "All questions were decided "by the greater number of *those States* which "shall be fully represented"—not by the greater number of Delegates voting on any question.

You will perceive, also, from *the Journal*, that although Delegates might be present, they might, also, not count on the taking a vote. I will refer to one such case only, although there are many others. On Wednesday, the thirtieth of May, 1787, Mr. Read, of Delaware, moved to postpone a pending motion; yet, immediately afterwards, he had no voice on the determination of his own motion, in consequence of *his State* being absent, by *three* of her Delegates, although *he* was present, *and his vote, had he been entitled to cast it, under the prevailing system, would have reversed the action of the Congress, and saved his motion.* The record stands thus: "*Yeas:* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, "South Carolina, 4. *Nays:* New York, Penn- "sylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, 4;" and "the question was lost," as the Journal informs us. Delaware—or Mr. Read, for her, had he been allowed to vote—would have saved the question.

You will perceive, also, from the above, that the vote was taken *by States*, as such, not by individuals; and if I am not mistaken, there is no instance, in the history of that Convention, in which that rule was not strictly followed.

You will perceive, also, from Chief-justice Yates's Notes, (*Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention, Page 207,*) that, early in July, two of the Delegates from New York withdrew from the Convention—the reasons for which withdrawal may be seen in their joint letter to Governor Clinton (*Pages 280–283 of the Secret Proceedings, etc.*)—and that, thereafter, *New York never voted*, even on the final vote on the proposed Constitution, although Mr. Hamilton, one of the most active and useful members of the Convention, was generally present, and, in his *individual capacity*, signed the Constitution, as a witness of its passage in Convention.

Allow me to ask you, in view of these records, whether or not "the Constitution was not "drawn up by *the States*," as such, and to leave you in the hands of your countrymen and of the world.

XII. You remark, next, that "after some "months' deliberation, the Convention adopted, "*with unprecedented unanimity*, the project of "the great law, which, so soon as it should be "accepted by the People, was to be known as the "Constitution of the United States."—*Page 9.*

The object of this remark, it is evident, was to overturn the supposition, if any existed, in Europe, that the "anarchy," of which you had just before spoken, was endurable; to lead *The Times* and its readers to suppose that the better classes of society, in 1787, were united in their desire to organize a new form of Government, to rescue their country from the confusion of the "chaos" to which you have referred, and to secure their lives and their property from the assassins and the thieves by whom they are said to have been surrounded. Let us see with how much propriety you have made this remark.

Of sixty-five Delegates appointed to represent twelve States, only thirty-nine gave it their *individual* signatures, even as witnesses. Of the twenty-six, whose signatures do not grace the instrument, ten* never attended the Convention,

* "Mr. Hamilton, *in behalf of the State of New York*, "moved that Major Jackson be appointed Secretary; the "*Delegates from Pennsylvania* moved for Temple Frank- "lin; by a majority, Mr. Jackson carried it. Called in "and took his seat.

"After which, *the respective Credentials* OF THE SEVEN "STATES," [*New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina*] "were "read." (*Secret Proceedings, Friday, May* 25, 1787.)

The editor of the published *Journal of the Federal Convention*—Elliot's *Debates*, Second Edition, i., 140—was pleased to mutilate the *Journal*, just at the place where this matter had been entered therein; and students of this portion of the history of the Federal Constitution are thus prevented from gathering, from that source, any information concerning the facts, on this important subject.

* John Pickering and Benjamin West, of New Hampshire; Francis Dana, of Massachusetts; John Nelson and

and sixteen * wholly withheld their signatures. So much for the "unprecedented unanimity" of the *individuals* who signed the paper, of whom more hereafter. Let us now look at *the States*, the real parties in the Convention.

Of *the States* who were "present," and voted for the Constitution, there were only New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—while Rhode Island, New York, and, probably, Massachusetts,† *did not* so vote for it. At the same time, by a piece of political "sharp-practice," which was unworthy of the men and the occasion, the vote of North Carolina was *nominally* in favor, while, *in reality*, it was opposed to the measure.‡ If there were any "unprecedented unanimity" in the actual dissent of four out of thirteen States of the "League," as every student knows to have been the case, I have yet to learn it.

Referring to the signers of this Constitution, I beg to remind you that the signatures, except those of the President and Secretary, are only *individual* signatures, without the smallest spark of *official* significance, whatever. In fact, the only object there was in having the signatures appended thereto, was to mislead the public, respecting the strength of the opposition; § and, by an adroit use of words, through which the *individuals* who signed it merely subscribed, *as witnesses* to the fact of its adoption by the Convention, *not as Delegates, binding their respective States as well as pledging their* individual action on the subject, ‖ together with the equally adroit admission of the signatures of those *who had no voice in its adoption*,* and the questionable propriety of giving a semblance of authority to the signatures, by the subsequent *interliniation*, by a zealous "Federalist," of the names of the several States, over the private signatures of the gentlemen who had been among their Delegates, (HAMILTON'S *Republic, iii.*, 338 †) the success of the project, in the complete *deception* of the masses of the inhabitants of the several States, for all time, has been made complete. Students of American history, however, well know all these facts; and the concealment of them, either by falsification or suppression, is uncalled for and unjust.

XIII. You next inform the *Times* that the Constitution "was not promulgated in the "name of *the States*."—*Page 9.*

By reference to *The Journal of the Convention, September 12, 1787*, you will perceive that "the "draft of a letter to Congress, being at the same "time reported, was read once thoughout, and "afterwards agreed to, by paragraphs." That letter was one which accompanied the draft of the proposed Constitution when that yet unadopted instrument was sent to the United States in Congress assembled—the first "promulgation" of it, in any form.

By reference to the *Journal of the United States in Congress assembled, September* 28, 1787—Original Edition, Page 163—the record of its adoption is not to be found in the *Journal of the Convention*, you will find the record of that first "promulgation," that by the Convention which framed it, in the following words:

"'IN CONVENTION, *Monday, September* 17, "'1787. PRESENT. The States of New-Hamp-"'shire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. *Hamil-*"'*ton* from New York, New Jersey, Pennsyl-"'vania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North "'Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia:

"'*Resolved*, That the preceding Constitution be "'laid before the United States in Congress "'assembled, and that it is the opinion of this "'Convention, that it should afterwards be "'submitted to a Convention of Delegates,

Abraham Clark, of New Jersey; Patrick Henry, of Virginia; Richard Caswell and Willie Jones, of North Carolina: George Walton and Nathaniel Pendleton of Georgia.

* Elbridge Gerry and Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut; Robert Yates and John Lansing, of New York; William C. Houston, of New Jersey; John Francis Mercer and Luther Martin, of Maryland; Edmund Randolph, George Mason, George Wythe, J. McClurg, of Virginia; Alexander Martin and William R. Davie, of North Carolina; William Pierce and William Houstoun, of Georgia—by no means insignificant men, in the annals of the United States.

† Of the five Delegates from Massachusetts, only *two* signed the proposed Constitution; and, on the vote of the legal electors of the Commonwealth, for members of the Convention which was called to consider the proposed instrument, a majority was cast for those candidates who were pledged to oppose its ratification.

‡ The Delegation from North Carolina numbered *five* members, of whom only *two* signed it, approving it. Mr. Blount signed it *as a witness merely*, and expressly reserved the right to oppose it, as will be seen in the extract from his remarks, in Convention, quoted in Note ‖, below.

§ "A few characters of consequence, by opposing, or "even refusing to sign the Constitution, might do infinite "mischief, by kindling the latent sparks that lurk under an "enthusiasm in favor of the Convention, which may soon "subside." (*Colonel Hamilton's remarks, in Convention, September* 17, 1787.)

‖ "He had declared that *he would not sign so as to "pledge himself in support of the plan, but he was re-"lieved by the form proposed*, and would, *without commit-"ting himself*, attest the fact that the plan was the unan-"imous act of the States in Convention." (*Mr. Blount of North Carolina, in Convention, September* 17, 1787.)

* Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of New York, for instance.

† "The signatures were made under his" [*Colonel Hamilton's*] "supervision, *as the designation of the States*, "opposite the members' names, is, in the engrossed copy, "*in his handwriting.*" (Hamilton's *Republic*, iii., 338.)

It is difficult to conceive how Colonel Hamilton, who had had no voice in the adoption of the proposed *Constitution* and, when the engrossed copy was signed, was not, legally, a member of the Convention, could have openly usurped the authority—and he, certainly, had it only by usurpation, since no such authority was *legally* vested in him—to add any words to that duly engrossed and duly executed instrument; and we are constrained to consider this as one of the too-frequent instances of that gentleman's use of such questionable means, for the promotion of his own or his party's advantage, as, in our day, only tricksters and scallawags resort to.

"'chosen in each State by the People thereof "'under the recommendation of its Legislature, "'for their assent and ratification;'" etc.

This Resolution of the individual States, as such, in Convention, to lay the draft of the proposed Constitution before the United States in Congress, was promptly obeyed by the Secretary; and the "Congress having received the Report "of the Convention lately assembled in Phila- "delphia," (*Journal of the United States, September*, 17, 1787,) the latter, without delay, "PRESENT: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, "Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Penn- "sylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, "South Carolina, and Georgia, and, from "Maryland, Mr. Ross, *Resolved, unanimously*, "That the said Report, with the Resolu- "tions and Letter accompanying the same, "*be transmitted to the several Legislatures*, in "order to be submitted to a Convention of "Delegates chosen in each State by the People "thereof, in conformity to the Resolves of the "Convention, made and provided in that "case." (*Ibid*—Original Edition, 166.)

The Constitution was thus first "promulgat- "ed" by the individual States, in Convention assembled, to the same States, in Congress assembled. The latter continued the "promulga- "ation," by transmitting the same, through the Governors, to the Legislatures of the several States; while these Legislatures, in their turn, officially "promulgated" the instrument to the People of the several States, as I will show to you.*

Beginning with NEW HAMPSHIRE, I refer you to the instrument of her ratification of the Constitution, by which she became the ninth member of the Union, which opens with these words:

"*In Convention of the Delegates of the People "of the State of New Hampshire, June 21, 1788.*

"The Convention having impartially discussed "and fully considered the Constitution of the "United States of America, reported to Congress "by the Convention of Delegates from the "United States of America, *and submitted to us "by a Resolution of the General Court of said "State, passed the 14th day of December last "past*, and acknowledging," etc.†

I refer you also to the *Proceedings of the General Court of New Hampshire*, in which, under the date referred to, you will find the following:

"IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Decem- "ber 11, 1787.

"*Voted*, That the proceedings of the Federal "Convention, transmitted to the General Court "by Congress, be submitted to a Convention to "be chosen by the People, for their considera- "tion and decision.

"*Voted*, That four hundred copies of the "Constitution, proposed by the Federal Conven- "tion, for the government of the United States, "be forthwith printed and sent to the several "towns in this State, as soon as may be.

"*Voted*, That Mr. N. Peabody, Mr. Picker- "ing, Mr. Wingate, Mr. Badger, Mr. Gove, Mr. "Emerson, Mr. Copland, Mr. Whitcomb, Mr. "Simpson, and Mr. Baker, with such of the "honorable Senate as they shall join, be a Com- "mittee to consider what number the proposed "Convention shall consist of, the mode of elec- "tion, and time and place of meeting, and "report thereon.*"

Next to New Hampshire, is MASSACHUSETTS, whose instrument of Ratification, dated February 7, 1788, contains the following:

"The Convention having impartially discuss- "ed and fully considered the Constitution for "the United States of America, reported to "Congress by the Convention of Delegates from "the United States of America, and *submitted "to us by a Resolution of the General Court of "the said Commonwealth, passed the 25th day "of October last past*," etc.

Allow me to invite your attention to the fact that "On Thursday (*October* 18, 1787) his "excellency Gov. Hancock communicated the "new Constitution to the General Court, which, "with his Excellency's speech, was committed

* In view of the fact that the Federal Congress, at the time referred to in the text, was exactly what its name implies—a Diet of Envoys, representing as many separate Sovereignties, banded together in "a League"—it would be a useful service to the history of his country, if Mr. Motley, keeping in view the everywhere recognized law of principal and agent, would explain just wherein the individual States, as such, did not "promulgate" the proposed *Constitution*, even in this particular process, and wherein any other body, individual or aggregate, had any hand in this or any other "promulgation" of it.

† For the Journal of this Convention, complete, see THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., iii., 257—May, 1868.

* On the following day, this Committee reported tha the proposed Convention should consist of the same number of Delegates as the several towns and places were then entitled to send as Representatives to the General Court, and to be chosen in the same manner, with this addition, that those towns which, by the then existing mode of representation, were not classed with any other town nor entitled to send by themselves, might send one Delegate from each town; that the qualifications of the Delegates should be the same as those required by the Constitution for Representatives, excepting what was called the Exclusion Bill should not have any effect in the choice of Delegates;* and that the Convention should meet at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of the ensuing February. This Report was received and duly accepted; and, on the fourteenth of the same month, the action of the General Court was completed—thus, through her local Legislature, New Hampshire, as such, without the slightest individual action of either the inhabitants or the People of the State, on the subject, acted for herself, in this matter.

* Only Protestants and Freeholders, residents of the State during two years, were eligible to office, under the then existing Constitution; and, "for Representatives," certain officers, especially designated by Statute, were also "excluded." The latter, under this Order, were eligible to seats in the Convention.

What proportion of "the inhabitants" of New Hampshire, in any capacity, was thus allowed to act on the proposed Constitution, we leave to the determination of our readers.

"to a large and respectable Committee of both "branches" (*The Daily Advertiser*, Vol. III., No. 835, *New York, Saturday, October 27, 1787*); that, on "Saturday last,"[*Oct. 20, 1787*] "the Senate "of Massachusetts, after mature deliberation, "passed a Resolve, conformable to the recom- "mendation of Congress, for calling a Conven- "tion, to meet at the Representatives' Chamber, "on the second Wednesday in December next; "and sent it down for concurrence" (*Ibid*); and that the House of Representatives concurred therein, immediately afterward; (*Ibid*, No. 839, *New York, Thursday, November* 1, 1787) and to leave you with this portion of the subject.*

Even in RHODE ISLAND the "promulgation" of the proposed Constitution, which she so long and so obstinately refused to approve, was never attempted by any other body nor under any other authority than that of the "General Assembly "of the State of Rhode Island and Providence "Plantations," convened and acting under the authority of the Royal Charter which she retained, until within a very few years, as her fundamental law. If you will turn to the printed volume of the Proceedings of the General Assembly in the October Session, 1787, you will find a Resolution ordering the printing of the proposed Constitution (*Pages 265, 266,*) while, in that of the Proceedings of the same body, in the February Session, 1788, (*Page 271*) you will find an Act, ordering the same Constitution to "to be "laid before *the* FREEMEN† *at large*"—the only instance, within my knowledge, where the Freemen or citizens of any of the States, were called on to act, *directly*, on it—and, as you know, "the Freemen at large" of Rhode Island, on the occasion referred to, made very summary work of the proposed Constitution, by resolutely rejecting it, *in toto*.‡

Of the final action of Rhode Island, I can speak only through another; but I am happy in being permitted to turn to one who has so completely established his ability to read correctly, and his integrity in using correctly, the original authorities on the subject of the history of his native State. Hon. Samuel Greene Arnold, in his excellent *History of the State of Rhode Island*, ii., 558, 559, gives a minute account of the contest which preceded and attended the passage of the bill—offered by Mr. Henry Marchant of Newport—in its passage through the Senate, on the seventeenth of January, 1790, and of the general excitement which prevailed, when the passage of the Act was announced to the multitude which had gathered around the Court-house, at Providence.*

I have before me, signed by "George Wyllys, "Secretary," a copy of a Preamble and two Resolutions of the General Assembly of CONNECTICUT, which were passed "At a General Assem- "bly of the State of Connecticut, in America, "holden at New Haven, in the said State, on "the second Thursday of October, Anno "Domini, 1787," which recites the action of the Federal Convention and that of the Federal Congress, and recommends to "the people of "the several towns of this State, who are quali- "fied by law to vote in Town-Meetings,† to meet "on the second Monday of November next (at "their usual place of holding Town-Meetings) "and choose Delegates to meet in a Convention, "for the purposes mentioned in the aforesaid "resolves of Convention and Congress." It provides, also, for the election, the number of Delegates, the time and place for the meeting of the Convention, etc., all of which disprove your idea of the independence of the "promul- "gation" from all State authority.

In NEW YORK, the eleventh member of the Union, the Assembly met at Poughkeepsie on the ninth of January, 1788. (*Journal of the Assembly*, 1788, Edit. Poughkeepsie, M,DCC, LXXXVIII, 3.) The Senate, for want of a quorum, did not meet until the eleventh.

* The members of this Convention were elected by that portion of the "inhabitants" of Massachusetts which were "males of twenty-one years of age and upwards, having a "freehold estate within the Commonwealth, of the annual "income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of "sixty pounds." (*Constitution*, Chapter I., Section II., Article II: *Ibid*, Chapter I., Section III., Article IV.)

† The Freemen of Rhode Island were exclusively Freeholders, owning real estate to the value of forty pounds, or which would rent for two pounds, per annum, and the eldest sons of such Freeholders.—ARNOLD'S *Rhode Island*, ii., 225.

‡ The result of this direct vote of the Freemen and Freeholders of Rhode Island, on the proposed Constitution, one would have supposed, furnishes material for thought, even for so genteel an author and selfish a partisan as Mr. Motley.

At the period referred to, few communities in the United States were as actively engaged in commerce as Newport, and few were as much interested, therefore, in restoring order out of "chaos," if any such "chaos" really existed, at that time, Yet, in the entire town of Newport, only *eleven voted on the great pending question of the adoption or rejection of the proposed Constitution; and, of the eleven*, ten *voted to* reject *it*. In Providence, only one voted on the question; and that single vote was cast *against* the Constitution. In the entire State, only two towns voted for the ratification "of the new system" while twenty-eight voted for its rejection—two hundred and thirty-seven Freemen only, in the entire State, having been mean enough to approve, by their votes, what the State, in her entirety, so scornfully rejected.

* Since the text of this letter was written, the printed copy of the *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, 1784–1792, has been issued under the authority of the General Assembly, by Hon. John Russell Bartlett, Secretary of State; and on page 373 of that volume may be seen the "Act calling a Convention," and recommending "to the Freemen of the several towns "qualified to vote in the election of Deputies to the General "Assembly, to convene," etc.

† Only Freeholders and those possessing forty pounds in personal estate could become a Freeman in Connecticut—so much for her "inhabitants, in their primary capacity."

—(*Journal of the Senate*, same edition, *3.*) On the latter date, Governor Clinton made his Annual Speech, in which are these words:—"I shall leave with you the several official "communications which have been made to me "in the recess; with these you will receive the "proceedings of the General Convention lately "held in the City of Philadelphia, and an Act "of the United States in Congress for their "transmission to the Legislatures of the differ-"ent States. From the nature of my office you "will easily perceive it would be improper for "me to have any other agency in this business "than that of laying the papers respecting it "before you for your information" (*Journal of the Senate, 4: Journal of the Assembly, 7.*) On the thirty-first of January, "the House resolv-"ed itself into a committee of the whole "House, on his Excellency the Governor's "speech, and the papers which accompanied "the same;" (*Journal of the Assembly*, 47) 47) in which, after a vigorous debate, and the most strenuous opposition, a Preamble and Resolution, offered by Mr. Benson, were adopted. The Preamble recites the Resolution of the Federal Congress, transmitting the proposed Constitution to the several State Legislatures; and the Resolution simply "submits" the same "to a Convention of Delegates to be chosen by "the People of this State." (*Journal of Assembly*, 47). Other Resolutions followed, and were adopted by the Committee, respecting the time, place, and mode of electing the Delegates; the time and place for the meeting of the Convention; the issue of credentials to Delegates; etc.—all of which were subsequently approved by the Assembly (*Journal of Assembly*, 47–49);—and, on the following day, the Senate, after much debate and opposing action, concurred in the action of the House (*Journal of the Senate*, 20–21.) while the "inhabitants" and the People of the State had taken no no part whatever, directly, in the "promulgation" of the proposed Constitution.*

New Jersey, the third State which ratified the acts of the Federal Convention, was equally emphatic. I have before me a copy a Preamble and Resolutions of the House of Assembly of that State, signed by Maskell Ewing, Clerk, in which, after reciting the action in the Federal Convention and Federal Congress, the House recommends "such of the "inhabitants of this State, as are entitled to "vote for Representatives in General Assembly, "to meet in their respective Counties," on a given day, for the purpose of electing Delegates to a State Convention, "for the purposes here-"inbefore mentioned;" providing for the meeting of the Convention; authorizing that Convention to "finally ratify the same *in "behalf and on the part of this State*"; and instructing the Sheriffs of Counties to give publicity of the time, places, and purposes of the election. Appended to this copy of the Act referred to, is a copy of the Resolution of concurrence, on the part of the Senate, passed on the twenty-ninth of October, 1787, and signed by Bowes Reed, Clerk.

I have also before me, a copy of an Act of the same Legislature, passed on the first day of November, 1787, entitled, *An Act to "authorize the People of this State to meet in "Convention, deliberate upon, agree to, and ratify* "the Constitution of the United States propos-"ed by the late General Convention"—a singular mode, truly, if you are correct, of "pro-"mulgating" the proposed Constitution by the "inhabitants, in their primary capacity."

In Pennsylvania, the second State which ratified the Constitution, the venerable Dr. Franklin, with his associate Delegates, *in person*, reported the proposed Constitution, to the General Assembly, on the eighteenth of September; and, at the same time, they recommended the passage of a Law, "vesting in the new Con-"gress a tract of land of ten miles square, by "which that body might be induced to fix the "seat of Federal Government in this State; an "event which must be highly advantageous to "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." (*The Daily Advertiser*, Vol. III., No. 806, *New York, Monday, September* 24, 1787).

On Friday, the twenty-eighth of September, and on Saturday, the twenty-ninth of September, the General Assembly adopted a series of Resolutions, *authorizing* the election of Delegates to a State Convention; specifying the time, places, and mode of election, and the qualifications of voters;† and a recommendation to the succeeding General Assembly to provide for

* At the period under consideration, only those who had resided in the County for six months and who possessed a freehold, *within the County*, of twenty pounds, or rented a tenement *therein* of the yearly value of forty shillings and been rated and actually paid taxes to the State, were permitted to vote in New York (*Constitution*, Article VII.) —surely a small portion of the "inhabitants" of that State, was thus allowed to vote on this question.

* "*All inhabitants* of this Colony, of full age, who are "worth fifty pounds, Proclamation money, clear estate in "the same, and have resided within the County in which "they claim to vote, for twelve months immediately pre-"ceding the election," (*Constitution*, Article IV) were those who, alone, were empowered to vote for Delegates to the Convention of New Jersey, and thereby pass judgment on the proposed Constitution.

† Under the provisions of Chapter II., Section VI., of the Constitution, males who had resided in the State during one year and had paid public taxes during that time, were alone entitled to vote in Pennsylvania, at that time; unless they were sons of freeholders, of the age of twenty-one years, in which case, because of their blood, they could vote *without possessing any property* or paying any taxes.

the payment of the Delegates and the expences of the Convention.

Although I have not been able to find an *official* copy of these Resolutions, I have a file of *The Daily Advertiser*, published in New York, in two numbers of which (*No.* 814, *Wednesday, October* 3, and *No.* 816, *Friday, October* 5, 1787) they appear; and I have no doubt of their correctness, as published in that paper.

Of DELAWARE, the first State which ratified the Constitution, I find no *official* record. The papers of the day, however, refer to the action of the General Assembly on the subject, one specimen of which, from *The Daily Advertiser*, No. 845, *New York, Thursday*, November 8, 1787, I copy: "WILMINGTON, *October* 31. On "Monday, the 22nd inst., agreeable to Law, the "General Assembly of this State met at Dover, "but a sufficient number of the members not at- "tending, the House adjourned from day to day "till Wednesday, when a quorum being present, "the House of Assembly proceeded to busi- "ness, and elected Thomas Rodney, Esquire, "Speaker, and James Booth, Esq., Clerk. *They "then ordered a Convention* to be called for "taking into consideration the plan of govern- "ment recommended by the late Federal Con- "vention; the election to be held at the usual "place in each County, on the third Monday of "next month; and the Convention to meet at "Dover, on the next Monday thereafter.*"

The part which the State Government of MARYLAND took in "promulgating" the proposed Constitution, may be seen in the recital, in her instrument of ratification, that "the Con- "stitution of the United States of America, "reported to Congress by the Convention," etc. had been "submitted to us by *a Resolution of "the General Assembly of Maryland*, in Novem- "ber Session, 1787.†"

VIRGINIA, also, acted through her General Assembly, in the "promulgation" of the proposed Constitution. I have before me a series of Resolutions which were adopted by that body, on the twenty-fifth of October, after a violent debate, in which many of the members, led, respectively, by Patrick Henry and George Mason, on the one side, and Mr. Corbin, George Nicholas, and John Marshall, on the other, participated: and I find, therein, over the verification of "JOHN BECKLEY, *Clk. H.D.*," that "the proceedings of the Federal Convention, "as transmitted to the General Assembly, "through the medium of Congress, be submit- "ted to a Convention of the People,* for their "full and free investigation and discussion;" at the same time, specifying all the details of the qualifications of voters; the time, mode, and places of election of Delegates; etc.

You will also find, in the instrument of ratification, by Virginia, which you have employed, in your letter to the *Times*, the following allusion to these Resolutions:—"We, the Dele- "gates of the People of Virginia, *duly elected*, "*in pursuance of a recommendation from the "General Assembly*, and now met in Conven- "tion," † etc; from which, also, you will perceive that the "promulgation" of the proposed Constitution, in Virginia, was entirely the act of the State authorities, as such, in the name of the State, and only by its individual authority.

In NORTH CAROLINA, the same line of policy was adopted. The General Assembly of the State received the instrument—the proposed Constitution—from the United States in Congress assembled, and adopted a Resolution referring it to a Convention of the State, for deliberation and determination. Under that

* At the period of which I write, only citizens, aged twenty-one years, freeholders in that State, holding "fifty "acres of land or more, well settled, and twelve acres "thereof cleared and improved, or be otherwise worth "Forty pounds, lawful money of this Government, clear "estate," and residents of two years' standing, were entitled to vote, in Delaware. (*Laws of the State*—Edit. Newcastle, 1797—i., 148, compared with the *Constitution*, Article V.)

† "On the 23d ult., in the House of Delegates of the State "of Maryland, it was 'Resolved, that the Hon. James "'M'Henry, Daniel of Saint Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Car- "'roll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin, Esquires, "'Deputies from this State to the late Convention, be re- "'quested to attend this house on Thursday, the 29th inst. "'to give this house information of the proceedings of "'said Convention.

"'Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the proceedings "'of the Federal Convention, transmitted to the General "'Assembly, thro' the medium of Congress, be submitted "'to a Convention of the People of this State, for their "'full and free investigation and decision.'" (*The Daily Advertiser*, Vol. III., No. 866, New York, Monday, December 3, 1787.)

At that time, the qualifications of electors were, freemen, above twenty-one years of age, having either freehold estates of fifty acres of land within the County in which they resided and offered to vote, or the possession of property, in Maryland, to the amount of thirty pounds, and having lived one year in the County in which they offered to vote. (*Constitution of Maryland*, Article II.)

* In Virginia, Mr. Motley's "inhabitants, in their "primary capacity," were confined to "every male citizen "(other than free negroes or mulattoes) of this Common- "wealth, aged twenty-one years, or such as have refused "to give assurance of fidelity to the Commonwealth, "being possessed, or whose tenant, for years, at will, or at "suffrance, is possessed of twenty-five acres of land, "with a house, the superficial content of the foundation "whereof is twelve feet square, or equal to that quantity, "and a plantation thereon, or fifty acres of unimproved "land, or a lot or part of a lot of land in a city or town "established by Act of General Assembly, with a house "thereon, of the like superficial content or quantity, hav- "ing, in such land, an estate of freehold at the least, and, "unless the title shall have come to him by descent, "devise, marriage, or marriage settlement, having been "so possessed six months, and no other, shall be qualified "to vote for Delegates to serve in General Assembly, for "the County, City, or Borough, respectively, *in which the "land lieth.*" (*Laws of Virginia*, Assembly of 1785, Chapter LV., Section II—*Hening's Statutes at Large*, xii., 120.)

† *Debates and other Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia*—Edit Richmond, 1805—469.

Resolution, and by its authority, the Convention met at Hillsborough, on the twenty-first day of July, 1788; and the record of its proceedings—I quote from *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of North Carolina*, Edit. Edenton, MDCCLXXXIX, *Page 19*—is as follows: "At a Convention, begun and held at Hillsbor- "ough, the 21st day of July, in the year of our "Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty- "eight, and of the independence of America the "thirteenth, *in pursuance of a Resolution of the "last General Assembly*, for the purpose of delib- "erating and determinating on the proposed "plan of Federal Government," etc. By what authority the proposed Constitution was "pro- "mulgated" in North Carolina, by whom, and in whose name, will thus be seen.*

In South Carolina, also, the Legislature was the instrumentality through which the proposed Constitution was "promulgated;" and the instrument of ratification, through which that State became a member of the United States, under the provisions of the Constitution, recites that fact:—"The Convention, having maturely "considered the Constitution, or form of govern- "ment, reported to Congress by the Conven- "tion of Delegates from the United States of "America, and *submitted to them by a Resolution "of the Legislature of this State, passed the 17th "and 18th days of February last*, in order" etc.†

Lastly, Georgia, the sixth State which ratified the Constitution, received the proposed form of government through the "promulgation" of its Legislature, as each of the other States had received it; and in the act of her Convention, b which she ratified that Constitution, she recit the action of the Federal Convention, that of th Federal Congress, and that *of her own Legislatur* before referred to, as the basis of her Act c approval. The Resolutions of her Legislatur passed by the House of Assembly, on the twen ty-fifth of October, 1787, and by her Senate o the twenty-sixth of the same month, were a follows:

"*Resolved*, That a Convention be elected o "the day of the next General Election, and i "the same manner as Representatives are elected "and that the said Convention shall consist o "not more than three members from eacl "County.

"*Resolved*, That the said Convention shal "meet at Augusta, on the fourth Tuesday in De "cember next; and, as soon thereafter as may "be convenient, proceed to consider the said "Report, Letter, and Resolutions" [*of the Con vention and the Congress*] "and to reject o "adopt any part or the whole thereof.*"

I have accompanied you through all those stages of the Constitutional era, from the inception of that instrument to its submission, by the States, respectively, to the Conventions of the same States, for their approval or rejection; and, to my satisfaction, at least, I have showed to you that, neither in its origin, fundamental or immediate, nor in its "promulgation," was there any other instrumentality than the individual States or their legal representatives; that the Constitution originated in State action; that it was wholly *drawn up* by the States; and that it was wholly *promulgated* in the the name of the States. I now propose to lead you to the next subject of your remark:

XIV. That the Constitution "was not rati "fied by the *States*. The *States* never acceded "to it.†"—*Page 9*.

* Electors voting for Senators, in North Carolina, were confined to those who were Freemen, residents of the County for one year, and possessing a freehold estate, *within the County*, of fifty acres, for six months preceding. Those voting for Members of the House of Commons, representing a County, were confined to Freemen, residents of the County for one year, and taxpayers. Those voting for Members of the House, representing a town, were confined to Freemen owning freehold estates in such town, or taxpayers therein. (*Constitution*, Sections VII, VIII, and IX.)

† Those who were entitled to vote on the question, in South Carolina, are thus described; "Every free white "man, and no other person, who acknowledges the being "of a God and believes in a future state of rewards and "punishments, and who has attained to the age of one "and twenty years, and hath been a resident and an in- "habitant in this State, for the space of one whole year "before the day appointed for the election, and hath a "freehold of at least fifty acres of land, or a town lot, "and hath been legally seized and possessed of the same "at least six months previous to such election, or hath "paid a tax the preceding year, or was taxable the present "year, at least six months previous to the said election, in "a sum equal to the tax on fifty acres of land, to the sup- "port of this Government, shall be deemed a person quali- "fied to vote for and shall be capable of electing a Repre- "sentative or Representatives, to serve as a member or "members in the Senate and House of Representatives, "for the Parish or District where he actually is a resident, "or in any other Parish or District in this State, where he "hath the like freehold." (*Constitution of* 1778, Section XIII.—*Statutes at Large*, i., 140.)

* "Every male white inhabitant, of the age of twenty- "one years, and possessed, in his own right, of ten pounds "value, and liable to pay tax in this State, or being of any "mechanical trade, and shall have been a resident six "months in this State, shall have a right to vote at all elec- "tions for Representatives, or any other officers herein "agreed to be chosen by the People at large" (*Constitution*, Section IX)—these, and only these, in Georgia, were allowed to pass judgment on the proposed *Constitution*, by voting for the members of that Convention.

† Let us see.

The Journal of the Senate, as well as that of the House, for Friday, the eighth of January, 1790, contains the Annual Speech of the President (Washington) at the commencement of the Session; and that Speech was opened with these words:

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Repre- "sentatives:

"I embrace, with great satisfaction, the opportunity "which now presents itself of congratulating you on the "present favorable prospects of our public affairs. *The "recent* accession *of the important* State of North Car- "olina *to the* Constitution of the United States, (of which

Under the last division of your subject, I prov-
d that the several Conventions, to which the
roposed Constitution was transmitted by the
egislatures of the several States, after the latter
ad received it from the United States in Con-
ress assembled, were called into being by the
egislatures of those States, in their official
apacities—that they were *the States*, as such, in
onventions assembled. I will not repeat the
uotations which I have heretofore made from the
cts under the authority of which they assembled,
ut simply re-call your attention thereto and to the
aptions of several of the Acts of Ratification
—"*In Convention of the Delegates of the People of the State of New Hampshire;*" "*In the Name of the People of Pennsylvania;*" "*In Convention of the State of New Jersey;*" "*In Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina;*" "*Virginia, to wit;*" "*Ratification of the Constitution by the Convention of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations;*" "*State of North Carolina. In Convention;*" "*Commonwealth of Massachusetts;*" "*State of Georgia. In Convention;*" etc.;—all of which indicate the character of the bodies which ratified the Constitution; that they were the representatives of the individual States, "free, sovereign, and independent," as the Constitution of New Hampshire expressed it.

In what capacity these Conventions acted, after they had assembled—whether or not they acted as the representatives of the sovereignties of their respective States—fortunately, has not been left in doubt; and, by a reference to the forms of ratification, by these several Conventions—the State-papers through which the thirteen States severally ratified the Constitution—you will learn whether or not "*the States*" ratified it; whether or not it was "acceded to" by "*the States*," as such, separately, rather than "by the people of "the whole land, in their aggregate capacity."

I will first introduce Delaware—the first State which acted—whose Deputies thus spake: "We, "the Deputies of the People of Delaware State, "in Convention met, * * * have approved, assented to, ratified, and confirmed, and by these "presents do, *in virtue of the power and authority to us given, for and in behalf of ourselves and our constituents*, fully, freely, and "entirely approve of, assent to, ratify, and confirm the said *Constitution*."

Next came Pennsylvania, whose Convention thus declared its meaning: "IN THE NAME OF "THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA: Be it known "unto all men, that We, the Delegates of "the People of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Convention assembled, have "assented to and ratified, and, by these presents, "do, in the Name and by the Authority of the "same People, and for ourselves, assent to and "ratify the foregoing *Constitution for the United States of America*. Done in Convention," etc.

New Jersey was the third; and her Convention, after reciting the acts of the Federal Convention, the Federal Congress, and her own Legislature, thus spake: "Now be it known, that We, the "Delegates of the State of New Jersey, chosen "by the People thereof, for the purpose aforesaid, having maturely deliberated on and considered the aforesaid proposed *Constitution*, "do, hereby, for and on the behalf of the People "of the said State of New Jersey, agree to, "ratify, and confirm the same and every part "thereof."

Connecticut followed New Jersey; and her Convention thus recorded its action: "IN THE "NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT. We, the Delegates of the People of "the said State, in General Convention assembled, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature, in "October last, have assented to and ratified,

official information has been received:) the rising credit and respectability of our country; * * * are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity."

The same *Journal*, for Monday, the eleventh of the same anuary, contains the following entry, supplementary to at just quoted:

"Mr." [*Rufus*] "King, on behalf of the Committee, reported an Address to the President of the United States, in answer to his Speech to both Houses of Congress, which, being amended, was adopted as followeth:

"'TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"'SIR:

"'We the Senate of the United States, return you our 'thanks for your Speech delivered to both Houses of 'Congress.

"'*The* ACCESSION *of the* STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA *to* '*the* Constitution of the United States, *gives us much* '*pleasure;* and we offer you our congratulations on that 'event,'" etc.

It is somewhat curious, if, as Mr. Motley says, "the *States* never *acceded* to" the *Constitution*, that both the resident and the Senate should have fallen into the same istake, in supposing and asserting the contrary. But let s see, further.

The same *Journal of the Senate*, Tuesday, June 1, 1790, ntains the following entry:

"A written Message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Lear, his Secretary, was read, as follows:

"'GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"'*Having received official information of the* ACCESSION '*of the* STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS *to the* Constitution of the United States, *I take* '*the earliest opportunity of communicating the same to* '*you, with my congratulations on this happy event,* '*which unites, under the general Government, all the* '*States which were originally confederated.*'"

These were the only States which had not ratified, or acceded to the Constitution," when General Washington ecame President; and I should like to know on whose ord I shall rely, in this case, that of President Washingn and that of the Senate of the United States, each of hom said, specifically, the States *did*, individually, "ACEDE to the *Constitution*"; or that of Mr Motley, who ys, as distinctly, they *did not?*

"and, by these presents, do assent to, ratify, and "adopt the *Constitution* reported," &c.

The fifth State which acted on the *Constitution* was Massachusetts, whose Convention "having "impartially discussed and fully considered "the *Constitution for the United States of* "*America* * * * do, in the name and in behalf "of the People of the Commonwealth of Massa- "chusetts, assent to and ratify the said *Consti-* "*tution for the United States of America*."

The sixth State was Georgia, whose Convention, after reciting the acts of the Federal Convention, the Federal Congress, and her own Legislature, declared "that we, the Delegates of the People of "the State of Georgia, in Convention met, pur- "suant to the Resolutions of the Legislature afore- "said, having taken into our serious consideration "the said *Constitution*, have assented to, ratified, "adopted, and, by these presents, do, in virtue of "the powers and authority to us given by the "People of the said State, for that purpose, for "and in behalf of ourselves and our constitu- "ents, fully and entirely assent to, ratify, and "adopt, the said *Constitution*."

Maryland followed Georgia; and her Convention thus declared its assent to the *Constitution*: "In Convention of the Delegates of the "People of the State of Maryland, April 28, "1788. We, the Delegates of the People of the "State of Maryland, having fully considered the "*Constitution* * * * do, for ourselves, and in "the name and on the behalf of the People of "this State, assent to and ratify the said *Consti-* "*tution*."

South Carolina was the eighth State which acceded to the newly formed compact; and her opinion is thus recorded: "In Convention of "the People of the State of South Caroli- "na, by their representatives, held in the "City of Charleston, on Monday, the 12th "day of May. * * * The Convention, having "maturely considered the Constitution, or form "of Government, reported to Congress by the "Convention, * * Do, in the name and behalf of "the People of this State, hereby assent to and "ratify the said *Constitution*."

New Hampshire, the ninth State, perfected the experiment and gave vitality to the lifeless "form of government" which the Federal Convention had recommended. Her Convention, in its ratification, adopted the same form of words which the Convention of Massachusetts had employed; and I refer you to that part of this letter in which I have quoted them, for their import.

After the Federal Government went into operation, by the assent of nine States to the Constitution, on the twenty-first of June, 1788, four States became foreign nations—Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island—and the provisions of the *Constitution* did not attach either to them or to those who resided within their boundaries. One of these foreign States, through her General Assembly, at its September Session, 1789, addressed a Memorial "To the President, "the Senate, and the House of Representatives of "the eleven United States of America, in Con- "gress assembled," through the President of the same eleven United States; and President Washington transmitted that Memorial to the Senate of the United States, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1789, with a Special Message. I wish the space which that Memorial would occupy might be appropriated to a re production of it, within this letter, so completely does it overturn your remark that the *Constitution* "was ordained and estab- "lished over the States, by a power superior to the "States—by the People of the *whole land, in their* "*aggregate capacity*, acting through Conven- "tions of Delegates expressly chosen for the pur- "pose, within each State, *independently of the* "*State Governments*, after the project had been "framed."

In this Memorial, Rhode Island "desired to "maintain friendly relations with the United "States;" and, while she nobly reminded her seceding sisters, of their joint struggles, their joint sufferings, and their joint triumph, in times which were past, acknowledging she was only "a "handful, comparatively viewed," she boldly reminded them that her people then stood, "as "it were, alone: they had not separated them- "selves, nor departed from the principles of that "Confederation which was formed by the Sister "States, in their struggle for freedom and in the "hour of danger." She declared the preference of her People for "a democratical form of Gov- "ernment;" their view, "in the *Constitution*, "of an approach, though, perhaps, but small, "towards that form of Government from which "they had lately dissolved their connection, at "so much hazard and expense of life and treas- "ure;" and her desire and proposition to adopt such commercial regulations as shall not tend to defeat the collection of the revenue of the United States, but rather to act in conformity to, or co-operate therewith.*

* The "letter from this Assembly to the President, Sen- "ate, and House of Representatives of the eleven United "States of America, in Congress assembled," referred to in the text, may be found in the *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, x., 356, 357, and in the *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, i., 9, 10.

It is in the following words:

"State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations
"In General Assembly, September Session, 1789

"To the President, the Senate, and the House of Rep- "resentatives of the eleven United States, in Con- "gress assembled:

"The critical situation in which the people of this State "are placed, engage us to make these assurances, on their "behalf, of their attachment and friendship to their sister "States and of their disposition to cultivate mutual har- "mony and friendly intercourse. They know themselves "to be a handful, comparatively viewed; and, although

Rhode Island, at that time, was truly *a foreign People*, Virginia and New York having concurred in the arrangement, and North Carolina alone forming her company, under the old form of Government; yet, if the *Constitution* had been adopted by "a power superior to the "States," as you assert, you should, also, have informed the world why it was that Rhode Island and North Carolina had not been bound by the decision of that higher power; and why their obedience had not been enforced, by that superior authority.*

But to return to the States which had been left out of the new Government, when New Hampshire ratified the *Constitution*. Virginia was the first of the four which acceded to it,

"they now stand, as it were, alone, they have not separated themselves nor departed from the principles of that Confederation which was formed by the sister States, in their struggle for freedom, and in the hour of danger. They seek, by this *Memorial*, to call to your remembrance the hazards which we have run, the hardships we have endured, the treasure we have spent, and the *blood* we have lost, together, in one common cause, and, especially, the object we had in view—the preservation of our *liberty*—wherein, ability considered, they may truly say they were equal in exertions with the foremost, the effects whereof, in great embarrassments and other distresses, consequent thereon, we have since experienced with severity—which common sufferings and common danger, we hope and trust, yet form a bond of union and friendship, not easily to be broken.

"Our not having acceded to or adopted the new system of Government, formed and adopted by most of our sister States, we doubt not, has given uneasiness to them. That we have not seen our way clear to do it, consistent with our idea of the principles upon which we all embarked together, has also given *pain* to us; we have not doubted but we might, thereby, avoid present difficulties; but we have apprehended future mischief. The People of this State, from its first settlement, have been accustomed and strongly attached to a democratical form of Government. They have viewed, in the new Constitution, an approach, though, perhaps, but small, towards that form of Government from which we have lately dissolved our connection, at so much hazard and expense of life and treasure; they have seen, with pleasure, the administration thereof, from the most important trust, downwards, committed to men who have highly merited, and in whom the People of the United States place, *unbounded confidence;* yet, even in this circumstance, in itself so fortunate, they have apprehended danger by way of precedent. Can it be thought strange, then, that, with these impressions, they should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation? to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established, by way of *amendments*, before they could adopt it as a Constitution of Government, for themselves and their posterity? These amendments, we believe, have already afforded some relief and satisfaction to the minds of the People of this State; and we earnestly look for the time when they may, with clearness and safety, be again united with their sister States, under a Constitution and form of Government so well poised, as neither to need alteration or be liable thereto, by a majority only of nine States out of *thirteen*—a circumstance which may possibly take place against the sense of a majority of the People of the United States. We are sensible of the extremes to which democratical Government is sometimes liable, something of which we have lately experienced; but we esteem them temporary and partial evils compared with the loss of liberty and the rights of a free People; neither do we apprehend they will be marked with severity, by our sister States, when it is considered that, during the late trouble, the whole United States, notwithstanding their joint wisdom and efforts, fell into the like misfortune; that, from our extraordinary exertions, this State was left in a situation nearly as embarrassing as that during the War; that, in the measures which were adopted, Government unfortunately had not that aid and support from the monied interest, which our sister States of New York and the Carolinas experienced, under similar circumstances; and, especially, when it is considered that, upon some abatement of that fermentation, in the minds of the people, which is so common in the collision of sentiments and of parties, a disposition appears to provide a remedy for the difficulties we have labored under, on that account.

"We are induced to hope that we shall not be, altogether, considered as foreigners, having no particular affinity or connection with the United States; but that trade and commerce, upon which the prosperity of this State much depends, will be preserved, as free and open, between this and the *United States*, as our different situations, at present, can possibly admit; earnestly desiring and proposing to adopt such commercial regulations, on our part, as shall not tend to defeat the collection of the revenue of the United States, but rather to act in conformity to, or co-operate therewith; and desiring, also, to give the strongest assurances that we shall, during our present situation, use our utmost endeavors to be in preparation, from time to time, to answer our proportion of such part of the interest or principal of the foreign and domestic debt, as the United States shall judge expedient to pay and discharge.

"We feel ourselves attached, by the strongest ties of friendship, kindred, and of interest, to our sister States; and we cannot, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter, for those advantages of commercial intercourse which we conceive to be more natural and reciprocal, between them and us.

"I am, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN COLLINS, Governor.

"His Excellency the President of the United States."

* Illustrative of what I have said in the text, I submit the following, which will be respected, I imagine, where my words would be disregarded:

"It appears, on one hand, that the Constitution is to be 'founded on the assent and ratification of the People of 'America, given by Deputies elected for the special pur'pose; but on the other, that this assent and ratification 'is to be given by the People, *not as individuals compos'ing one entire Nation*, BUT AS COMPOSING THE DISTINCT 'AND INDEPENDENT STATES TO WHICH THEY RESPECTIVELY 'BELONG. *It is to be the assent and ratification of* THE 'SEVERAL STATES, *derived from the supreme authority in* 'EACH STATE—*the authority of the People themselves. 'The act, therefore, establishing the Constitution, will 'not be a* NATIONAL, *but a* FŒDERAL *act.*

"That it will be a Fœderal, and not a National act, as 'these terms are understood by the objectors. *the act of 'the People, as forming* SO MANY INDEPENDENT STATES, *not 'as forming* ONE AGGREGATE NATION, *is obvious from this 'single consideration, that it is to result neither from the 'decision of a* MAJORITY *of the People of the Union nor 'from that of a* MAJORITY *of the States.* It must result 'from *the* UNANIMOUS *assent* OF THE SEVERAL STATES *that 'are parties to it*, differing no otherwise from their ordinary assent" [*by their respective Legislatures*] "than in its being expressed, not by the Legislative authority, but by that of the People themselves. *Were the People 'regarded, in this transaction, as forming one Nation,* 'THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THE 'UNITED STATES WOULD BIND THE MINORITY, *in the same 'manner as the majority in each State must bind the 'minority; and the will of the majority must be determined either by a comparison of the individual votes, or by 'considering the will of the majority of the States as evidence of the will of a majority of the People of the United States.* NEITHER OF THESE RULES HAS BEEN ADOPTED. 'EACH STATE, *in ratifying the Constitution,* IS CONSIDERED 'AS A SOVEREIGN BODY, INDEPENDENT OF ALL OTHERS, AND 'ONLY TO BE BOUND BY ITS OWN VOLUNTARY ACT. In this 'relation, then, the new Constitution will, if established, 'be a *Fœderal*, and not a *National* Constitution." (*The*

after the new Government had assumed authority; and she, as her sister States before her had done, acted through her Convention—the latter being simply her representative, acting in her name. The record of the action of her Convention is in these words: "VIRGINIA, TO "WIT: We, the Delegates of the People of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and "now met in Convention, * * * Do, *in the name "and in behalf of the People of Virginia*, declare "and make known," * * * *

"With these impressions, with a solemn appeal to the Searcher of all hearts for the "purity of our intentions," * * "We, the said "Delegates, *in the name and in behalf of "the People of Virginia*, do, by these presents, "assent to and ratify the *Constitution* recommended," etc.

The eleventh State which became a party to the Union was New York—the State which it is my privilege to recognize as the first which struck for "the rights of man," in the Revolutionary struggle, and the first which offered the lives of her sons, on the altar of the Union. Her record is in these words:—"We, the Delegates of the "People of the State of New York, duly elected and met in Convention, having maturely "considered the *Constitution for the United "States of America* * * * Do, declare and "make known, That all power," etc.

"Under these impressions, and declaring that "the rights aforesaid cannot be abridged nor "violated, and that the explanations aforesaid "are consistent with the said Constitution, *We, "the said Delegates, in the name and in behalf "of the People of the State of New York*, do, "by these presents, assent to and ratify the said "Constitution."

On the twenty-first of November, 1789—seventeen months after the *Constitution* had taken effect—North Carolina, through her Convention, "acceded" to it.* The record is in these words: "*Resolved*, That this Con"vention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens, "and inhabitants of the State of North Caro"lina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of Government"—the only instance on record, in which *the inhabitants* of a State were recognized, in any degree, in the ratification of the *Constitution*.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1790—nearly two years after the authority of the *Constitution* had been established "between the States so ratifying "the same"—Rhode Island assented to the provisions of that instrument; and her Convention thus described the authority under which it acted:—"We, the Delegates of the People of the State "of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, "duly elected and met in Convention * * We, "the said Delegates, *in the name and in the be"half of the People of the State of Rhode Island "and Providence Plantations*, do, by these "presents, assent to and ratify the said *Consti"tution*."

From these extracts, you will perceive, as I said before, that neither the "inhabitants" nor the People of the several States, in their primary capacity, had any part in the formation or "establishment" of the *Constitution for the United*

"*Federalist, No. XXXVIII.*—Edit. Morrisania, 1864, i., 262, 263.)

It was for this reason that Rhode Island was not controlled by the new *Constitution*, and was governed by the old *Confederation*, only, until she, for herself, acting independently of all other States, assented to and ratified the *Constitution*. It is for this reason, in view of his contrary averment, at a moment of peculiar peril and under circumstances of the gravest character—while the Federal authorities were engaged in a conflict of arms with a respectable number of their constituent States, who had charged those authorities with either the violent assumption of unconstitutional powers or the intention, violently, to assume such powers, and who refused, in consequence, to recognize either them or their acts. I have considered, and now consider, Mr. Motley as one of the worst enemies of his country and as seeking, in his letter to *The Times*, not so much the preservation of the Republic which the fathers founded and the defence of the *Constitution* which was its "supreme law," as the unmanly subversion of the former, by means of falsehood, artfully and insidiously imposed upon ignorance, at a moment of peril and in the midst of a general alarm, and, by an equally artful and insidious imposition, in its stead, of a something—a republic in name only, in everything else, a despotism—which should embrace, at once, that peculiarly convenient elasticity, concerning the *Constitution*, which distinguishes the British fundamental law, and that opportunity—call it what you will—which would allow the Federal authorities—Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; subordinates as well as principals—with impunity, to interpret its meaning agreeably to their several individual wills and to regard it or disregard it as might suit the purposes immediately before them.

The country and the world have practical illustrations of the peculiarities of this modern phase of republican governmental science, as thus taught by Mr. Motley, in the extended series of usurpations of authority, which the *Constitution* afforded no warrant for, by every Department of the Federal Government, during the past ten years; and, whether in the studied and boasted contempt for individual rights and for those of the several States, which Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates exhibited; in the dissolution and the organization of States, by Federal officers, at the bidding of party chiefs, for party purposes, under the lead of Mr. Johnson; in the imposition and collection of direct taxes, in open and defiant violation of "the supreme law of the "land", and in the prostitution of the Judiciary, in order to make that "constitutional," which an uncontaminated Bench had already declared to be without due warrant, in law, with General Grant as the controlling power; or in other acts of equal audacity and lawlessness, everywhere and constantly thrust before the world, by a haughty and lawless "Government of the People, by the People, for the "People," under all these, those who shall come after us shall look, inquiringly, for that "consent" on which all true Republics, the world over, base their authority, they will, assuredly, be filled with amazement, alike, at the impudence of those who committed the wrongs, the ignorant simplicity of those who were the victims, and the extent and completeness of the sacrifice which was made, throughout the United States, during the period referred to, if not for all time to come, of everything which distinguishes a Government of Laws from a Government of a despot.

* Vide Page 192, second column, Note †, *ante*.

States, from its inception to the inauguration of General Washington, as the first President. The steps to form it originated in a State Government, acting in behalf of *a State;* the *States*, in Convention, "drew it up;" the *States*, successively, in Convention, in Congress, and, severally, through their respective Legislatures, "promulgated" it; the *States*, by their respective Conventions, separately and severally "ratified it;" it went into effect only by the authority of the several *States*, each acting for itself, and then only within those of them who had previously, each for itself, assented to it; and *the States*, after it had gone into operation, through their respective representatives—the several Electoral Colleges, separately acting—placed the immortal Washington in the presidential chair.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that, while I maintain that the "*People of the whole land, in "their aggregate capacity*," did *not* ratify the Constitution, I fully admit that the State Governments, as such, did not ratify it, and that the ratifications were made by Conventions of the several States, acting in the name and by the authority of the People of those States. All this is entirely true; but, at the same time, it is not less true that "*the People*" of each of those States was merely the aggregate of the membership of that individual State, or, in other words, THE STATE ITSELF; while the mere "inhabitants" of the State's territory, whether they were females, or minor males, or aliens, or those who had not resided the requisite period in the County, or those who had not yet become rich enough to buy a freehold in the County where they lived and labored, had no part whatever in the matter. In sending the proposed Constitution beyond the State Governments to the People of the several States, for approval, therefore, the Federal Convention did not send it to "a power *above* "the States," as you suppose, nor *beyond* the States, but to the seat of the sovereignty of each of the several States; to the great source of all the political powers which the several State Governments possessed; to *the membership* of those several associations which, *per se*, constituted the States themselves. This was done because no lesser power than the *original* sovereign power *within* each State had jurisdiction over the subject;* and because no other power than that of the membership of the several States could bind those States, respectively, on so fundamental a change as was involved in that proposed *Constitution*. Yet no one, at *that* day, supposed that any other powers than "*the "States*," as such, were thus appealed to. The Convention which framed the instrument (*Letter to Congress**) the *Constitution* itself (*Art. VII*†) the Congress of the United States (*Journal, July 2 and 14, 1788*‡) and the action of the Federal

* The Convention which proposed "the new system" having greatly exceeded the authority which had been reposed in the several Delegations, "the express authority "of the People, alone," as the *Fœderalist* said, (No. XLII. —Edit. Morrisania, 1864, i., 306) "could give due validity "to the *Constitution*" which it reported.

The debates on this subject, involving, as they did, other elements of a fundamental character, were very animated—Roger Sherman, Luther Martin, Oliver Ellsworth, Elbridge Gerry, and Rufus King being among those who favored the submission of the proposed *Constitution* to the several Legislatures, only, in accordance with the requirements of the *Articles of Confederation;* while James Madison, George Mason, Edmund Randolph, Nathaniel Gorham, and others favored the submission of it to Conventions called for that particular purpose.

* "In all our deliberations, we kept steadily in view that "which appears to us the greatest interest of every true "American—the consolidation of our Union, in which is "involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our "national existence. This important consideration, seri-"ously and deeply impressed on our minds, led EACH "STATE *in the Convention* to be less rigid, on points of in-"ferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise ex-"pected; and thus the *Constitution* which we now pre-"sent is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual "deference and concession which the peculiarity of our "political situation rendered indispensable.

"That it will meet the full and entire approbation of "*every* STATE is not perhaps to be expected; but EACH "will doubtless consider that, had HER interest alone been "consulted, the consequences might have been particu "larly disagreeable or injurious to others"; etc.(*Letter of the Convention to the President of Congress, September* 17, 1787.

† "ARTICLE VII.—The ratification of the Conventions "of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of "this *Constitution* BETWEEN THE STATES SO RATIFYING "THE SAME."

‡ On the second of July, 1788, "THE STATE OF NEW "HAMPSHIRE having ratified the *Constitution* transmitted "TO THEM by the Act of the twenty-eighth of September "last, and transmitted to Congress THEIR ratification, "and the same being read, the President reminded Con-"gress that this was the ninth ratification transmitted and "laid before them; whereupon, on motion of Mr. Clarke, "seconded by Mr. Edwards,

"ORDERED, That the ratification of the *Constitution of "the United States*, transmitted to Congress, be referred "to a Committee to examine the same and report an Act "to Congress for putting the said *Constitution* into opera-"tion, in pursuance of the Resolutions of the late Federal "Convention.

"On the question to agree to this Order, the Yeas and "Nays being required by Mr. Yates," New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia—a barely sufficient number—approving, it was carried, Rhode Island having been excused from voting, while New York was divided, Delaware and North Carolina were not represented, and Maryland had only one Delegate present, and so had no vote.

On the fourteenth of July, following, the Committee thus appointed "reported an Act for putting the said Con-"stitution into operation," which was debated, with great spirit, until the sixth of August, when, by a vote of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina, against Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—Georgia being "divided"—the election for Electors was ordered; the meetings of the several State Electoral Colleges, for the election of President, were provided for; and the commencement of proceedings, under the *Constitution*, in the City of New York, in March, 1789, was determined.

In view of this close vote on the question, whether or not the new Government should be set in operation, even after nine States had duly ratified the proposed *Constitution*, our readers may judge how little *necessity* there must have been for the change, and how little it was cared whether it was made or not.

Government (*President Washington's Messages, January 8* and *June 1, 1790* *) all concur in this view; and only therein is the truth.

Again, you remark that the Constitution "was "ordained and established" "by *the People of* "*the whole land* in their *aggregate* capacity," (*Page 9*) and, in another place, (*Page 12*) while you say "it is true that *the consent of the People* "was given by *the inhabitants voting in each* "*State*," you also ask, with an air of seeming triumph, "in what other conceivable way could the "People of the whole country have voted?" You also quote, from Judge Story, a similar expression, in order, I suppose, to afford an appearance of respectability to your assertions.

I have nothing to do with *Judge* Story, remembering that, fifty years ago, at which time he held no Federal commission and received no Federal support, he read history through eyeglasses of a different color from those which he used, subsequently, when he had become a Federal office-holder.

With *your* remarks, however, I do not propose to deal so tenderly; and I beg leave to refer you to *Article VII.* of the *Constitution*, which, I fear, you have not read with care. The following are its terms: "The Ratification of the Conventions "of nine *States* shall be sufficient for the es- "tablishment of this Constitution BETWEEN "THE STATES *so ratifying the same*"—from which you will perceive that "the People of *the* "*whole land*, in their *aggregate capacity*," had not been invited to the feast, nor had "the *in-* "*habitants*, voting in each State," any better title. The "*Conventions* of nine *States*" were alone competent to set the wheels of the proposed Government in motion; and even they could bind only those "*States*" which formed the nine approving members of the Union and "*be-* "*tween*" whom, alone—not "*over*" them, as you, curiously enough, pretend—the *Constitution* was thus "established."

No vote of "the inhabitants," in each State, nor in any of them, was called into requisition; "the People of *the whole land*, in their *aggregate* "capacity," was never mustered into the service, even to vote on the *Constitution*; and every school-boy in Massachusetts can tell you, if his teachers have done their duty, that "the inhabi- "tants" of any State and "the People of *the* "*whole land*, in their *aggregate* capacity," were alike never invited, nor did they ever attempt, to decide whether or not the proposed *Constitution* should go into effect. It had been a "*State*" affair from the beginning: it has continued to be a "*State*" affair to the present day.

There are several minor statements in your letter which are not less fictitious than are those which are more elaborate, to which I have already referred; but my want of space prevents me from examining all of them. In one or two instances, only, can I avail myself of the privilege which you have extended to me.

The effects of the new *Constitution*, you say, (*Pages* 27, 28) "were almost magical. Order "sprang out of chaos. Law resumed its reign; "debts were collected; life and property became "secure; the national debt was funded and ul- "timately paid, principal and interest, to the "uttermost farthing; the Articles of the Treaty "of Peace of 1783 were fulfilled; and Great "Britain, having an organized and united State "to deal with, entered into a Treaty of Com- "merce and Amity with us—the first and the "best ever negotiated between the two nations. "* * * The debts due to British subjects were "collected; and the British Government, at last, "surrendered the forts on our soil."

I have already produced some evidence to show that the country, between 1783 and 1789, was not in such a disordered or anarchical state as you would have your readers suppose; that your description is wholly a fiction, the origin or more recent appropriation of which does not invest it with any greater amount of respectability; that it is not entitled to the least earthly respect.* It may not be known to you—although it should have been, before you appropriated it to your own use—that it was the creation of the unprincipled anti-republican partisans who, in 1783-'89, sought, by that instrumentality, among others, to overthrow the then existing Confederacy and to establish, in its stead, what they very properly considered would be "a strong Government"—a kind of a "Government" which possessed more of the distinctive features of a monarchy than of those of a republic, and which, in proportion to the increase of its own strength, would have diminished that of the several Peoples on which it rested;† that it was subsequently seized by one of the most malignant of the enemies of the Republic, and, in his tirades against the United States, aptly employed in his denunciations of the republican system of Government which was "es- "tablished between the States," through the *Constitution*, and in his scurrilous abuse of those who, at that time, administered the affairs of the Republic;‡ that it was afterwards borrowed by another, nearer home, whose "social weak- "ness" too frequently increased his general incapacity to disobey the immediate demands of *his party*, even when the truth and his own

* Vide extracts from these Messages, in Note †, Pages 192, 193, *ante*.

* Vide Pages 159-174, *ante*.

† Vide Pages 169, 170, *ante*; 201, *post*.

‡ William Cobbett, the notorious "PETER PORCUPINE," at an early day, with that tact which was peculiar to him, turned these falsehoods of the partisans of an earlier period against themselves and the administration of which they, themselves, were then members.

political and personal honor were to be the victims of his sacrifice; and that the appropriation of it, as a historical truth, in the preparation of your letter to *The Times*, while it may serve your immediate purpose, as it had served "PETER "PORCUPINE'S" and Mr. Webster's, in the past, will eventually reflect no more credit on you than their use of it had, previously, reflected credit on them.

Of the "order" which "sprung out of chaos" —admitting only for augument's sake what I most emphatically deny, in every other connection, that there was any "chaos"—the *records* afford but little information; and your letter to "*The Times*" is the best authority for the statement.

The first Congress was summoned to meet on the fourth of March, 1789, yet so little was the interest which the inauguration of the new Government had elicited—notwithstanding "the "sickness of Leagues," the "magical" effect, etc., of which you speak—that the Senate adjourned, from day to day, without a quorum, until the eleventh of April (*Senate Journal,*) and a quorum was secured, at that late day, only by the use of extraordinary means (*Senate Journal, March 11 and 18, 1789*) while the House, also, was without a quorum until the first of April. (*House Journal, April 1, 1789*) Without any federal authorities to conduct the business which had been vested in the three departments constituting "the Federal Government"—the attention of the State Governments, meanwhile, being confined to their domestic affairs—I can conceive the character of the "order" which necessarily prevailed, at that time; and you, also, will not be required to exercise much reflection in arriving at a similar conclusion.

Passing over all other specimens of the "order" which "sprung out of chaos," "as if by magic," on the adoption of the *Constitution*, allow me to invite your attention to that which attended the contest for the site of the seat of Government, in 1790, and to that which attended the corrupt and unprincipled movements, both *within* and without the halls of Congress, terminating in the assumption of the State debts by the Federal Government, in the same year—"order," in both instances, of such a character as can find no parallel in the history of the "helpless league of "bankrupt and lawless petty sovereignties," of which you speak, (*Page 26*) between 1776 and 1789. Were "the danger of the *secession* of the "members of the creditor States and the separa- "tion of the States," because of a temporary defeat of the latter measure, and the consequent agitation of those friends of the Bill who were also members of the Cabinet, the characteristics of that "order" of which you boast so loudly? Were the threats of "the eastern members, particularly, who, with Smith from South Carolina, "were the principal gamblers in these scenes," and who "threatened a secession and dissolu- "tion," in consequence of the expected or apparent defeat of their speculations, at that time, the species of "order" of which you so confidently speak? Were the exciting scenes of that date, in Virginia and other States, on both the subjects referred to, those of the order-loving people of whom you write? Indeed, I might safely challenge you, in this connection, to point to a period, during the administration of *the Confederation*, from 1776 to 1789, in which there was *less* "order," *less* safety of life or property, and *greater* disregard of law and decency, throughout the country, than during these portions, if not during the whole, of the first term of President Washington's administration. (*Ante, pages* 159—174.)

"*Law resumed its reign; debts were collected;* "*life and property became secure,*" you say; and you contrast these statements with those, relating to the affairs of the country, between 1776 and 1789, which you have presented on the preceding page. As I have already occupied considerable space in this letter, in disproving the latter statement and in showing that law and order reigned before the Constitution was thought of; that debts were as readily collected; and that life and property were quite as secure, before 1789, as they were after that date, I need only refer you to my remarks on those subjects,* and leave you with them.

"*The national debt was funded and ultimate-* "*ly paid, principal and interest, to the utmost* "*farthing,*" you say; but you wisely give your readers no authority for any part of this statement. There are some persons with whom I am acquainted, who have heard of some portions of the debt of the United States, incurred before 1789, which have *not* been paid "to the utmost "farthing;" and, if I do not mistake, I can show you some of the evidence of that outstanding debt, without much labor—a bill of one dollar and another for four dollars, both of the issue of February, 1776, now on my table, remain unpaid, and can be bought at quite a discount; while the recollection of my father-in-law and that of his father-in-law, both still *living* witnesses,† can disprove your theory, in every phase in which you may please to present it. If I do not mistake, also, in which case others who lived before me have also erred, there were certain *compromises*,—indeed, you tell us (*Page 26*) that "the national debt was considered worthless"—

* Vide pages 170—174, ante.

† Since this letter was written, both these venerable men have passed away; but testimony, in existence and readily accessible, is ample, to prove all I have said in the text of this letter.

by which the creditors gave seventy-five for one, in settlement of their evidences of Federal indebtedness (*Hildreth's United States, II., i., 209.*) Is this the faithful and uncompromising regard for Federal obligations, under the new constitutional Government, to which you refer; or is it an *un*faithful and *dis*honorable repudiation, by the Federal Government, *under that Constitution*, of seventy-four-seventy-fifths of its indebtedness of particular classes, of which you have attempted to keep your readers entirely ignorant?

"*The Articles of the Treaty of Peace in 1783* "*were then fulfilled*," you say—by innuendo, at least, leading your readers to suppose that some of these Articles had not been fulfilled, under the Confederation. Although your anxiety concerning the debts due to British subjects, in other parts of your letter, has betrayed your meaning, you have not had the courage to state, in this place, wherein, if any where, the Articles of the Treaty of 1783 had not been *wholly* complied with by the Congress of the United States, under the Confederation. In this, we have evidence of your sagacity as a partisan, while, at the same time, we have no evidence, therein, of your integrity as a historian—the suppression of the truth forming no part of the legitimate duties of the latter. On the subject of the debts referred to, *the Congress of the Confederation, prior to 1788, had literally and entirely fulfilled its engagements with Great Britain, under the Treaty of 1783*; and I have yet to learn, especially from one who professes to be a defender of his country against domestic enemies, that, *on any other subject*, she was justly and legally in default with Great Britain, under that Treaty, when the *Constitution* was "established between the States "which ratified the same," in 1788. You have yet to prove, in this connection, what you have not done, that more dishonor attaches to those whom, in your letter to *The Times*, you have very properly condemned—even to the infamous Twiggs, the very worst of that party—than to him who, while nominally defending his country against domestic enemies, simultaneously and unnecessarily, *falsely and for partisan purposes*, strips that country of her integrity, clothes her in dishonor, and exposes her to the unjust assaults of foreign cavillers and foreign enemies. For myself, I can say, truly, that I can see nothing in favor of the latter: as it may be a matter of taste, however, I leave you to the enjoyment of the equivocal position which you have thus occupied, as long as it may be agreeable to you.*

I deeply regret that your pen has been called into requisition for the purpose of perpetuating one of the most inexcusable perversions of American history; for the purpose of assisting in the evil work of destroying the fabric of the federal republican Government which "the "patriotic and sagacious men in those days" erected with so much care and skill. The several pales in the Federal shield and the stars which formed "the new constellation," the bars on the Federal flag and the courses of masonry in the unfinished pyramid which appears on the reverse of the Federal seal—all indicating the several *distinct States* of which the Union was and is constituted—are just as separate and distinct, in themselves, yet just as much parts of an united whole, under the *Constitution* of 1788, as they were under the Confederacy of 1781. There is, now, no more merging of the colors of the pales or of the bars; the separate stars yet shine with the same distinctive streams of light, in the several parts of the "new constellation," without any merging of their volumes; and the masonry, knit together, it may be, more completely, as time progresses, by the cement of mutual benefit and mutual sympathy, is, to-day, neither more nor less than before, an unfinished pyramid of separate courses of stone-work, notwithstanding the amendment of the Confederacy and the adoption of the Constitution—notwithstanding the addition of upwards of twenty new States to the Union or the tearing of ten of the number from the family of which both you, and I, and all our neighbors, have heard and boasted so much. And so it will be—for God himself has ordained it—whether the shield or the flag shall bear thirty-four or twenty-four stars, or the seal thirty-four or twenty-four courses of masonry, on its pyramid, or the Federal Union thirty-four, or twenty-four, or fourteen members, the same distinctive, separate, and independent character will attach to each; the same great work which, from the beginning, in the decrees of the Infinite Jehovah, has been assigned to the undivided Union or to each State separately, will still be before it; and the same duty, in the one case as in the other, will be incumbent upon all and each, without change and without diminution. The same great principles of the political equality of all men; the same purposes and responsibility of Governments; the same right of the Governed to control, to alter, or to overturn their Governments, for the promotion or the security of the happiness of the former; and the same

* In this connection, it may be well to remember that Mr. Motley's letter was written in *England*, for the *London Times*, nominally for the purpose of enlisting monarchical *England* in a domestic quarrel in republican America. It is not impossible, therefore, that this attempt to degrade the fathers of the Republic, by charging them with a crime of which they were not guilty, was intended as a bait, adjusted to the deep-seated commercial prejudices of Great Britain and designed to delude that power, with greater certainty, into more or less of a participation in the pending contest.

Our readers may judge how inadequate anything which Britain could have done, even at that perilous moment, would have been as a return for so severe a degradation of the Republic and one for which there was so little reason.

right and duty, in the People, to resist a concentration of power in the Government, beyond the reach or the control of the Governed—that fundamental error against which Washington triumphantly fought; and Henry truthfully spake; and Massachusetts and South Carolina, New Hampshire and Virginia, New York and Rhode Island successfully protested, under the Confederacy—still exist; and they demand your pen, rather in their defence than in their condemnation or in the condemnation of those by whom, or through whom, they were dignified and established.

Very Respectfully, Yours,
HENRY B. DAWSON.

NOTES.

I.—At the foot of the first column of Page 161, in this article, is a foot-note devoted to a brief examination of the taxes and debt of the State of Massachusetts, in 1785, compared with those of the same State, in 1870; and it was accidentally left incomplete.

The closing sentence should have been thus completed: "With a local debt of £1,468,554., 7s., 5d., currency, and "an annual tax of £100,000, as proposed by the Treasurer, "the debt, in 1785, averaged only £4.. 3s., 2d., ($13.86) per "person, and the annual tax only £0.. 5s., 7d., ($0.93) per "person, which, when compared with the debt and annual "tax of 1870—$11.36 of the former, exclusive of the enormous municipal and town indebtedness, and $14.35 of the "latter, per soul of the population—was, truly, "'not distressing to the State.'"

The statistics of the debt of 1870, in this foot-note, have been verified, since the original note was printed, by a letter from the Governor of the Commonwealth to ourself; and they may be relied on as accurate.

II.—We had, also, prepared a foot-note to follow that division of our letter to Mr. Motley, [V., *Pages* 169, 170] which related to the insurrections in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, between the close of the War and the establishment of the *Constitution*, in 1789; but it was accidentally mislaid, and we were obliged to pass it, when that sheet was sent to the press. Having since found it, we present it now, as following the close of the fifth division of the text of the letter, on Page 170.

[NOTE, TO THE PARAGRAPH ON THE "INSURRECTIONS" IN THE CONFEDERACY, PAGES 169, 170, ANTE]

* There is an unwritten history of these insurrections, especially those in New England, which the student of the history of those times and the admirer of the men who made that history may usefully examine and ponder over.

There were, then, as there are, now, men of influence, who freely promoted any measure, no matter how desperate, in itself, to promote the interests of their party and to advance their own. Some of these, there is reason to believe, did not hesitate to afford, by means of sinister legislation, reasonable cause for disaffection among the masses, and then to incite opposition and to prompt insurrection because of it, in order that the public might be excited and, while that excitement prevailed, changes made in the system of Government which, under ordinary circumstances, would find no favor whatever in "the "sober second-thought of the People."

It was by such processes as this, and by such falsifications as those which Mr. Motley has re-produced, that some of the, so-called, distinguished men of that period—those of whose "virtues" and "patriotism" their sons and grandsons now talk so glibly and for whose sake those descendants now, too often, assume a social and political superiority over better men, whose fathers and grandfathers were guilty of no such frauds and honestly discharged their duty to their country and their fellow-men—*fraudulently, and without any other than selfish or partisan motives,* NULLIFIED *the established fundamental law of the Confederacy and violently and corruptly substituted for it what they styled* The Constitution for the United States. *That* Constitution, *thus established, was so obnoxious to the good sense of the several Peoples to which is was submitted for approval, and so antagonistic to the great republican principles on which all the Governments within the Confederacy then rested, that the greater number of the States assented to it only with the express understanding that those mischievous provisions which had been insidiously thrust into it should be overridden by* Amendments—*an understanding which, our readers know, the First Congress hastened to carry into effect.*

The unholy spirit which prompted this revolt of some of the fathers from the system of Government which was then established and which, notwithstanding their disaffection and unceasing opposition, was eminently successful, systematically concealed itself from the unpractised eye of the world, in a mist of falsehood and misrepresentation of its own creation; but the "great men" who were parties to the fraud—those who were the members of that particular "Ring"—clearly understood the subject and were neither deceived themselves, nor attempted to deceive each other. These insurrections were recognized, among themselves, as puppets of their own creation, designed to amuse the gaping multitude while it was being deprived of its birthright; and, while the artificial horrors which they had thus artfully and wickedly created were duly and industriously exhibited to the timid and the uninformed, from New Brunswick to Florida, as unadulterated "anarchy" and "chaos" of direst significance, those who were behind the curtain, and who pulled the strings and gave to the puppets all the life they possessed and all their powers of vituperation, knowingly winked at each other, in their privacy, and calculated, in advance, the profits of their enterprize—John Adams, for instance, from his distant home, in Europe, reasonably supposed "*the "commotions in New England will terminate in additional strength to Government, and,* THEREFORE, *they do "not alarm me.*" (*Letter to John Jay, November* 20. 1786.)

These insurrections were absolutely without any other significance, from the *Federal* standpoint, than as indications of the unholy thirst for change which afflicted many of those, in the various States, who aspired to control, in social and political circles, and of the unwarranted means which they too often employed to secure that change; and the shrewd business-men in Holland and elsewhere—*those whose interests and habits inspired caution and commanded reliable information on the subject*—were not deceived by the political Punch and Judy which were astonishing the crowds, in America and elsewhere, with their extravagant exhibition of home-made "anarchy" and "chaos," and did not allow the phantom which partisans had raised, for their own purposes, to depreciate the American securities which they held, nor excite any particular anxiety about their payment, at maturity. Even Mr. Adams was compelled to report, that "it is with great pleasure that I am "able to inform Congress that *the credit of the United "States*, in Holland, *has not suffered any material shock "in consequence of the relations of tumults and seditions "in Massachusetts and New Hampshire*" (*Letter to the Foreign Secretary, John Jay, January* 9, 1787:) and that, even after those events, the "impotent, imbecile, and an-"archical" Republic, of which Mr. Motley writes—that in which, *he says*, "the absence of law, order, and security for "life and property was as absolute as could be well con-"ceived in a civilized land"—continued to be able to borrow money, on its own naked promise, in a foreign country, without any "material" diminution of ease.

We dismiss the subject, as unworthy of further attention.

II.—LANSINGBURGH, N. Y.

ITS EARLY HISTORY, OLD SETTLERS, SCHOOLS, MARKETS, ETC.—CONTINUED.

II.

THE CHURCHES—METHODIST, PRESBYTERIAN, EPISCOPAL, BAPTIST.

The first Methodist-church was erected on

River-street, in 1810, on the lot where Mr. John W. Bates's house now stands. Father Chichester, who had moved in from Long Island, worked on it with his own hands. There was a strong opposition to Methodism, in those days; and persistant efforts were made for a long time to annoy the Society. But the leaders were men not easily daunted; and persecution, then as now, only added to their ranks. One Sunday morning, on opening the Church, a cow was found tied within the chancel-rail, and a goose was fastened to the reading-desk. The poor things were nearly starved; and carpets and cushions were ruined. The parties who perpetrated this outrage remained unknown; but, many years after, the writer of this sketch visited a man, in his last sickness, whose mind continually ran on that transaction; and who left behind more than a suspicion as to being one of the party. As Father Chichester was sent for, no doubt but one heart was relieved by confession.

Old Father Howe was one of the old-time preachers. Some bickerings and heart-burnings having arisen in the Society, he, one Sunday morning, in their presence, tore up the Church record, remarking: "There! you are all turned "out; now, if any of you wish to lead a new "life, you may come forward and join on pro-"bation." It is needless to say they turned over a new leaf. Besides Howe and Chichester, Spicer and Hedding, (afterward Bishop) were prominent, here.

In the Presbyterian-church, during the writer's day, Doctor Blatchford was the Magnus Apollo; and, in the Episcopal, Doctor Butler wielded the pastoral crook. They were both able preachers and able rulers also. Both these Societies—in fact, all three of them—were joint with Waterford; and the services alternated.

It was not until a late date, comparatively, that Waterford erected a Presbyterian and a Methodist church. Although both have been rebuilt, they occupy the ancient sites. The writer remembers when Doctor Dorr, late of Philadelphia, but, he believes, now dead, but then a young and handsome man, brought his new-made wife to Waterford. He also listened to a discourse, by the same Rector, on the death of De Witt Clinton. It attracted much attention, and, at the request of the Vestry, was published. It was not unusual, in those days, to hear Bishop Upfold, Bishop G. W. Doane, and Bishop Hobart, in Trinity-church; although, with the exception of the last, neither were Bishops at that time. After this, Upfold was elected Bishop of Missouri, and Doane of New Jersey. Splendid men they were, in their day and generation, mentally and physically.

In those days, Market-street did not extend further East than John; and, in front of where Father Galberry lives, was a splendid flower-garden, garnished with lofty trees. North of this, was a large orchard, the whole owned by Thomas Carpenter, a devout churchman. The Presbyterians owned a fine old-fashioned brick Church; on the "Green," since pulled down; and, at the West of this, was the old Academy. The present Academy-building was erected about 1820—Doctor Blatchford was then instructor. On the East side of John-street, across from the Academy, the Baptist people erected a Church, in after years; and the Methodist congregation built where G. V. D. Cook now resides.

These Churches were often the chosen seats of God's power; and many souls, now living, and scores in the kingdom of glory, bear witness to the truth of religion.

Elder Knapp, the great revivalist, once delivered a course of sermons, in the old Baptist-church; and many of his eccentric sayings pass current among our people.

Old Doctor Blatchford died here; and here his remains lie. Doctor Butler also sleeps in Trinity church-yard.

I sometimes enter the present Methodist-church, and dropping into a seat, near the door, fall into a reverie. I did this, one week ago; and, looking toward the altar, I seemed to see the forms of the old-time men sitting there. Father Howe, tall and straight, was leaning back in his chair; Spicer, watching quietly every thing that was going on; Bishop Hedding, gaping with his mouth shut; Chichester, sitting with his elbow on the table, with eyes covered. In the congregation, Philip Wickware, "*atarmined* to serve God," is leaning over; Groesbeck, with tired features, is passing the plate; Edwin Filley moves quietly to his seat; and, in the orchestra, Charles A. Clark leads the singing. There is some hitch in the music; and Chichester calls out, in his deep voice: "Never mind, friends; God won't care "if you do miss half a note." But the music of a cabinet organ destroys the vision; and a tall, slim young man, with coat of fashionable cut and gold watchchain, stands in the pulpit. I strain my eyes to get a glimpse of the white neck-cloth and single-breasted coat, with standing collar, but they are not here. With but one exception, every soul I have named is dead.

Old men miss familiar faces. In going through the streets, I look in vain for Filkins, Nichols, Jimmie Reed, Captain Ives, Fitch Skinner, Abraham C. Lansing, Elisha Alvord, Doctor Cone, Captain Hanford, John B. Chipman, and a host of others; but they are all gone to the grave-yard, unless it may be Chipman. What jolly old souls they were, in their day. What pranks they cut up. We hear the quick sharp tones of some unfortunate dun, who

threatens to leave a bill he has against Doctor Cone with Squire Walbridge, for collection. "That's right" says the old man, "I shall "know where to find it."

Old Fitch Skinner, a very large man, had an unpleasant way of drooping into a chair, when sitting down. Chipman, who kept a store where L. Filley now lives, sawed the posts of a chair nearly off; and, the next time Skinner sat down in the store, there was a terrible sprawling.

Who does not, if old enough, remember Captain Hanford's West India Grocery, where Striker now keeps?

But I am running over again, I must wait another week. OLD MAN

III.

THE METHODISTS.

The first Methodist Class was organized in 1798, by Elijah Chichester and Joel Ketchum, local preachers. They were in partnership; and kept a general Grocery-store, about where Younglove's store now stands. They had a little of everything in that store; and good liquors in the bargain. It was not thought disreputable to sell or drink, in those days; and the liquor was pure, and considered wholesome. Whether this be true or not, everybody, including Ministers, drank.

On the lot North of Alfred McMurray's present residence, an old red School-house was standing. Who built it, or when, I cannot tell: it was there in 1802; and had a flourishing School. In front of this School-house, and for a distance up and down town, there was a large pond; and the boys, in Winter, had a fine skating-place. There were no cross-town sewers; and, sometimes, the water would be ten inches deep, on the School-house floor. Well, in this School-house; and at Tommy Tucker's house—a soap-boiler who lived just North of Olivet-church; also at Zach. Hoffman's house—he lived where the First Presbyterian-church now stands; also at Betsey Barrackman's house—she lived way down town, near Captain Ballard's—the Class were in the habit of meeting. Great meetings they had: they felt the presence and power of God; and Chichester and Tucker—well, the rest of them, for that matter—were not accustomed to smother their feelings. Chichester was rather noisy; but Tucker could lead him, any time.

They met around, in this way, until 1810 when the Church, on the bank of the river, was built, as I told you aforetime. You must not criticise me too close, Mr. Editor: I am a very old man and when I sit in my big chair and dream over the past, my memory does not always serve me very connectedly. But to resume. From this time, the Class increased in numbers; and more room was allowed for attendants; but no church organization was effected; and no preaching, beyond that of Ketchum and Chichester, was enjoyed. In 1818, however, Troy and Lansingburgh had Dr. Samuel Lucky and Earl Bancroft to preach for them. Dr. Lucky, in after years, became one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, whatever that may be; also Chaplain of one of the State Prisons.

In 1819, the Class was joined to Pittstown Circuit; and William Anson and Jacob Hale were assigned to it. In 1820 and 1821, Sherman Miner and Jacob Lovejoy traveled the Circuit; in 1822, Jacob Beman and John Clark; in 1823, Benjamin Griffin and Jacob Beman; in 1824, Benjamin Griffin and John C. Green; in 1825, John C. Green, Nathan Rice, and William H. Morris; in 1826, Sherman Miner and Nathan Rice. In 1827, a change occurred, which was to effect the subsequent history of Methodism in this village—Lansingburgh and Waterford were joined, as an appointment; and Samuel D. Ferguson was appointed over the joint charge. He organized the Class into a Church of sixty members, retaining the old leader, Jacob Heimstreet, and appointing another leader, a young man who had but a short time before experienced religion and united with the Society. This young man was destined, through a long subsequent life, to exert a great influence upon the affairs of the infant Church; and, by the wisdom he manifested and the confidence he inspired in the Society and community, to aid greatly in its establishment and growth. This man was Edwin Filley.

In 1828, Ferguson was returned; and a new church-edifice was erected on Congress, corner of North-streets.

Ferguson and his wife were greatly beloved by the Societies on both sides of the river; and, when his second term was about to expire, the Congregation in Waterford assembled, as usual, in Knickerbocker Hall, to hear his farewell sermon; but the room was entirely inadequate to the occasion. It was suggested that the meeting adjourn to the Old Dutch-church. The suggestion was adopted; and crowds, the writer among them, poured thither. Here, amid the tears and sobs of his people, he announced his text: "Finally, Brethren, fare-"well. Be perfect; be of good comfort; be of "one mind; live in peace; and the God of love "and peace shall be with you."

In 1829 and 1830, Seymour Landon was preacher in charge; and Timothy Benedict, in 1831. In 1832, which was the first year of the Troy Conference, Timothy Benedict was return-

ed. In 1833, Tobias Spicer and W. D. Stead were the preachers. In 1834, Lansingburgh was made an independent charge, with Charles P. Clark as its first Clergyman. In 1835, A. M. Osborn, one of the most talented preachers ever settled in this community, over any denomination, was Pastor. The Church, at this time, had a membership of one hundred and fifty whites and four colored.

But I am warned that I must rest, until another week. OLD MAN.

IV.

THE METHODISTS, CONTINUED.

In 1836, Merrit Bates was sent to this station. It then had one hundred and seventy-two members. He was followed by James Caughey, a man remarkable for his devotion to his work and for a subsequent career which made him well-known, among Methodists, in Europe and America. Under his pastorate, the Society ran up to two hundred and fifty-one members, in full connection and on probation. After he closed his connection with the Society, he obtained leave of absence from Conference, and commenced a career as a revivalist. He did a great work in Canada; and, in Europe, he preached to thousands, in the open fields, as Wesley had done, before him. On his return to this country, he published a work on Holiness, which was well-received. He is now, I believe, living in New Jersey.

In 1838, A. M. Osborn, now Rev. Dr., of New York Conference, was sent back.

The Rev. Mr. Spear, now Doctor Spear, of Brooklyn, was then in charge of the Second Presbyterian-church, and a man well versed in metaphysics; and the contests between these gladiators, for intellectual supremacy, were interesting to behold. They were both comparatively young, but quite mature thinkers. Mr. Osborn was not only a fine scholar and a superior preacher, but, in the mechanic arts, he was no mean artificer. I remember a most beautiful carriage he made for his little one; and it was a marvel of beauty.

In 1839, John Alley was the preacher in charge—he became, subsequently, a Bishop among the Wesleyan Methodists; and, I think, was killed, in Canada, by being thrown from a carriage. His widow married Christopher Snyder, Esq., of Pittstown, who, on Monday, had forty persons, children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, around his bountiful dinner-table. In 1840, Ward Bullard assumed charge: the Society then numbered two hundred and thirty-five persons. In 1841, John Frazer took the authority. Of him, old Mrs. Chichester used to say that, when he preached, she was not afraid to go to sleep as she was certain that no heresy would fall from his lips. This was a high compliment to a very sound man and an excellent preacher. In 1842 and 1843, Oliver Emerson was the preacher; and, in 1844 and 1845, Charles Devol, M.D.—this last left two hundred and thirty-five members. He was a good preacher but rather an eccentric man. I remember, one Sabbath morning, after the opening prayer, he gazed around the entire Church, including the gallery, and announced to his astounded Congregation that there was but one wreath of artificial flowers in the whole building, at the same time, fixing his eyes upon a lady, in the gallery. Her position was rather embarrassing, as she received the gaze of every one in the house. He might preach there to-day, and see two, if not more, wreaths; and yet the Discipline remains unchanged, in the matter of dress.

In 1846 and '47, William Griffin was sent; and, during his administration, the project of a new Church-edifice was mooted. He became a D.D., in after years; acquired a large property; and, I think, is now residing in a palatial residence, on the Albany-road. In 1848 and '49, Stephen Parks, now in business, in Troy, was settled over this Parish. During his administration, the present Church-building was erected, and the old Church, on the corner below, became a Brush-factory. It was soon after burned. Mr. Parks left two hundred and fifty persons in full connection and twenty-five probationers.

Mr. Parks was succeeded by B. Hawley, who remained two years; and he by Hawley W. Ransom, who officiated two years, and left a membership of two hundred and thirty-one persons in full connection and one hundred and twenty probationers. In 1854, came W. P. Gray, who preached two years, and was followed by D. Starks, who left two hundred and ninety-three members, counting probationers. L. Marshall came in 1858; and, in 1860, Charles Cushing was sent to the station. He was very popular; and, after preaching two years, left three hundred and forty-six members. In 1862, Ira G. Bidwell assumed charge. His scholarly discourses drew appreciative congregations; and his urbanity endeared him to a large circle. He was married during his pastorate in this village; and here he first brought his young wife. In 1864, Samuel M'Kean came to this station. He was a man of rare social qualities; and here remained three years. He left four hundred members. I learn he has since been an unsuccessful aspirant for Congressional honors; and has become a lecturer, or something of the kind, in a Temperance organization. In 1867, William R. Brown came to the charge of the Congregation. As a preacher, he was very popular, and remained three years; but, during the last year,

his health failing, he was furnished an assistant. Henry Graham, who is the present preacher, Mr. Brown is now conducting a successful book-business, in Troy.

I have thus, Mr. Editor, glanced at the Methodist organization, from its infancy. It, from small beginnings, has become a large, influential, and wealthy body, giving, probably, in one year, more, for religious purposes, than any other sect,—probably more than all, combined. It is difficult to recognize the Church, to-day, as the outcrop or growth of what it was, when I first knew it. So rigid in matters of dress; so plain and pointed in preaching; so earnest in enforcing attendance at class-meeting; so sharp in discipline. I have heard Father Chichester talk to the members as no other sect would have submitted to, for a moment. I saw, once, a long row of young converts standing in front of the chancel-rail, awaiting the action of Mr. Spicer, to be received on trial. He scanned each, attentively, and observing that their style of dress was not in conformity with the Discipline, remarked, tersely: "My friends, when folks get "through keeping tavern they usually take "down the sign."

Those Ministers, in the olden time, received only pay enough to keep soul and body together. The Discipline fixed the amount; but, now, they receive salaries equal, if not superior, to those of any other denomination. In those days, you could tell a Methodist as far as you could see, merely by the dress; but, to-day, if you should attempt thus to read, you would be strangely mistaken. They are among the most stylish people we have. May they go on, doing God's work and receiving His blessing.

OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—BOTTLE-HILL, (OR MADISON, N. J.,) DURING THE REVOLUTION.*

BY THE LATE REV. SAMUEL L. TUTTLE, OF MADISON, N. J.

[The author of this sketchy and valuable article on *Bottle Hill, during the Revolutionary War*, the late Rev. Samuel Lawrence Tuttle, of Madison, Morris-county, New Jersey, was the eldest son of the Rev. Jacob Tuttle and Mrs. Elizabeth Ward Tuttle, of Jersey, Ohio. He was born at Bloomfield, New Jersey, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1815; and departed this life on the sixteenth of April, 1866, in the fifty-first year of his age.

He was of a remarkably amiable disposition; very teachable; and, withal, very energetic. He began his classical studies at Bloomfield Academy, at the age of nine years, under the care of the Rev. Albert Pierson. Whilst a member of the Academy, he united with the Presbyterian-church, in Bloomfield, and devoted himself to the Christian Ministry.

In the fall of 1831, he became a member of his uncle's family, the late William Tuttle, of Newark. He pursued his studies, at Newark, for a year or two, under the instruction of Mr Nathan Hedges, a very competent and thorough teacher; and completed his preparation for the second year in Princeton College, in a private school, in the family of the Pastor of the first Presbyterian-church, in that city. In the Spring of 1834, he entered the Sophomore Class, "half-advanced," at Princeton; and was graduated in 1836. Not ambitious to reach the first honors of his Class, he reached high honors as a class scholar, but, especially, as a writer and speaker. He was twice elected by his Society,—Clio Hall,—to represent it at public exhibitions; and he also received an appointment from the Faculty, as one of the orators, on the Commencement-day, when he was graduated.

After his graduation, he spent a year with his father, on the farm, and added to his physical vigor by labor.

In the Autumn of 1837, he became a member of the Theological Seminary, at Auburn, New York; and completed its full course of three years. His companions and instructors speak of his success, during this season of professional training, in terms of marked commendation. Here, as at Princeton, he was distinguished as a writer and speaker.

On the eighth of October, 1840, he was licensed to preach, by the Presbytery of Newark; and, soon afterwards, he was invited to supply the Church at Caldwell, New Jersey. The result was a call from that Church, to become its Pastor; and, on the ninth of March, 1841, he was ordained to the work of the Gospel Ministry, by the Presbytery of Newark, and installed Pastor of the Church. His preaching commanded great respect, from the first; and was attended with marked success. Then, as ever afterward, he bestowed the most careful preparation on his public efforts. This fact, associated with great manliness in speech and manner and great tenderness in all the relations he sustained to his people, gave him an unwonted hold on their affections.

In June, 1841, he was married to Miss Amelia Camp, daughter of Aaron Camp, of Newark. She died of malignant scarlet-fever, soon after the birth of her second son, on Christmas-day, 1859, her infant surviving her only a few days. The only child of this marriage, now living, is William Parkhurst Tuttle, of Madison, New Jersey, a Cashier in a Banking-house, in New York.

Finding his salary insufficient, he had leave from his Presbytery to resign his pastoral charge, at Caldwell, and was dismissed, on the seventeenth of April, 1849. For several years, he was the General Agent, for Connecticut, of the American Bible Society.

On the third of January, 1854, he was installed the Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, in Madison, New Jersey; and, after a successful ministry, he resigned his charge, on the sixteenth of April, 1862. He at once entered into the service of the American Bible Society, for a time acting as its Agent for Western New York; and, in the Spring of 1863, he was invited to the Home Office, as "Assistant of the Secretaries," in which position he remained until his death.

Believing that his true sphere had been found, he at once entered upon the discharge of its duties with the greatest earnestness. Not content with a perfunctory discharge of his ordinary duties, he devoted an incredible amount of labor on the exploration of the history of the American Bible Society. At his funeral, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, one of the Secretaries of this Society, in his eloquent eulogium on his co-laborer and friend, declared that, in his opinion, there was no person living who was so thoroughly and minutely conversant with that Society's history as Mr. Tuttle. Dr. Taylor also said, with profound feeling, that "he was "a man of great amiability, a loving man, having a large, "warm heart; a man of great decision, willing to do any "duty, never dissatisfied, but ready for the Master's work, "whenever and wherever the Master ordered."

Whilst connected with the Bible Society, he was often

* This article is the first of a series of ten, concerning matters and men in the Past of New Jersey, which we have received from our honored friend, Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash University, Indiana, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, during the current year. Some of these articles are from his own pen; others are from the pens of other writers; all of them are unpublished; and all possess so much interest and importance, as material for history, that our readers, within and without the Jerseys, will read them with both pleasure and profit.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

entrusted with delicate and difficult missions, which his associates say he discharged with rare promptness, fidelity, and wisdom. He also was frequently sent to the great cities, to represent the parent Society at important anniversaries; and in respect to the brevity, clearness, and eloquence with which he presented his great cause, he was much commended. In December, 1863, his addresses, in Chicago, were greatly applauded, both by the daily, and religious press of that city. Indeed, his services were in constant demand, for the presentation of the Bible-cause and for the ordinary services of the pulpit, in the leading churches of the city and country; so that his life was one of perpetual labor, during the seven days of each week.

In 1861, he was married to Miss Margaretta Thompson, daughter of Lewis Thompson, Esq., of Madison. She died, suddenly, in April, 1863, leaving an infant son, Joseph Nathaniel Tuttle, who survives his parents.

Three years after the death of his wife, Mr. Tuttle was attacked with violent illness; and, on the sixteenth of April, 1866, he died.

The Congregations of Caldwell and Madison, as also the public, generally, manifested the most lively regret at his death; and the Presbytery of Newark, then in Session, in the city of Newark, adjourned to allow its members to be present at the funeral, which occurred on the nineteenth of April.

Mr. Tuttle was manly in person. His countenance was bright and kindled quickly, in conversation and public speaking. At times, his eloquence was quite extraordinary. His voice was one of great richness and power; and, when in his happy moods, he was an effective speaker, who held his hearers with uncommon power.

The paper which is published in the present number of the Magazine, is one that Mr. Tuttle wrote as part of an entertainment, on the fourth of July, 1855, given by the ladies of his Congregation. It was delivered in the grove, half a mile South of the Madison Depot, on the East side of the road leading to Green Village. It gives evidence of the haste with which it was prepared; and shows how little thought the author of it had of giving it to the press. The facts here presented possess peculiar value, by reason of the testimony, here recorded, of several very aged people, who then resided in Madison and other parts of Morris-county, but who have since passed from among the living.

On the Thanksgiving Day that preceded the delivery of the address now published for the first time—that is, on the twenty-third of November, 1854,—Mr. Tuttle preached a Discourse entitled *A History of the Presbyterian Church, Madison, New Jersey.* With great care and labor, he had collected what remained of that history, either in written or in printed documents or in the traditions of the people, and brought them all into a pleasant book, which was published, the next year, at the request of his Congregation, in a pretty volume of a hundred and twenty pages. Besides these more elaborate contributions to the local history of Madison and Morris-county, there is a manuscript volume of nearly five hundred pages, in which Mr. Tuttle has recorded anecdotes, documents, traditions, conversations, and facts, derived from a great many sources. Much of this material has been used in the two productions named; but much has not been used. Perhaps, at some future time, this volume may be culled for a further cotribution to our local history. The history of Morris-county had no more devoted friend than he proved himself to be; and it is with a peculiar pleasure that this paper, on *Bottle Hill during the Revolution,* is given to the public.—J. F. T.]

It is now about eighty years since the War of the American Revolution began. This place, at that time, was called "BOTTLE HILL," a name which, tradition says, it received from the circumstance that a bottle, suspended from a sign-post, on the corner opposite the Academy, where the Cook homestead now stands, designated the first public-house ever opened in this vicinity. Almost the whole of this region, then, was covered with dense primeval forest, which, so far as we know, had never been disturbed by the hand of man. To a person standing at that time where we now do, and looking off on this far-stretching valley, with the exception, here and there, at wide intervals, of a plain unpainted farm-house, with a small patch of cleared land around it, the prospect was that of a vast and almost unbroken wilderness. The only highway leading through the place, from the interior to the sea-board, was that which is now known as "The old road," which, coming down from Morristown, by the residence of Mr. A. C. Lathrop, passed from thence to the corner, on the road leading to Monroe, now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Vannice; thence, by the present site of our village Academy; thence, across the turnpike and railroad, in front of the residence of Mr. George E. Sayre; thence, by the dwellings now occupied by Dr. H. P. Greene and Mr. Henry Keep; thence, in front of the homestead of Deacon Ichabod Bruen; thence, through the village of Chatham; and, thence, over the Passaic-river and Short-hills, it passed through Springfield, Connecticut farms, and Elizabethtown, to Elizabethtown Point, where it terminated. From this place, communication was had with the City of New York, by means of row-boats and small sailing-vessels; and, at the time above specified, it required at least one day to go from this place to Elizabethtown Point, and, very frequently, another to pass over in the boats to the City.

The only sanctuary then standing here, was the old Presbyterian church—a plain, shingled, barn-like structure, without cupola or spire, and, saving the sounding-board over the pulpit, which was deep blue, wholly destitute of paint, both within and without—which stood on the hill, on the South side of our village Cemetery, and about two rods East of the spot now occupied by the Gibbons Monument. The Reverend Azariah Horton, a plain, short, stout, and very benignant man, then in the sixtieth year of his age, was about closing the twenty-fourth year of his ministry, here.

The village tavern stood, at that time, where the house of Mr. Robert Albright now stands; and was kept by Mr. Daniel Brown. Not far from that, and nearly in front of the site of the Presbyterian Lecture-room, stood the village flag-staff—a single, tall, straight pole, unpeeled and unpainted, just as it had been cut in the forest; and, from its top, often floated the national banner of England, we being, at that time, loyal subjects of the British Crown. The village store was then kept in a little house, fifteen feet square, which stood on the corner now occupied by Mr. Isaac Brittin, and was owned and managed by Mrs. Eunice Horton, wife of the first Pastor who was settled in this place. By adroit management, this lady contrived, while there, to add to her husband's income—his

salary never amounting to more than one hundred and seventy-five dollars—so as to provide an ample support for their household and to enable her to purchase a valuable farm. The District School-house stood, then, not far from the residence of Mr. George E. Sayre. Among others who taught school on that spot, was the late Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia.

The principal thoroughfare from this place, towards the South, was the one which passes by thisgrove, to Green Village, and led, then, as now, to Baskingridge, Pluckamin, and the Delaware. The principal thoroughfare leading towards the North, was the one which passes on the hill, by the Academy, through Columbia, Whippany, Troy, Montville, and Pompton, to Fort Lee and the Highlands, on the North-river. Persons traveling from this last point, to the Delaware, on this side of the Newark Mountains, as well as those passing from the interior, West of us, towards the sea-beach, would find their most direct route leading through this place. This it would be well to bear in mind, as we progress with this history. Geographically, Bottle-hill was so located, that, during the Revolutionary War, it became, from necessity, a witness of many of the operations and a large sharer in the embarrassments and trials of that eventful struggle. Such was the village of "Bottle-hill," and such its location on the great thoroughfares leading East and West, North and South, in the year 1775—the period designated at the commencement of this address.

For several years previous to that time, there had been serious difficulties arising between the Colonies, here, and the mother country. Two years before that, the citizens of Boston, outraged by the despotic measures adopted by the English authorities, had thrown three entire cargoes of Tea into Massachusetts Bay. On the eighteenth of of April, 1775, the War of the Revolution began in the famous battle of Lexington. On the fifteenth of June, following, General Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Colonial forces. Two days after that, was fought the battle of Bunker's-hill, near Boston. All these things spread, with incredible rapidity, over the entire country. They were now communicated to our Fathers, dwelling here. They were talked about, in the house and in the fields. They were spoken of, and made subjects of prayer, in the old sanctuary that stood yonder, on the hill. The Rev. Azariah Horton was no friend of tyrants; and his words, both in public, and in private, were not wanting to rouse this community to a just vindication of its rights. That old Meeting-house and that old pioneer Minister did not a little, in this way, to prepare those who dwelt here, for the honors, as well as the trials, which Divine Providence had in store for them. Many a stalwart arm was, as a consequence, devoted to the cause of freedom; and many a sacrifice was cheerfully made, that that cause might speedily triumph. On the fourth of July, 1776, a little more than a year after the War had been commenced, the representatives of the several Colonies adopted and sent forth the *Declaration of Independence.* That document was received and read, all over the land, with the utmost enthusiasm; but nowhere with more decided proofs of patriotic devotion than in old "Bottle-hill." But one sentiment was felt by this entire community; and that was, that British despotism must be put down and the Colonial independence must be maintained, cost what it might. Many of the inhabitants of the place, as a consequence, and many of the leading members and officers of the old Church, carrying with them the blessing of their reverend Pastor, left their farms in the care of their wives and children, and hastened to join the Colonial Army which was, at that time, stationed on Long Island. A few days previous to the fourth of July, when the *Declaration of Independence* was published, a Division of the British forces, numbering twenty-four thousand men, under the command of Sir William Howe, landed on Long Island, a little East of the present site of Fort Hamilton. The Colonial Army numbered only seventeen thousand men, three thousand of whom were laid aside by sickness. The armies met; and the Americans were defeated. They then crossed the East-river, to Manhattan Island, where the city of New York now stands; and were followed by the enemy. The battle of White Plains followed; and again the Americans were defeated. Dispirited and downcast, they then passed over the North-river, into New Jersey, and commenced that disastrous retreat, first to Hackensack, then to Newark, then to Elizabethtown, then to New Brunswick, then to Princeton, then to Trenton, then to the West side of the Delaware-river, opposite Trenton—the enemy, in high spirits, following them, upon their heels, and occupying all the places, just mentioned, with strong detachments from the main Army. For this country, that was a most gloomly period; and many were the fears that were excited, that the sun of freedom, which had but just begun to dawn, was thus, suddenly and forever, to be extinguished. But there were others enlisted on our side than those who bore arms. There were thousands of earnest and anxious hearts, all over this land, who bore Washington and his dejected Army, hourly, before Jehovah of Hosts. Many were the prayers which went up from these family altars, all around where we are now assembled; and many and earnest were the supplications which went up from yonder "old Meeting-"house," that it would please God to prosper

the efforts of their husbands, and fathers, and brothers, and to discomfit the armies of the aliens; and a more hopeful day was at hand.

The Hessians, under Colonel Rahl, had been stationed at Trenton, to watch the movements of our Army. On the night of Christmas, while these men, with their officers, were engaged in a drunken revel, Washington, by a stroke, which, for daring and skill of accomplishment, has but few, if any, equals in history, in the midst of a most violent snow-storm, through fields of floating ice, and in the darkness of a December night, crossed the Delaware, with his Army, and totally routed and defeated the enemy. A few days afterwards, when the entire British Army had collected together, and were on the point of making an attack upon our forces, by another most skillful movement, Washington withdrew from his dangerous position, during the night, his camp-fires being kept burning and his sentinels ordered to continue their rounds, as usual; and, by day-light, on the third of January, he made a successful attack upon a large body of the enemy which had been posted as a Corps of Reserve, in the vicinity of Princeton. In that battle, a cannon-ball, from our ranks, entered the old College-chapel, and cut off the head of George the Third, from a full length picture of him, which was hanging there—a circumstance which, in those days, was considered ominous of good. These sudden and dexterous movements had the effect to show the enemy that the American Army, though, in a measure, raw and undisciplined, was not yet entirely destitute of life and energy; and, at the same time, they had the effect to inspire both the Army and the Country at large with new courage for the future. For these victories, thanksgivings went up to Almighty God from every family altar and every sanctuary in our land.

The American forces being now in fine spirits, and the Winter having set in, Washington determined to conduct them into Winter-quarters. Abandoning the design which he had formed of attacking New Brunswick, where the enemy had collected his military stores; he conducted his troops from Princeton, over Rocky-hill, through Pluckamin, Baskingridge, New Vernon; thence, by the gristmill belonging to Mr. Bleauplain Baisabin, near Green Village; thence, around the corner occupied by Mr. Moses Lindsley; thence, along the road leading from Green Village to Morristown; and, thence, over to the ground which had been selected for the encampment, in the valley of Lowantica, on the farms now belonging to Messrs. A. M. Treadwell and William M. Kitchel, about one and a half miles West of this village. Three Regiments of troops from New England had been directed to post themselves in the vicinity of Morristown, in case their assistance should be called for, on the Delaware. These, likewise, were ordered to go into Winter-quarters, here; and we have the authority of Mr. Azariah Carter, who has died, within a few months, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years, for saying that, for the most part, they were billetted in private houses, in this township. Every house throughout this entire region was filled, to its utmost capacity, with either officers or soldiers. Persons appointed by the Commander-in-chief passed through the towns and examined the houses; and, without much consultation with the owners, decided how many, and who, should be quartered in each. Often, without even going into the houses, those persons would ride up to the door and write "Colonel Ogden's Head-quarters;" "Major "Eaton's Head-quarters;" "Twelve privates to "be billetted here;" "Six officers to be quartered "here;" etc.; and, generally, without much regard to the convenience or wishes of the occupants, the arrangements of these Commissioners were carried out. In many cases, the best rooms were placed at the disposal of the troops, while the families owning them retired into their kitchens and garrets. Boards were set up, on the floor, across the end of the room opposite to the hearth, just far enough from the wall to admit of a person lying down at full length. This space was then filled with good wholesome straw; and, there, all the soldiers billetted in a house, numbering, sometimes six, sometimes twelve, and sometimes even twenty, crowded in, together, and, covering themselves each with a single blanket, while the fires were kept burning, defended themselves, as best they could, from the severities of those stern Winter nights. In some cases, the soldiers had their meals provided by the families with which they were quartered; while, in others, they drew their rations and prepared them for themselves, as is generally done, in camp. In the case of the officers, except when their families were with them, the former course was generally adopted. General Washington's quarters, at that time, were in the old Freeman Tavern, which stood on the West side of "the Green," in Morristown, and which was kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, of the "Sullivan's Light Horse Guards." In that house and in other houses of that place, General Sullivan, General Lee, General Putnam, Colonel Hamilton, and other leading members of his staff were quartered. Several of the leading officers, as General Maxwell, General Wayne, Colonel Barbour, Colonel Ogden, Colonel Marsh, and Major Eaton, had their head-quarters in the residences of the principal families in this village. In some cases, the families of the officers were with them; and, in this way, a very pleasant society was kept up, here, during the Winter. Armed sentinels guarded these houses, both by day and by night; and it was no unusual thing

for considerable numbers of the various Battalions or Companies, under the command of these officers, to march down to their quarters, for the purpose of doing them honor. But, as has already been stated, the main body of the Army encamped, for the Winter, on the property now belonging to Messrs. Treadwell and Kitchel, in Lowantica valley. The number of the troops, at that time, is no where expressly stated, in the histories given us of that period; but we have reason to conclude, from some statements which are made, that it did not vary much from three thousand. When they came out upon the place of their encampment, on the route which has already been described, with their artillery and long trains of baggage-wagons, exulting in the victories which they had achieved, but a few days before, at Trenton and Princeton, the whole community turned out, very naturally, to witness them and to welcome them into their midst. Although there was, doubtless, some degree of solicitude experienced, from the fact that so large a body of men were to be quartered, for the Winter, among them; we have reason to know that there were few, if any, in old "Bottle Hill," who were not glad to see them, at that time, and to pledge them their friendly offices, during the Winter, even to the last comfort that they possessed.

The ground selected for the encampment belonged then, as now, to two individuals—that part of it which is now owned by Mr. Treadwell belonged, at that time, to John Easton; while that portion of it which is now in possession of Mr. Kitchel was, at that time, the property of Isaac Pierson, father of Darius Pierson, whose widow, at the advanced age of eighty-nine, is still living, (1855) in the village of Rockaway. The former of these places was purchased, soon after the Revolutionary War, by Mr. Vincent Baisabin, by whom it was occupied until it went into the hands of Mr. Treadwell, about three years since; while the latter was occupied by Darius Pierson, a son of the original owner, and his family, until it came into the possession of Mr. Kitchel.

The residence of Mr. Easton was not far from the spot now occupied by the old mansion of Mr. Baisabin, a little Southeast of the dwelling of Mr. Treadwell; and the residence of Mr. Pierson was located on the spot now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Kitchel; his nearest neighbor being Joshua Munson, father of Mr. Halsey Munson, grandfather of Mrs. Treadwell, whose place of residence was on the ground now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Daniel M. Force.

The valley to which reference has been made and which was selected as the place of encampment, was called Lowantica, which is an Indian name, from the brook which runs through its midst. By that name, it is believed that both the brook and the valley were designated, during the Revolution; and it was not until about thirty years ago, that the valley was first named Fevertown and, afterwards, Spring-valley, by which it is now commonly distinguished, in this vicinity. Commencing at a point a little South of Morristown; and running in a Southeasterly direction, for the distance of about five miles, it loses itself, in the vicinity of Green Village, in that great stretch of low lands which is commonly known by the name of the Great Swamp. The Lowantica, which runs through the center of this valley, is an unusually clear stream, which is formed from the springs which abound in the valley and which gush forth, in all their natural purity, at almost every step. Flowing down, in the general direction of the valley, it empties, eventually, into the Passaic, and constitutes, thus, one of the principal sources of that river.

At the time of which we are now speaking, nearly the whole of this beautiful valley, not excepting the place of the encampment, was covered with a heavy growth of wood and timber. There were comparatively but few acres cleared and under cultivation; and these were immediately around the houses of Messrs. Easton, Pierson, and Munson, whose names have already been mentioned. With the exception of these little "parcels of ground," the whole of the tract upon which the Army encamped, was an unenclosed and dense wilderness. There being no fences between it and any of the throughfares running by it, it could be approached, without obstruction, from any direction.

To this well chosen spot, did the Americans repair, for the purpose of going into Winter-quarters, arriving there on the sixth day of January, 1777. The weather was exceedingly cold. Pitching their tents, at first, wherever they could find places for them, they continued to occupy them, it is believed, for two or three weeks, until they were able to construct more substantial and comfortable accommodations. The centre of the ground marked out for the encampment was not far from the mansion of Mr. Treadwell, about a quarter of a mile South of the main road leading from Morristown, through this village, to the seaboard, and a few rods East of the road, which ran, then, as it does now, in a North and South direction, across the valley. The location was admirably suited to the object for which it was selected. The ground, at that point, descended gradually towards the Southeast, and was shielded, in a great measure, by the crown of the hill, back of it, from the severe winds and storms of the North and Northwest. A little South of it, ran the Lowantica; and, still nearer it, were several large and beautiful springs. The encampment, it is probable, began on the slope West of the spot,

occupied by Mr. Treadwell's residence, not far from the road which now passes, in front of Mr. Kitchel's house, across the valley. One principal street, between four and five rods wide, was laid out in the middle, in the centre of which stood the flagstaff, which, by this time, had come to be called the Liberty-pole, from the top of which our national banner floated. This street was kept in excellent condition and was used as a parade-ground; althouth there is some reason to believe that the fine level space, on the hill, North of the camp, on which the residence of Mr. Joseph E. Muchmore now stands, was used for this purpose, on special occasions, as, for instance, on occasions of general parade and review. The general direction of the main street was North-east and South-west. On this street were constructed the cabins of the officers, which were somewhat larger than those put up for the soldiers. On either side of this leading avenue, there were either one or two other streets, running in the same general direction, and about forty feet in width. On these, the cabins of the soldiers were built, in some cases, single, but oftener, in blocks of three, four, and five together, while outside of them, especially on the northern side, others were constructed without any special reference to the streets, but rather in reference to the character of the ground, the side hill being indented with several deep gullies. The cabins, of which all the aged people in this vicinity say there was a large number, and which, it is probable, numbered nearly three hundred, were made of logs (unhewn) notched at the ends, and laid up, one on another, to a height sufficient to allow a person to pass in, erect, under the upper course. The roofs were made of rough clap-boards, split out of the forest. Places were sawed through the logs, for a window and a door in each cabin, into which, on account of their inability to procure either metallic hinges or glass, rude clapboard doors and shutters, with wooden hinges and latches, were placed. In one end of each cabin, a rough stone fire-place was thrown up, surmounted by a plastered stick chimney, which went only a few inches above the peak of the roof; while, in the other end of each structure, a bunk or sleeping-place was erected, with clapboards and small pieces of timber resting on crotches which were driven into the ground. These sleeping-places reached across the entire ends of the cabins, and, being filled in with straw, they were made to accommodate ten or twelve soldiers each. The spaces between the logs being filled in with chuncks of wood and mud, they were sheltered, in a good degree, from the force of the winds and the storms. Rough clapboard benches, with unshaven legs, answered for seats. Huge fires were kept continually blazing, both by day and night; and these constituted the sum total of their furniture and their various conveniences.

Several very large cabins were erected for the accommodation of the Commissary Department and the camp-stores; and these, there are some reasons for believing, were located on the southern borders of the camp, in the vicinity of the springs already referred to. In that part of the camp, also, were these cabins erected and occupied by the suttlers, who drove a brisk trade in various groceries and, especially, in the sale of good whiskey. As it was their principal business to accommodate the drinking propensities of the Army, they very naturally located themselves in the immediate vicinity of the springs, showing themselves, by these means, to be, in some degree, at least, "cold water men."

A little further down towards the Lowantica, rude sheds were constructed for sheltering the horses. These sheds were placed there for the double purpose of being near the brook, for the watering of the horses, and of having this important part of their property as far as possible from the main road, which was, of course, the principal point of danger. Here, too, the baggage-wagons were probably drawn up, in lines; and the artillery, also, was placed there, for the Winter. On the outermost limits of the encampment, several guard-houses, also of logs, with fire-places and bunks for sleeping, were erected for the accommodation of the sentinels, whose duty it was, in regular beats, to pass back and forth, along the four sides of the camp, and to guard it, both day and night, against the approaches of the enemy. Within the line of their beats, no one was permitted to pass, especially at night, unless he presented a permit, signed by some officers, to do so, or was able to utter the countersign.

Every morning, at a given hour, the soldiers were aroused by the beat of the drum; the flag was run up on the liberty-pole; and every thing was made to wear the aspect of life. At particular periods of each day, some portions of the Army were called out for exercise and review; and, occasionally, the whole Army, including those who were billetted in private houses, in this vicinity, was brought together, for a grand General Parade. On such occasions, all the officers of the Army, likewise, were present; and it was no uncommon thing for General Greene, General Lee, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, General Knox, General Sullivan, General Anthony Wayne, General Lord Sterling, and the Commander-in-chief, General Washington himself, to be on the parade-ground and to take part in the review; and, then, the inhabitants of this entire region, for many miles in every direction, were naturally attracted thither. I have had the pleasure of conversing with aged persons, here, who have been eye witnesses of scenes like this.

While the Army was encamped here, there is reason to believe that several clergymen officiated as Chaplains. One of those who are known to have labored in that relation, was the Reverend James Caldwell, Pastor of the First Presbyterian-church in Elizabethtown. On the Sabbath, when the weather would admit of it, he preached to the soldiers on the parade-ground, from a temporary platform or stage; at other times, discharging his high office in the cabins of both officers and privates, in conversing with individuals, in ministering consolation and instruction to the sick and dying, and in performing the last rites of religion and of humanity at the graves of those who had died. This excellent man was a pattern of ministerial watchfulness and fidelity. The revelations of the last great day may show that his efforts to lead precious souls under his care to Christ and to Heaven were not expended in vain. Very many of those who encamped on that ground, during that Winter, it is not only hoped, but believed, will be found, through his instrumentality, welcome participants of the joys of everlasting life.

During the Winter of which we are speaking, and while the Army was encamped in Lowantica valley, that terrible scourge, the small-pox, broke out, with dreadful malignity, among them; and many of them, as a consequence, were hurried to the grave. Nor did the awful malady confine itself to the Army, but it extended itself, with great rapidity, throughout this entire region. No classes nor conditions of the community were exempt from its ravages. Not only did it spread throughout the camp, but many of the soldiers and officers who were billetted in private houses, fell a sacrifice to it; and very many of the most estimable inhabitants of this place and this County were, in consequence, prematurely hastened to the grave. The Reverend Azariah Horton, who, after a pastorate of twenty-five years, had withdrawn from this position, and was living in the family of his son, Foster Horton, in Chatham-village, was one of those who became victims to this alarming epidemic.

In writing on this subject to Congress, from Morristown, under date of the fifth of February, 1777, Washington says—"The small-pox has "made such head in every quarter that I find it "impossible to keep it from spreading through "the whole Army, in the natural way. I have, "therefore, determined not only to inoculate "all the troops, now here, that have not had it, "but I shall order Doctor Shippen to inoculate "the recruits, also, as fast as they come to Phil-"adelphia;" and Doctor Ashbel Green, who was then a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, in his Autobiography, says, in reference to this same subject, "The troops were distributed in "the dwellings of the inhabitants; and the Sur-"geons of the Army inoculated both soldiers and "citizens, free of charge. The disease by inocula-"tion was so light that there was not, probably, a "day in which the Army could not have been "marched against the enemy, if it had been ne-"cessary." The old Presbyterian-church at Hanover, probably, also, at Morristown, was occupied as a hospital, for those who were suffering from that disease, and several private hospitals, in this vicinity, were used for the purpose of inoculation, as a means of arresting its progress. One of these, was the dwelling subsequently occupied by Jonathan Thompson, near the mill belonging to Mr. Daniel C. Miller. At that place, an excellent Surgeon was stationed; and, thither, all classes in and about this village went, to pass through the process of inoculation. The Presbyterian-church in this place was never used as a hospital, for the reason, probably, that it was situated too near to the great thoroughfare leading from the seaboard to the interior, to render it safe for the Army and others who were continually obliged to be passing and re-passing that point.

Another place which was set apart for the purpose of inoculation was the house which stood, at that time, on the farm of the late John Ogden, over the hill, a little South-west of the residence of the late Mr. Bonsal. That house was then owned and occupied by Mr. Elijah Pierson; and, for several months, it was continually filled with both soldiers and citizens, who had repaired thither in order to guard themselves, by inoculation, against the small-pox.

I have been informed by some of the Brookfield family, residing but a little distance from the Lowantica camp-ground, that they received it from their revolutionary ancestors, who lived and died on the ground, that, during the same Winter, there was a small encampment on the hill, back of the Bonsall mansion; and it has seemed to me not unlikely that that was an arrangement also made for the purpose of inoculating the Army. We have some evidence that there was a small encampment of this character, and for this object, on Hanover-neck; and it is very probable that the one referred to, on Bonsall-hill, was established with this end in view.

Another private house that was occupied as a hospital, was an old one which stood on the spot now occupied by the residence of Mr. Bailey, a Swiss gentleman, on the road leading by the camp-ground, across the Lowantica valley, and but a little distance from the road leading from Green Village to Morristown. That house then belonged to James Brookfield, father of the late Silas Brookfield, and grandfather of Mr. Lewis P. Brookfield, who is still living in that neighborhood. Physicians and nurses were stationed there, also; and every thing was done that could

be done, to save the lives of the poor fellows who were, from time to time, carried thither, on litters, from the camp. All the rooms in the house were continually filled with patients; and a very large proportion of them died and were buried in the orchard, about five hundred yards Northwest of the house. Nothing now exists there, to mark the place of their burial; but, from all that can be learned, there must have been a very considerable number of soldiers interred there, during that fearful Winter. The wife of the owner of that property, Mrs. James Brookfield, is deserving of a monument for the self-sacrificing efforts which she put forth, at that time, to relieve the sufferings and comfort the last hours of our patriotic soldiers, who were placed under her husband's roof.

But the principal hospital in the vicinity of the camp, was a large house which belonged, at that time, to a German gentleman of the name of Harperee, on the farm which now belongs to J. J. Scofield, Esq., on the old road from this place to Morristown. That house stood about a quarter of a mile South of the above thoroughfare, and on ground which sloped towards the South, so that it could not be seen from the road. It was a one and a half story house, having four rooms on the lower floor and a greater number on the upper, about one and a half miles North-west of the center of the camp; and, in many respects, admirably adapted to the object for which it was used. Here, also, large numbers of soldiers, at different times, saw the last of earth. The place where they were buried, it is said, is still to be seen in the Southwest corner of the Harperee farm. A triangular piece of ground, containing, at least, three-quarters of an acre, surrounded by an old-fashioned worm-fence, and filled with mounds, as closely as they could be placed, in regular rows, was the place where these unfortunate men, unblessed with the sympathy of wives, or sisters, or mothers, were committed to the dust.

Mr. Lewis P. Brookfield assures me that he has been in the Hasperee house, above described; and that he has also seen the burial-place, just referred to. During the time of the Revolution, a dense forest intervened between this farm and the camp; and the road which connected these two points, passed by the Munson house, now owned by Mr. David M. Force, directly across, through the open woods. Very often were soldiers borne, on litters, along this retired and gloomy way, to the Harperee hospital, who returned to the camp no more, and who, with such solace only as strangers can render, became victims to this fell destroyer. Very sacred, as a consequence, are the associations which gather around that spot. Very precious ought it to be, in the estimation of all true American patriots!

Among the soldiers, also, who were billetted in private houses, there was a very considerable number who died of the disease of which we have been speaking. Some of these were buried on the grounds connected with these houses; and there are many reasons for believing that many others were interred in our own village Cemetry. Tradition says, that an important British officer, who was held here as a prisoner of war, during that Winter, when seized with this disease, was removed to what is known in this community as the Desthie farm, belonging, at the present time, to the heirs of the late William Gibbons; and, that, after his death, he was there committed to the earth.

[To be Continued.]

IV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Editor Historical Magazine.]

The First Cotton Factory in New York State.—In Tuesday's *Journal*, 16th inst., you say, "the first cotton factory in this State was "built in Union-village, in 1804, by William "Mowry." This is a mistake, as there was one built on the island of New York, in the year 1796 or 1797, by a New York Company.

It was built somewhere on the upper end of the island, on a stream too small to run it profitably; and then they tried to run it by the tides, and, after expending a large amount, the Company failed and the factory went down.

My father, John Shedden, claimed to have helped to put up the machinery, and to have spun the first cotton in the State. He came from Scotland to this country, in 1796; and I think he said the factory was started the same year. James S. Shedden.

Moers, 20th Feb., 1869.

—*Albany Evening Journal.*

Epitaph of Richard Thomas.—The following epitaph can be read in a graveyard at Winslow, Maine:

Here lies the body of Richard Thomas,
An inglishman by birth.
A whig of '75,
By occupation a cooper
Now food for worms.
Like an old rum puncheon
marked numbered and shooked.
He will be raised again
and finished by his creator,
he died Sept. 28, 18 4: aged 75,
America my adopted country,
My best advice to you is this
Take care of your libertiee.

Dean Swift an American Bishop.—Few ideas seem more incongruous than those aroused by the mention of the author of *Gulliver* and the early struggles of the Episcopal Church in British America. Yet, though the subject has never been made entirely clear, his own letters show that such a position was sought for by him, and that measures were in agitation for placing him in it.

The "Society for the Propagation of the "Gospel in Foreign Parts" was organized in the year 1701, with the support of the highest and most respectable public men of the time, both in Church and State. Its efforts were directed, vigorously, toward Virginia and the other British Colonies in America; and, about the year 1708, it is probable that the project of a Bishop for that Province was pressed by it on a reluctant Court.

The Dean's attention was no doubt drawn to the subject by his friend and correspondent, Colonel Robert Hunter, a gentleman of literary and liberal tastes, who, in 1710, came out as Governor of New York. In March, 1709, Swift thus writes to him: "I shall go from Ireland "some time in Summer, being not able to make "my friends in the Ministry consider my merits "or their promises enough to keep me here, "so that all my hopes now terminate in my "Bishoprick of Virginia." Four years later, Governor Hunter thus writes to him, from New York: "I have purchased a seat for a Bishop, "and, by orders from the Society, have given "directions to prepare it for his reception. You, "once upon a day, gave me hopes of seeing you "there. It would be no small relief to have so "good a friend to complain to."

It is evident from these passages that the plan had taken root in the mind of Swift. While chafing at the restrictions imposed upon his promotion at home, his proud heart may have yearned for a position, at once independent and honorable, where he would have found scope for the exercise of energies that proved a curse rather than a boon to their possessor, when cooped up in the narrow limits of ecclesiastical routine. What the result of such an appointment might have been, it is difficult to judge; but we incline to think good would have been effected to both the Governor and the governed; and it is, to us, an interesting fact in the history of an unfortunate great man, that such a plan was under consideration.—*Harper's Weekly.*

An Old House.—An exchange says, near the junction of the Catasauqua-creek and Lehigh-river, just above Catasauqua, stands an old and crumbling stone house, which is rendered of interesting importance by having once been the residence of George Taylor, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The walls of this building are nearly two hundred years old and, when laid, were very thick and strong. The house was frequently used as a place of refuge and defence against attacks of Indians. No doubt this is an old house; but it lacks some seventy years of being two hundred years.

Miles Standish's Will.—The last Will, and Testament, of Captain Myles Standish, exhibited before the Court, held at Plymouth, the 4th of May, 1657, on the the oath of Captain James Cudworth, and ordered to be recorded as followeth. Given under my hand this March the 7th 1655.

Witnesseth these Presents, that I Myles Standish Sen, of Duxburrow, being in perfect memory, yet diseased in my body, and knowing the frail estate of man, in his best estate, I do make this to be my last will and testament, in manner and form following.

1. My will is, that out of my whole estate, my funerall charges be taken out, and my body to be buried in a decent manner, and if I die at Duxburrow, my body be laid as near as conveniantly may be, to my two dear daughters, Dora Standish, my daughter, and Mary Standish, my daughter-in-law.

2. My will is, that out of the remaining part of my estate, that all my just and lawfull debts which I now owe, or at the day of my death may owe, be paid.

3. Out of what remains, acording to the order of this Goverment, my will is, that my dear and loving wife, Barbara Standish, shall have the third part.

4. I have given to my son Josias Standish, upon his marriage, one young horse, five sheep, and two efers, which I must, upon that contract of marriage, make forty pounds, yet not knowing whether the estate will bear it at present, my will is that every one of my four sons, viz., Alexander Standish, Miles Standish, Josiah Standish, and Charles Standish, may have forty pounds apiece, if not, that they may have proportionably, to the remaining part of it, be it more or less.

5. My will is, that my eldest son, Alexander, shall have a double share in the land.

6. My will is, that so long as they live single, that the whole be in partnership betwixt them.

7. I do ordain and make my dearly beloved wife, Barbara Standish, Alexander Standish, Miles Standish, and Josiah Standish, joint execitors of this my last will and testament.

8. I do by this my will, make and appoint my loving friends, Mr. Timothy Hatherly and Captain James Cudworth, supervisors of this my last

will, and they will be pleased to do the office of christian love, to be helpfull to my poor wife and children, by their christian council and advise, and if any diferance should arise, which I hope will not, my will is, that my supervisors shall determine the same, and that they see that my poor wife shall have as comfortable maintainiance as my poor estate will bear, the whole time of her life, which if you my loving friends please to do, though neither they nor I shall be able to recompence. I do not doubt but the Lord will.

By me MYLES STANDISH.

[Further, my will is, that Mercye Robinson, whom I tenderly love, for her Grandfathers sake, shall have three pounds, in something, to go forward for her, two years after my decease, which my will is my overseers shall see performed.

Further, my will is, that my servant, John Irish, Jr. have forty shillings, more than his covennant, which will appear upon the town book, always provided that he continue, till the time he covenanted, be expiered, in the servise of my execitors, or any of the them, with their joint consent.

By me MYLES STANDISH.

9. I give unto my son, and heir aparent, Alexander Standish, all my lands, as heir aparent, by lawfull decent, in Ormistick, Bosconge, Wrightington, Mandsley, Newburrow, Crawston, and in the Isle of Man, and given to me as right heir, by lawfull decent, but sereptuously detained from me, my Grandfather being a second, or younger brother, from the house of Standish, of Standish.

By me MYLES STANDISH.

March the 7th 1655.
Witnessed by me,

JAMES CUDWORTH.

Plymouth, ss. March 11, 1870.—The foregoing is a true copy from the Plymouth Colony Records of Wills, Book 2, Part 1, Page 37.

WM. S. DANFORTH.
Reg. of Deeds for Plymouth County.

V.—NOTES.

PROCLAMATION FOR A FAST, ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR YEARS AGO.—We have been handed by our esteemed friend, John Fitch, Esq., of the City of New York, a lineal descendant of the old Norwalk Governor, the following loyal Proclamation to the good people of the Colony of Connecticut. The "original document" is a curiosity, and is, of course, a carefully preserved and much cherished memento, in the Records of the State of Connecticut:

"BY THE HONOURABLE
"THOMAS FITCH, Esq;
"Governor of his Majesty's English Colony of "Connecticut, in New England, in America.

"*A PROCLAMATION*

"For a day of public Fasting and Prayer.

"CONSIDERING the manifest Tokens of di- "vine Displeasure against our Nation, and Land, "in permitting them to be engaged in a danger- "ous WAR, with a very powerful Enemy, the "Seat of which is so much in America; and the "distressing Calamities attending it; the Advan- "tages the Enemy have been allowed to gain "over us, not only by destroying the frontier "Towns, and Settlements, Killing, and Captivat- "ing great Numbers of our Soldiery and Inhab- "itants; but even taking some of our strong "Holds, and Fortresses, and thereby Strengthen- "ing themselves with much of our Artillery, "war-like Stores and Provisions. Considering "also that our military Preparations, and At- "tempts, for securing the British Interest, and "Safety of this Land, have not hitherto been "successful according to our Hopes against the "encroaching and barbarous Enemy Whereby "our Treasure has been greatly Exhausted, and "the Land much weakened. Considering like- "wise the Sickness sent into the Army this pre- "sent Year; and that under all these Distresses, "it hath pleased a righteous GOD to cut short "so much of the former Harvest; and many "other Tokens of divine Displeasure; whereby "we are admonished to humble ourselves before "a holy GOD, from whom all our Afflictions "come, and on whom we are constantly depend- "ent for Help and for Salvation.

"I have therefore thought fit, by, and with "the Advice of the Council, and at the desire of "the Representatives in General Court assem- "bled, to appoint, and do hereby appoint Thurs- "day, the seventh day of October next, to be "religiously Observed as a Day of public Fast- "ing, and Prayer throughout this Colony, earn- "estly exhorting both Ministers, and People in "their religious Societies, deeply to humble "themselves before a Righteous GOD, and un- "feignedly to repent of all of those Sins, and "Iniquities, whereby the LORD is provoked to "Anger against us.

"And to offer up fervent Prayers and Supplications to the LORD of Hosts, that He would "protect and defend our Nation; bless the "King's Majesty, and all the Royal Family; "direct the King's Councils; go forth with his "Fleets, and Armies: Crown them with Victory "and Success; and bring our Enemies to just, "and reasonable Terms of Peace; that He would

"take care of us in this Land, bless the several "Governments in it; protect our Sea-Coasts, and "defend our frontier Towns, and Settlements; "that He would be with our Army, preserve "them from Sickness, save them from the Sword "of the Enemy, cover their Heads on the Day "of Battle, and Crown them with Victory, and "Success; And that GOD would restore Peace "to our Borders; save us from those desolating "Judgments we have reason to fear; pour out "upon us a Spirit of Prayer, Reformation, and "Amendment, and excite us to suitable Beha-"viour under all the Dispensations of His Prov-"idence and Grace.

"And all servile Labour is hereby strictly for-"bidden on said day.

"GIVEN under my Hand at the Council-"Chamber in Hartford, this Eighteenth "Day of September, in the thirtieth Year of "the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE "the Second, of Great Britain, France, and "Ireland, KING, defender of the Faith, &c. "Annoque Domini, 1756.

"T. FITCH.

"*GOD save the KING.*"

General Thomas Fitch was the father of Colonel Thomas Fitch, who commanded the four New England Regiments in the French and Indian war; and in derision of these Regiments, the now famous *Yankee Doodle* was composed and sung.

Those Regiments performed their full share in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, and suffered a greater loss, in proportion to their numbers, than the British Army.

VI.—REPLIES.

GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS, [*H. M.*, II., ix., 123.] In reply to your inquiry, I refer you to *Hildreth's History*, especially Volume II., Page 428, and the various places mentioned in the Index under head of "Indented Servants."

WASHINGTON. C. S.

ISAAC SEARS. [*H. M., N. S., ix., 123.*] Colonel Isaac Sears sailed from New York, on the fourth of February, 1786, in the *Hope*, Captain James Magee. This vessel was the third that left the United States, to engage in the China trade. He arrived at Batavia, on the fourth of July; and, on the nineteenth of the same month, was confined to his bed with a fever, of which he died, at Canton, on the twenty-eighth of October, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

His remains were interred, the next day, on French-island, with the usual solemnities; and, previous to the ship leaving Whampoa, a tomb was erected over them, and a suitable inscription placed upon it. W. K.

NEW YORK CITY.

EARLY BAPTISTS IN NEW YORK CITY AND THE OLD GOLD-STREET MEETING-HOUSE.

[*H. M.*, II., ix., 44.]

MR. H. B. DAWSON.

SIR: I have seen your letter to Mr. Oldring, and, so far as I can, I will comply with your wishes; but you must recollect, I am now an old woman, and that, although my recollections of that dear old house are very clear, my hand refuses to wield the pen, as formerly. I will make no further apology for what may follow.

The years in which the house was built, 1801–2, my father, a Deacon of the Church, lived directly opposite. I was then a young child; and father would take me in his arms across the street, while it was in process of erection, and explain to me what they were doing and what they were going to do. The house was raised under my eye; and, after its completion, I thought it a very beautiful building. The ground on which it stood was one hundred and twenty-five feet front, one hundred deep. The house stood in about the centre of this ground; about fifteen or twenty feet back from the street; at an elevation of two feet from the level of the street, possibly three feet; with a grave-yard each side and a row of six elegant poplar trees in the front, overtopping the house, and adding much to its beauty.* The house was built of stone. The walls were massive—at the least, four feet in thickness—two rows of large windows, on each side, five, I think, in a row, and shaded with green blinds. Interior of the house, all white. The ceiling was vaulted in the centre: level over the galleries. It had a middle and two side aisles, and six rows of pews, each holding six persons. The pulpit was small and round; with a sounding-board above it. Gallery on three sides of the house, four pews deep; the whole house seating fifteen hundred persons.

It was entered by three front doors—the center one projecting some ten feet beyond the others, and opening into a large space, on the right and left hand of which were the stairs to ascend to the gallery. It had a belfry; but a bell was never placed in it, some feeling objections, and as all wanted to work in harmony, one side yielded to the other. In after years, the belfry was put to better use. With a few pews taken from the gallery to enlarge it, it was made into a room to accommodate their first Sunday-school; so that this belfry, instead of the tinkling of a

* These trees were removed, after a few years, the roots threatening the house.

metal bell, the good news of salvation sounded out to many a heart. When was a belfry put to such use before? *

This house, you will recollect, was not the first house belonging to the First Baptist Church in New York. While yet the subjects of King George, they erected a frame building, in which they worshipped many years.

Should you want a description of that house, you will find it in Mr. Parkinson's Jubilee Sermon, preached when the Church was fifty years old. This sermon was reprinted in about 1845 or '6. It is now out of print; but, no doubt, some of your friends have a copy. You will find much of interest in it.

P. PARKINSON.†

192 South Eighth-street, WILLIAMSBURGH.

THE PALATINES, IN ULSTER-COUNTY, N. Y.—[*H. M.*, II., ix. ,]

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

Please say in your next Number, that the statement that I am the author of *The Palatines in Ulster-county* is an error. It was written by RUFUS T. SMITH, Esq., Warm Springs, Madison-county, N. C., as I am informed by the Editor of the *Saugerties Telegraph*. I forwarded it to you as a matter of interest, simply, not dreaming that you would think it mine.

SAUGERTIES, N. Y. JOHN B. THOMPSON.

THE SWISS FAMILY ROBINSON.—[*H. M.*, II., vii., 56.]—This is a translation from a German work, written by the Reverend John David Wyss, at Berne, Switzerland, between the years 1790 and 1810. There are two additional volumes, in German, first published in 1826 and 1827, and which I believe have never been translated. On the other hand, the English editions have a closing chapter, which appears to be original with the translator.

NEW YORK CITY. C. GOEPP.

* The house, after a few years, was modernized considerably. The old pulpit and sounding-board were removed, and a large new pulpit, draped in crimson, substituted; the centre ceiling lowered to nearly a level with the sides; etc. My object has been to give you an idea of the house when first built.

The house was situated on Golden Hill, about half way between John and Fair-streets, now Fulton-street. P. P.

† It is with peculiar pleasure that we find room for this reply to our Query concerning the Baptist Meeting-house in Gold-street, from the pen of the venerable widow of the Rev. WILLIAM PARKINSON, who was, for many years the honored Pastor of that Church, and who was succeeded in that office by our dear friend and Pastor, Rev. SPENCER H. CONE, D.D., whose memory is very precious in our house.

After the Church removed from Gold-street, its property was occupied by Messrs. R. Hoe & Co., while it seated itself in the substantial stone Meeting-house, at the corner of Broome and Elizabeth-streets; but the contagion of removal has recently visited the Church and, sadly distressing those unto whom the associations of that house were peculiarly dear, it has again flitted—a new and very elegant structure, very unlike an old-fashioned Baptist Meeting-house, is now being built, on the Fourth-avenue, Murray-hill, for its use, until another revolution of fashion shall carry it elswhere and into yet more fashionable lodgings.

Our honored friend, THOMAS D. ANDERSON, D.D., is the worthy successor in office of the eminent men whom we have already named as successive Pastors of this Church, in the days of our boyhood and while we were yet a young man.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. "DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., *Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Memoir of William Plumer, Senior, by Albert H. Hoyt.* Re-printed from the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1871. Boston: David Clapp & Son. Octavo, pp. 12.

A very well written memoir of one of the most eminent of New Hampshire's sons, gathered, mainly, from the large octavo, written by his son, and published in Boston, in 1856. It is from the pen of the editor of the *Register*; was probably written for that work; and is reproduced in this independent form, we imagine, for private circulation among the freinds of the author.

2.—*Memorial Services on occasion of the death of Rev. Albert Barnes.*

Funeral Services held in the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, December 28th, 1870. Philadelphia: 1871. Octavo, pp. 26 (unpaged).

God ordering and pleasure in the steps of a good man. Sermon: preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, January 22*d*, 1871. By Rev. Herrick Johnson, D.D. Philadelphia: 1871. Octavo, pp-3–21.

Among the churches, few were better known, during the past thirty years, than Albert Barnes, the distinguished author of the *Notes* on the various books of the New Testament and some of those of the Old. He was a notable man because of himself as well as because of his works. As a man, he was upright, courteous, conscientious: as a Pastor, he was faithful and fearless in the discharge of his duties: "never "broke faith with the Truth," as he understood it; and was beloved and sustained, without flinching, through all the struggles in which he was engaged, by his *entire* congregation: as an Author, the commendation will be found in the circulation of *millions* of volumes of his *Notes* which have found willing purchasers throughout Europe, Asia, and America.

He was born in Rome, N. Y., on the first of December, 1798; followed, for a while, his father's trade of a tanner; was induced to prepare for college and graduated at Hamilton college, in 1819: entered the Seminary, at

Princeton, and was licensed to preach in April, 1823; was ordained Pastor of the Presbyterian-church at Morristown, N. J., in February, 1825; removed to the First-church, in Philadelphia, in June, 1830; resigned his pastorate, in November, 1867; and died on the twenty-fourth of December, 1870.

In the neat little volume before us, we find the record of the memorial services which, at the grave and in the Meeting-house, followed the decease of this distinguished man; and are glad to be permitted to find a place for it among the volumes of that class which find an honorable place on our book-shelf.

3.—*The Relations of the Business Men of the United States to the National Legislation.* By Hamilton Andrews Hill. Boston: 1871. Octavo, pp. 32.

A paper, prepared by the Secretary of the Boston Board of Trade, for the American Social Science Association, in which the undue preponderance, in legislation, of lawyers, and the too limited proportion of business-men, as legislators, are very ably presented and discussed.

Of the facts presented there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt concerning the need of some change, if the perpetuity of the Republic and of the simplicity on which the Republic necessarily rests; but the remedy proposed—the action of Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, as Nominating Committees, and a complete regeneration of our merchants, as politicians—is as wholly utopian in its charcter as it very well can be. Our people are *wholly* partisan, in their characters and tempers; and nothing but abject obedience to the *dicta* of the political parties to which they respectively belong, unless for purposes of personal gain, can ever be hoped for, either in merchant or lawyer, farmer or mechanic, rich or poor, gentleman or beggar, in America. Mr. Hill certainly must see this, every day; and, certainly, as close an observer as that gentlemen is, he must see that such a plan is necessarily and radically impracticable. Nothing, whatever, but the irresistable power of God Almighty, changing what is now selfish and corrupt in man to what then would necessarily and inevitably become unselfish and pure, can effect the reform which Mr. Hill and all observing men so earnestly desire; and we are not yet convinced, from anything which we have yet seen, that God Almighty sees anything in the seething mass of dishonesty and corruption, social and political, which is presented in every hole and corner of the land, to warrant his interference in arresting the downward march to ruin and degradation which, at this moment, most certainly consumes the strength and energies of our countrymen.

"Out of *nothing*, *nothing* can proceed:" where there is *nothing*, *nothing* can be produced: that which is positively and entirely *bad*, cannot possibly, of itself, produce anything that is *not bad*.

B.—PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

4.—*Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O. January*, 1871. *Historical and Archæological Tracts. Number Four. First White Children Born on Ohio Soil.* By Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Sine loco. [*Cleveland?*] sine anno. [1871?] Octavo, pp. 7.

We have already noticed the modest activity and sensible good-service which this young Society is quietly performing, for the cause of American History, in the State of Ohio; and we willingly yield the space which is necessary to bear testimony, again, to the same welcome subject.

The paper before us, the fourth of the Society's *Tracts*, lifts the curtain which conceals from the eye of the world, the past of the West and tells of the early days of Ohio and of those who, in Ohio, laid the foundation of that political structure which, to-day, is the third, in social and political importance, of the sisterhood of Commonwealths composing the confederation of the United States.

Mr. Goodman, in this paper, discusses the respective claims of Miss Heckewelder and John Lewis Roth, each of whom has been considered the first-born *white* child of Ohio; and, with reason, yet without positive evidence, he introduces an unnamed captive white woman, from Virginia, who, in 1764, gave birth to a child, and was rescued by Colonel Bouquet, in November of that year, whose infant was, apparently, the first child of white parents who was born within what are now the boundaries of Ohio.

Besides, Mr. Goodman has introduced the entire paper, illustrative of her history, which the Missionary, Heckewelder, left in the hands of his daughter; and, in every respect, his work has been carefully and creditably executed. We wish we could say as much and as unreservedly of some more pretentious works, by more pretentious writers, which are now before us; and, if older Societies, on this side the Mountains, with more facilities and more means, would take some lessons, concerning the mission of Historical Societies, from this young Society, in the West, the world would profit more from their existence and history would be more honored, in the house of its friends, than, too often, it is now.

5.—*The last of the Illinois, and a Sketch of the Pottawatomies.* Read before the Chicago Historical Society, December 13, 1870, by John Dean Caton, LL.D. Chicago: 1870. Octavo, pp. 36.

In this paper, Judge Caton glances at the Illinois, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, as they were, when the whites first penetrated into the interior of the Continent, and as they have since been, until the recent sale of the lands of the last-named, in Kansas. He tells of the mighty Illinois, holding dominion from the Wabash to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to Lake Superior, and controlling those, of minor tribes whose homes were within their recognized control. He tells of the irruption into their territory by the Iroquois; of the disastrous defeat which the Illinois experienced; and of their subsequent humiliation. He tells of the Pottawatomies, too, as they were when the whites first knew them, and subsequently. He tells of the death of Pontiac and of the heartburnings, among the Indians, which succeeded that event. He tells of the confederation of the Pottawatomies and the Ottawas, in war, against the yet enfeebled Illinois. He tells of the continued disaster of the latter and the refuge they sought, on the Starved Rock, in La Salle county; of their patient suffering; of their subsequent attempt to escape and their consequent extinction as a tribe—eleven only of the tribe escaping to St. Louis to tell the story. He tells of the occupation of the country of the Illinois, by the victors; of their subsequent alliances with Great Britain: and of their surrender of their lands to the United States and their subsequent removal after removal, over and over again, as, westward, the march of empire and of civilization, so-called, has taken its way.

The narrative is not a close one. Scarcely a date is mentioned: few of the requirements which a student of history would make on such an occasion have been recognized: and a pleasing address, for the entertainment of a mixed audiance, seems to have been all that was aimed at. It is to be regretted that a more finished historical paper was not presented by the learned and well-informed author, since he evidently enjoys facilities, or has enjoyed them, which would have enabled him to make a paper which would, hereafter, be vastly more useful than this can possibly be.

The pamphlet is very handsomely printed.

6.—*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.* Devoted to the interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued quarterly. January, 1871. Published by the Society. Octavo, pp. 48.

The Genealogical and Biographical Society has enlarged its quarterly and thus extended its capacity. It is admirably conducted, by a Committee of the Society; and it richly deserves a liberal support.

7.—*Boston Board of Trade*, 1855. First Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 17th of January, 1855. Boston: 1855. Octavo, pp. 38.

———————————, 1856. Second Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 16th of January, 1856. Boston; 1856. Octavo, pp. 172

———————————, 1857. Third Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 21st of January, 1857. By Isaac C. Bates, Sec'y. Boston: 1857. Octavo, pp. vii., 376.

———————————, 1858. Fourth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 20th of January, 1858, By Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1858. Octavo, pp. 240, (Appendix) 16.

———————————, 1859. Fifth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 20 th of January, 1859, By Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1859. Octavo, pp. 220, (Appendix) 16.

———————————, 1860. Sixth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 20th of January, 1860, By Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1860. Octavo, pp. 168.

———————————, 1861. Seventh Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 16th of January, 1861, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1861. Octavo, pp. 194.

———————————, 1862. Eighth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the..... January, 1862, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1862. Octavo, pp.

———————————, 1863. Ninth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 14th January, 1863, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1863. Octavo, pp. 7,165.

———————————, 1864. Tenth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 13th January, 1864, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1864. Octavo, pp. 142.

———————————, 1865. Eleventh Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 11th January, 1865, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1865. Octavo, pp. 151.

———————————, 1866. Twelfth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 10th January, 1866, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston; 1866. Octavo, pp. 141, 61.

———————————, 1867. Thirteenth Annual Report of the Government, presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 9th January, 1867, by Lorenzo Sabine, Secretary. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 108.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade for the year ending January 8th, 1868. By Hamilton A. Hill, Secretary. Boston: 1868. Octavo. pp. 203.

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade for the year ending January 13, 1869, by Hamilton A. Hill, Secretary. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 187.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade for the year ending January 12, 1870, by Hamilton A. Hill, Secretary. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 223.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade, for the year ending January 12, 1871. By Hamilton Andrews Hill, Secretary. Boston: 1871. Octavo, pp. iv, 248.

We have, here, a complete series of the Annual Reports of the Board of Trade of Boston; and a more important series, concerning

that city, cannot be found. We are deeply indebted for it, to our respected friend, Mr. Hill, the hardworking Secretary of the Board.

The object for which the Board was organized will indicate the tenor of the volumes before us—they relate to the trade and commerce of Boston, as seen by the tradesmen and merchants of Boston, from the platforms of their own counting-rooms; and that subject, so honorable and so important, is discussed, year after year, with all the intelligence and spirit which characterize the successful business-man, everywhere, in whatever concerns his business and his bank-account. We have, therefore, year by year, a presentation of the causes and consequences, in trade and commerce. We have examinations of governmental policies and municipal regulations; of tariffs and transportation; of railways and canals; of the fisheries and fishermen; of the Western markets and the products of the West; of the hopes and the despair of Boston, in her rivalry with New York; of the earnest struggle and patriotic self-sacrifices of the merchants, in the former city, to secure the trade of the West and, at least, return freights for the vessels which discharge their cargoes at her wharves; and of the necessary, inevitable, irresistable march to supremacy, of the latter city, in all that relates to trade and commerce, wealth and influence. We have discussions of questions concerning the relations of Trade with the Governments; the right of Trade and Commerce to a place in the permanent councils of the Government—as the Army and the Navy, Agriculture and the Indians have; and we find, therein, the small beginnings of "The National Board of Trade" which, it is hoped and expected, will, one of these days, bloom out as a full-grown Bureau of the Federal Government.

But not alone because of the Reports, *per se*, are these volumes important—indeed, their general importance does not depend on these Reports, at all. The yearly presentation of elaborate tables of trade and commerce, of property and population, of industrial products and industrial taxation, etc., presents, as often, a picture of what Boston really is, in contrast with what, in the Reports, Boston only says she wishes to be; and in our love of facts—stern facts—what can be more attractive than the exhibit of those facts which these tables annually thrust before our anxious eyes?

Our readers know how precious to us is every volume which can possibly serve as an instructor on whose teachings we can rely: we know of none which are more important than those annuals which are sent out into the world by the Boards and Chambers which give tone to and ensure harmony in the mercantile circles of the Republic: the names of Lorenzo Sabine and Hamilton A. Hill, successively Secretaries of the Boston Board, afford a guarantee that the volumes before us are not inferior, in importance of material, to any of the class to which they belong.

8.—*The University of Minnesota Almanac for* 1871 Computed specially for the State of Minnesota. The University: s. l. [1870?] Octavo, pp. 64.

A new idea, admirably carried out.

It is said that, once, a Pastor maintained that the devil ought not to enjoy the monopoly of fine music and popular tunes, and so introduced some of the latter into the Sunday-service of his church; and, in the same spirit, Doctor Ayres and Druggist Helmbold are to divide, hereafter, with an enterprising University, in the West, the advantages derived from the circulation of Almanacs, as an advertising medium. We admire this enterprise, notwithstanding neither Greece nor Rome has left a precedent for it and Homer and Thucydides, Sallust and Virgil are silent on the subject.

The Almanac before us presents a perfect Register of Minnesota, as she now is; and if the experiment shall be continued, the work will become as useful, without as well as within that State, for reference, as the *Annual Registers* are, which form the necessary mantel-ornaments of so many households, throughout New England. It tells of the University of Minnesota, of course—for that purpose it was particularly designed—but it tells, too, the Chronology, the Meteorology, the Government, Judiciary, State Institutions, Census, and Libraries of Minnesota; the Government of the United States; and various other matters of general interest: and it does well whatever it undertakes to do—what is there, which passes from the pen of the excellent Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, which is not well-done?

The Almanac is admirably printed.

9.—*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago, for the year ending December* 31, 1870. Compiled for the Board of Trade by Charles Randolph, Secy. Chicago: 1871. Octavo, pp. 157.

We have so often expressed our views concerning the great importance, as material for history, of the publications, year by year, of our various Boards of Trade, that we need not repeat them here.

In the volume before us, we have the annual review of the trade and commerce of Chicago—that Western wonder, among municipalities—and we must say that the Board of Trade has secured the pen, for this service, of one who is

admirably adapted to that duty. There is, in this Report, a calm, dispassionate presentation of the facts; there is no nervous anxiety about the future, such as we see in some of these Reports; there is no evidence that Chicago supposes she has a rival or cares if she knows it. Chicago, if the author of this Report may be taken as evidence, knows "the West" is already master of the position, at one end, and that New York is master at the other; and she feels no particular anxiety concerning the channel which connects the two, except so far as that channel shall increase or diminish the profits of the farmers in the West—that any other outlet is worthy of her attention is evidently unknown to her.

But we find, appended to the Report, a mass of Tables, covering more than one hundred and thirty pages and relating to Population, Land Cultivated, Earnings of and Taxes paid by Rail-roads, Public Debts, Valuation of Property, Taxes levied, Exports and Imports, Receipts, Shipments, and Prices of Grain and Flour, Receipts and Shipments of leading articles, and a great variety of other subjects the mere titles of which we have not room for, notwithstanding every line of those titles is an element which cannot be disregarded by any one who shall undertake to write of either the Past or the Present of Chicago.

Among the Reports of Trade, we have seen none which surpasses in interest or importance that which is before us.

10.—*Thirteenth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee, for the year ending December 31, 1770.* Reported to the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, by Wm. J. Langson, Secretary. Milwaukee: 1871. Octavo, pp. 119.

We have gone over this volume, as we went over those of Boston and Chicago, already noticed, with surprize at the great amount of systemised labor which has been expended in preparing it for the press, and with renewed assurance of the very great importance which attaches to it, as material for history, to every one who shall, hereafter, write of the Trade and Commerce which are the life of that growing city—already the heaviest wheat-market in the world.

Like the Reports from Boston and Chicago, this Report embraces elaborate Tabular Exhibits, on all conceivable subjects bearing on the trade and commerce of Milwaukee; but we hardly think the Board has been just to the great railway interests of Wisconsin, in its evident leaning *to* the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad and equally evident leaning *from* other equally important lines, of which, on its Map, it takes no notice whatever.

11.—*Proceedings of the Southern Commercial Convention, at its annual session at Cincinnati, Ohio, October, 1870.* Published by the Committee of Arrangements of Cincinnati. Cincinnati: 1871. Octavo, pp. 135.

This Convention seems to have been one of a series, meeting, successively, at Memphis, New Orleans, Louisville, and Cincinnati, for the promotion of the best interests, in commerce and trade, of the vast region lying within the Mississippi Valley. It was one of a series of reunions of the Trans-Alleghanian elements of the Republic—of "the Great West" and "the "South"—of those whom Nature has practically made one people, vested with the same interests, and destined to enjoy, ultimately, the same great results. It was one of a series of "warnings," too, of which the cautious among us will not fail to make due note, on the tablets of their memories; and, some day, not distant, when the producers in the West and the producers in the South shall unite their hitherto latent powers and demand that respect, both within and without Congress, which they can possess by simply taking it, without consulting the tastes of others, the significance of these Conventions will be seen by every one and be as generally understood.

In that day, whenever it shall appear, "every "embarrasment caused by a *restrictive*, or, if "you prefer the word, a *protective* system," as one of the speakers said, amidst storms of applause, will be swept away, whether New England shall like it or not. In that day, whether New York shall like it or not, direct trade, between Europe and the ports of the Basin of the Mississippi, will be established by the united strength and energy of the South and the West. In that day, too, if it shall be necessary, *or supposed to be so*, the united South and West will move, in one solid phalanx, towards independence in Government; and, in such a case, where will be the power to say "Nay," effectually, to the proposition?

Our readers will understand our views of the importance of these proceedings, and how useful may become the record of the doings of those who were thus convened at Cincinnati.

12.—*No. 55 Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the annual meeting in Worcester, October 21, 1870.* Worcester: 1870. Octovo, pp. 68.

The *Proceedings* of this good old Society are always welcome; and this portion of them is peculiarly so, since it affords evidence of what has been already accomplished, even in Massachusetts and in the most sacred of the Puritanic precincts, by "the new school of historians," of which we have heard and read so much, within the past few years.

Indeed, who would have dared even to hope, a few years since, when, in our sketch of *The*

Park and its vicinity, we grappled with Boston for the possession of her most cherished historical honors, and proved, from her own records, that she claimed and held, wrongfully, what really belonged to others, that, within fifteen years, even the undue pretentions, concerning the Fathers' ideas and practices, in the organization of their towns and churches and in their ecclesiastical and municipal Governments, which were then held, New England over and wherever, elsewhere, New England's schoolmasters instilled New England's pretensions in the minds of the little ones of that period, the Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, at its annual meeting, should entertain a doubt on those matters and allow that doubt to be openly debated *and disputed*, by such well-known New Englanders as Richard Frothingham, George F. Hoar, J. Hammond Trumbull, Thomas C. Amory, and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff? Verily, the world moves, notwithstanding such men as Emory Washburn and Charles Deane stand at the brakes; and we can only advise those who do not yet belong to that "new school," who still look back at the Past only through the reversed lenses which belittle the facts on which their eyes rest, to "keep off "the track when the bell rings," because, as surely as there is a God and as surely as that God is Truth, those will suffer who shall seek to obstruct the progress of the Truth, by any such puny obstacles as those which Bigotry and Ignorance can interpose.

The Report of the Council, from Mr. Frothingham's pen, is a paper of the highest importance to all who would know more than they know, now, of the structure, offices, and government of towns and other municipalities, and of the proper relations of Town and State—of "the "People," as we, in New York, understand that term, and "the people," as they, in Massachusetts, differently understand it. It will interest, too, all who would know more of what "sover-"eignty" is, and where it rests; and, disloyal as it may seem to some, it does not recognize "the "Government" as sovereign, whether that Government is State or Federal. As we said before: "Verily, the world moves."

The Treasurer's Report shows invested monies on hand to the amount of seventy-two thousand dollars, and the Society at peace with all mankind.

The Librarian's Report discusses, elaborately, the progress of the ethnological investigations of the day, comparing the result of those of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg with that, years ago, of Professor Rafinesque's long-continued labors and that, still later, of Colonel Juan Galindo's enquiries in Central America. Mr. Haven evidently sympathizes, to some extent, at least, with those who imagine they can see in the fragments which Time has spared and in other circumstances, the evidence of the existence, if not the history, of various "pre-historic" races, older even than those which Mr. De Costa wrote of, when last he wrote of the Northmen and Massachusetts Bay; and we congratulate our brethren, in modern "Lantern-land," that so much promise attends the investigations of those who are thus straining their eyes, in their efforts to read what has, long since, been hidden, never to be restored. We rejoice at their promised success, we say, because we hope that, before long, our respected delvers into the sub-strata will ascend again, and ascertain and tell us just how much and how little of more modern *Massachusetts* history has been properly written, and just wherein and just how it may be usefully re-modelled. With such excellent qualifications, as we have seen, to make much out of little, in prehistoric history, these men of modern Massachusetts will surely display unwonted ability in making bricks where the supply of straw is so much more abundant.

The pamphlet is admirably printed.

13.—*American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies.* Vol V., Nos. 1. 2. 3. Boston: Boston Numismatic Society. Quarterly. [1870—'71.] Large octavo, pp. 1–72. Price $2. per year.

This is certainly one of the most elegant of periodicals; and, as far as we understand the subject, its contents, mainly numismatic in their character, are such as to entitle it to a liberal support.

☞ *We want, of Vol. I. of this work, Nos.* 2–6, 10–12; *of Vol. II., No.* 1; *of Vol. III., all except No.* 2; *and of Vol. IV., Nos.* 2, 3, 10, 12; *and shall be glad if any of our readers can supply us with any or all of them.*

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

14.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Michigan, for the years* 1869-1870. By Authority Lansing: W. S. George & Co., Printers to the State. 1871. Octavo, pp. 12.

What a contrast there is between this Report and the three bulky volumes, with an aggregate of over fifteen hundred pages, which were required to tell us of Michigan's doings, in 1865–6. Verily, who shall say that that gallant State, at least, has not turned her sword into a plowshare and her spear into a pruning-hook?

There is no more capable officer in the Union, as his former Reports have shown, than General Robertson, the efficient Adjutant-general of Michigan; and he has not allowed this Report to go before the world without his earnest protest against which is evidently the undue indifference

of the Legislature and inhabitants of that State to the military arm of her Government. His words have been fitly spoken; and we commend them, not only to the inhabitants of Michigan, but to others, elsewhere, who are not less unmindful of their duty and best interests.

15.—*Wisconsin Legislature*, 1871. Statisical List comprising the United States Government, XLIID Congress, and Wisconsin State Government, together with Biographical Sketches of State Officers, Wisconsin U. S. Senators, and Representatives in Congress, and Members of the Legislature: also, the State Census of 1870, by towns, cities, and villages. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Culver, State Printers. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 68.

This volume, so neatly printed, was published by order of the Senate; and the very full title-page fairly describes its varied contents. The sketches of the various State Officers and Representatives—Congressional and Legislative—will serve a good purpose, hereafter, to those who shall desire to know more of the great men of the West than will appear on the surface.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

16.—*Vick's Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide, for* 1871. Rochester: James Vick. [1871] Octavo, pp. 96.

A beautiful annual, issued by an enterprising seedsman of Rochester, and containing not only a carefully-prepared catalogue, as carefully illustrated, but specific directions for the cultivation of the plants, and other information of great interest to both the amateur and the professional horticulturist.

Mr. Vick has certainly displayed great taste, as a book-maker, at the same time that he has displayed great enterprise, as a seedman and florist.

17.—*Charley Roberts Series.* Charley and Eva Roberts' house in the West. By [*Miss L. M. Thurston.*] Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 285. Price $1.00

Helping-hand Series. The Little Maid of Oxbow. By May Mannering. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 207. Price $1.00

Rosa Abbott Stories. The Pinks and Blues; or, the Orphan Asylum. By Rosa Abbott. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 214. Price $1.

Letters Everywhere. Stories and Rhymes for Children. With Twenty-eight illustrations by Theophile Schuler. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 228.

The Proverb Series. Actions speak louder than Words. By Kate J. Neeley. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 238. Price $1.

..... A Wrong Confessed is half redressed. By Mrs. Bradley. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 252. Price $1.

..... One good term deserves another. By Kate J. Neiley. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 173. Price $1.

[*The "B. O. W. C." Series.*] The Boys of Grand Pré School. By the author of "*B. O. W. C.*" etc. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 348.

This collection of juveniles, from the press of Lee and Shepard, will bring pleasure into thousands of family-circles; and the joyous youngsters, little and big, will be made happy by an examination of their pages.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to record our pleasure in looking over the various issues of this house, mainly juveniles, as they come to hand, and in admiring their admirable fitness for the purposes for which they are respectively intended. Series after series, each adapted to a particular class of youngsters, are issued from its press; and we know no one who issues so ample a varity, and so well selected and arranged, as they.

All these volumes are handsomely illustrated, well-printed, and beautifully bound, making them particularly appropriate for presents.

18.—*The Social Stage*: Original Dramas, Comedies, Burlesques, and Entertainments for Home Recreation, Schools, and Public Exhibitions. By George M. Baker. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 281.

A volume containing a series of plays adapted for the special use of amateurs, for the purpose of home recreation and school exhibitions.

Such a series of dialogues will be found very useful to those who seek amusement in such entertainments.

The volume is a very neat one, from the University Press.

19.—*Why and How.* Why the Chinese emigrate and the means they adopt for the purpose of reaching America. With sketches of travel, amusing incidents, social customs, &c, By Russell H. Conwell. With illustrations by Hammatt Billings. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 283.

The character of this work will be seen in its title-page. It relates to the purposes and the manner of the Chinese emigration to America, which are told in a pleasant style, without exaggeration; and the volume is calculated to be very useful to all who are examining this growing political and social question.

It is very well printed and its illustrations are neat and appropriate.

20.—*Shakespeare's Comedy of* The Merchant of Venice. Edited, with Notes, by William J. Rolfe, A M. With Engravings. New York; Harper & Bros. 1871. Square 16 mo. pp. 168.

Shakespeare, edited, for school and home reading, as the Greek and Latin classics are edited, is really something new; but while we are free to admit that the Roman and Grecian literatures are no better adapted for such purposes than this, if as well, we are hardly inclined to think that Shakespeare will make much of a school-book.

Nevertheless this little book is a very dainty

little affair, both in its typography and in its illustrations; and, throwing the schools out of the question, it will be very welcome to all who desire to read *The Merchant of Venice*, because of the convenience of its size and the beauty of its typography.

21.—*Sophocles* ex novissima recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. 18 mo. pp. iv., 340. Price 75 cents.

A cheap and accurate pocket edition of Sophocles, very handsomely printed and very convenient for every-day use.

It is one of a series of such texts; and, will be found very useful to students.

22.—*A Smaller Scripture History.* In three parts: Old Testament; Connection of Old and New Testaments; New Testament History to A.D. 70. Edited by William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D. Illustated by engravings on Wood. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. 16 mo., pp. 375. Price $1.00.

This convenient little volume, one of a series of such *Smaller Histories*, is designed to supply a condensed Manual of Scripture History, for Schools and Families. It presents the entire subject in one volume and, although brief, it is, nevertheless, as complete as is ordinarily desired, for reference or general reading.

These Hand-books are wonderfully labor-saving in their character, since they supply all the information which is ordinarily required; and they do this, generally, without aiming to supercede the standards. Indeed, the little volume before us is intended as a mere accompaniment of the Scriptures, not as a substitute for them; and, in that character, it will be exceedingly useful to those for whose use it has been written.

23.—*Our Girls.* By Dio Lewis, A.M., M.D. New York: Harper and Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 383.

In many respects, this is a very interesting and very useful book, notwithstanding its interludes on various less welcome subjects.

What kinds of Shoes and Boots the Girls shall wear, how those girls shall walk, what tortures they shall avoid, what work they shall do, how they shall be required to practise music, how to dance, what they shall eat and drink, etc., are subjects which every parent should consider, in connection with his girls; and, no matter by whom it may be given, any advice which can be offered which shall lessen the general ill-health, improve the physique, and increase the usefulness of "our girls," should find a hearty welcome.

The volume is a very handsome one, both in its typography and binding.

24.—*The Blockade of Phalsburg:* an episode of the end of the Empire. Translated from the French of Erckmann-Chatrian. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 308.

Another of those life-like stories of the wars of the French Empire which have made the joint productions of the pens of the two Frenchmen so widely known and as widely welcome.

25.—*History of Louis XIV.* By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 410. Price $1.20.

The series of which this is the last issue is so widely and so favorably known that we need not enlarge on this addition to its number.

It is well-written, neatly printed, and as neatly bound.

26.—*Maine State Year Book, and Annual Register for the year* 1871. Compiled by Edmund S. Hoyt, Contains the usual Calender Matter; Diary Pages; Historical Summary of the State; Vote for President, 1868; for Governor for 1868 and 1869, and also since the formation of the State; Senators for 1869; List of past officers of the State; Rights and Qualifications of Voters; Conditions of Eligibility to Office; Ratable Polls; Population and Valuation of Towns; Lists of Courts, Banks, Newspapers, Postmasters, Selectmen, Town-clerks, Clergymen, Physicians, Dentists, Lawyers, Notaries, Sheriffs, Justices, Merchants, Manufacturers, etc.; Stamp Duties; Postage Rates; Revenue Officers; U. S. Statistics; etc. Portland: Hoyt, Fogg, & Breed, Sine anno. [1870.] 16 mo. pp. 411. Price (in paper) 50 cents; [*the same*] with map of Maine, 90 cents; and in boards, with map, $1.25.

While Maine was a dependency of Massachusetts, her statistics were necessarily included in the *Annual Registers* of that State; but the change of affairs, in the establishment of the independence of the District, terminated that commingling of the records of the two communities. In 1820, a new *Annual Register* was published; and, year by year, with few if any exceptions, until about 1843, the little annual presented the statistics of the young Commonwealth to all who desired to know of them —sometimes, we have reason to believe, rivals for the patronage of the world jostled each other in the market.

From some unexplained cause, probably because it was an unprofitable enterprize, the useful little publication seems to have been discontinued about the year 1843; and, not until 1855 were the statistics of Maine again considered entitled to a registry. In that year, an adventurous Bostonian renewed the attempt; but, with the publication for 1856, the experiment appears to have been discontinued, a second time.

In 1870, Hoyt, Fogg, and Breed, of Portland, renewed the attempt, and established the little annual a third time; and our lamented friend, Judge Willis, assisted them, in the preparation of the work for the press. One of the best of

the class of *Annual Registers* was the result; and Maine was again placed in line with her sister States of New England, in the enjoyment of what is one of the economical luxuries which are peculiar to that section of the Union.

We do not know how well the work was sustained, in 1870; but the same firm, early in 1871, increased the obligations of the inhabitants of Maine to its enterprize, by issuing the volume which is before us, a synopsis of the contents of which is presented in its title-page, which appears at the head of this notice.

To every resident of Maine, this little volume is an actual every-day necessity, which cannot reasonably be dispensed with; and every one, elsewhere, who desires to keep a record of Maine, as she is, in 1871, will be equally anxious to obtain it. Especially important to the close student of American history and to those whose duty it is, as Librarians, to collect and preserve the material which students need for their work, will it be to preserve copies of those little *Annuals*; and to the attention of all such this subject is presented.

27.—*The New Hampshire Annual Register, Farmer's Almanac and Business Directory for* 1871. Claremont, N. H.: Claremont Manufacturing Co. [1871.] 18 mo., pp. 170.

From an early period, before the War of the Revolution, New Hampshire's local statistics were subjects of occasional, if not annual registry; and, from 1787, or thereabouts, that *Register*, under different titles and conducted by different hands, has been issued with tolerable, if not perfect, regularity—our own series of the work being very nearly perfect as far back as 1814, with scattering specimens as far back as 1795.

The volume before us contains all the varied information concerning both the State, as such, and each of the Towns, separately, which these Annuals are wont to contain; and there seems to be very little information to be desired, concerning New Hampshire, which is not to be found in it. Indeed, if we except a brief description and historical notice of the State and of each Town, at the head of the statistics of the State and of the Towns, respectively, and an Index of the several Towns, to facilitate the search of those who shall look for them, we see no room for particular improvement in the contents of the work. May not these additions be made in the future issues of the series, for the benefit of those whose time is too valuable to be expended in labor which may thus be spared?

What we have said of the importance of this class of books, while noticing the *Register* for Maine, we repeat, in connection with this—we have expended more time and labor in our search for the back numbers of these little annuals than for those of almost every other work; and our labor is not yet finished.

28.—*Walton's Vermont Register, Farmers' Almanac, and Business Directory for* 1871. Claremont, N. H.: The Claremont Manufacturing Company. [1871.] 18mo. pp. 156.

This annual has regularly appeared, year by year, since 1818; and the volume before us is the fifty-fourth of the series—with here and there an exception, we possess the various volumes from 1820 until the present time.

The contents of this volume are precisely the same, respecting the State and the several towns of Vermont, as are those of the *Registers* of Maine and New Hampshire, already noticed, concerning those States and the several towns therein; and what we have said of the great importance of those, to the residents of those States, respectively, and of the improvements of which that of New Hampshire is susceptible is also quite as applicable to this— it is a most useful little volume, both within and without Vermont, now and for all time, and is worthy of and ought to enjoy an extended support; but it is as susceptible of improvement as that of New Hampsnire is, and in the same manner. We earnestly hope the excellent publishers will bear this suggestion in mind, and follow it, in their future issues of the series.

29.—*The Evening Journal Almanac*, 1871. S. C. Hutchins, Compiler. [Abany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1871.] Duodecimo, pp. 166.

This is one of those *Almanacs* which serve, in New York, for the *Annual Registers* which New England produces, year by year; and it is crowded with statistics of the State and the United States; the election-returns of all the States in the Union, *by towns*, in 1868, '69, and '70, and those of New York, for the same year, *by Election Districts;* etc. being exceedingly servicable to all who are interested in political matters.

We do not know when this series of Almanacs commenced; but it is a very valuable one and is richly worthy of preservation.

30.—*The Michigan Almanac*, 1871. Detroit: Advertiser and Tribune Company. [1871.] Duodecimo, pp. 86.

This is a valuable collection of statistics relating to the State of Michigan. It is not as complete, in its various parts, as some of those are which are devoted to the statistics of States farther eastward; but it is, nevertheless, a little volume which will be very useful to every one who is interested in the present of Michigan.

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I.—HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY.

By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., of Harlem, N. Y.

The development of Unitarianism, in this country, and especially in connection with Churches planted by the Fathers of New England, is a phenomenon in the religious history of the country, which naturally invites the attention of thoughtful minds. It seemed to spring into existence suddenly, and, in a very brief time, manifested a remarkable strength and vigor. In this respect, it was not altogether unlike the similar movement in England, almost exactly a century previous; yet, a careful investigation will satisfy us that its sudden development does not imply that it suddenly originated, but that, like the electricity slowly accumulating in the cloud till it is ready for a discharge, the elements which constituted or prepared the way for it, had been long taking shape.

The early policy of New England was to repress religious dissent. The safety of Church and State was supposed to require it. There were political as well as theological reasons for it. The General Court directed John Norton to answer Pynchon's book on *The Meritorious Price of our Redemption*. It ordered the book to be burned in the market-place, in Boston, and arraigned the author for having published it. It is uncertain whether his fine of one hundred pounds was ever paid; but it is plain that he thought it wisest to place the Atlantic Ocean between himself and his judges.

His book was regarded—whether justly or not—as a Socinian work. As such, it was answered in England; and, as such, it figures in the pages of Wallace's *Anti-Trinitarian Writers*. It is evident, when we examine it, that the General Court was right in the construction which they put upon it, as at issue with the received orthodoxy of the day. Had it been left without notice or, at least, public rebuke, it might, indeed, have perished and waked no echo; but it is possible that it might have been, even at that early day, the germ of a Unitarian development.

During the period of the English Commonwealth, the influence of New England divines had been powerfully felt, even in their native land. Cotton, Hooker, and the elder Mather were held in high esteem by men like Goodwin and Nye; and their books were quoted by the English Independents, as little short of authority. The political as well as ecclesiastical developments of England, at that period, were largely shaped by the influences emanating from the New England divines.

At a later date, this condition of things was, to a considerable extent, reversed. The second and third generations of the New England settlers looked reverently and anxiously to the opinions and utterances of the leading Non conformists with whom, after 1662, they were drawn into close sympathy. English thought photographed itself largely upon the New England mind. The religious literature of England became largely an educator of American thought. The compact structure of New England's social and religious life was capable, indeed, of strong resistance to foreign influences; but it was still susceptible of impression. There can be no doubt that the controversies, on the Trinity, with which the names of South, Sherlock, Howe, and others were associated, toward the close of the seventeenth century, were studied scarcely less in Boston than in London; while controversies affecting the condition or prospects of Dissenters were noted with peculiar interest.

It was in 1702, that Thomas Emlyn, an Independent Minister, for a time settled over a Church in Dublin, came before the world as an Anti-Trinitarian. He held Arian views; and he spoke kindly of some of the Deists with whom he was intimate. Expiating his errors in an English prison, and finding but little, if any, sympathy from the Dissenters, the only influence which he exerted, of any account, was through his writings. Some of these found their way across the ocean, and, at a later date, were repeatedly reprinted in Boston.

Whiston followed Emlyn, a few years later; but the peculiarity of many of his opinion must have obstructed the effect of his influence

as a theologian. The speculations of Doctor Samuel Clarke, however, on the subject of the Trinity, were free from those associations which rendered Whiston's so obnoxious; and there can be no doubt that their influence was perceptibly felt in New England.

But it was in 1719, that a remarkable Unitarian development took place among the English Dissenters. The formal phase of the question that agitated them was not, indeed, directly doctrinal. It turned rather upon the point of subscription to any doctine not directly expressed in the words of Scripture. Upon this, the Dissenting Ministers of London were about equally divided; and, among those who opposed subscription, it was suspected then, and it may be safely assumed now, that there were some, at least, doctrinally in sympathy with Clarke, if not with Emlyn. Many, out of sympathy with two of the Ministers of Exeter, who had embraced Arian views, were opposed to any measure which would deal harshly with them and virtually depose them; while some of those most eager for their exposure, manifested an excessive zeal which produced alienation full as much as it commanded respect.

It was in view of the spread of Anti-Trinitarian views, in England, that Wodrow, at about this time, wrote to Doctor Colman of Boston, "The "inclination of, alas! too many of whom better "things might have been expected in England "and Ireland, to the abominable errors of "Arius, is water mixed in our wine, and matter "of the deepest sorrow to all the Churches of "Christ." At the same date, he adds, in a line to Cotton Mather, "Doctor Clarke, in my opin-"ion, is a far more dangerous abettor of that "damnable error than Whiston." Mather replied, "the most grievous tidings that ever came "over the Atlantic to us, are what we hear of "the fearful apostasy in so many of our English "brethren going off to *Arianism*, or to *Gentil-"ism;* and the Laodicean temper of so many "more who have withheld the testimonies "which the laboring truth has called for. My "younger brother has twice made suitable ap-"pearances on this lamentable occasion.* I "have also, in my poor way, written over to "London the sentiments of our Ministers on this "deplorable degeneracy."

Wodrow continued the correspondence, remarking, "We are here, with you, bemoaning "the frightful apostasy of so many, among our "neighbors, to Arianism and Emlynism, and the "violence of multitudes, who yet, I hope, are "not in the snare of the devil, against Con-"fessions and Subscriptions. I rejoice in the "glorious appearence your excellent brother has "made for the precious truth."

This was a hint for Mather. In 1722, he preached the Convention Sermon.

A century ago, the Convention Sermon had a significance which it has now long ceased to possess. It partook, frequently, of the nature of an annual review of the state of religion, or the interests of the Churches. In 1722, it would not have been at all strange that some of the English Arian publications, industriously circulated, should have crossed the Atlantic. It would not have been strange if some of the Clergy had been infected by the notions of Doctor Clarke. Inquiring laymen may have fallen in with some of Whiston's writings. Evidently, Cotton Mather apprehended danger, whether there was ground for it or not. He was, at least, something of an alarmist; and even a light incident may have led him to sound the note of warning.* We may see, at least, how far he and the great majority of the Clergy, who evidently sympathized with him, were from accepting the least approach to Unitarian views.

In his Sermon he says: "But among the *sub-"jects* with which we feed our people, I pro-"pound and entreat, that a Glorious CHRIST "may never, *Never!*—be forgotten. The *Truth* "is not well discerned, nor the *Word of Truth* "*well divided*, until the *Truth as it is in Jesus* "be exhibited. For Ministers to have this re-"commended unto them, *That they should no-"preach much about the Person of Christ!*— "I am surprised; I am ashamed!—Would the "blessed *Apostle Paul* have spoke such a word "A Paul, who says, '*I determine to know nothing "'among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified.*' Oh! for more of the Pauline preach-"ing." And again: "It is to be suspected "that the loss of these glorious truths, if they "must be lost, will be very much owing to an "over great value for such books as have been "very much in vogue among us; books whereon "it may be complained, *Nomen Christi non est "ibi*, and *The Religion of a Regenerate Mind* "is not there to be met withal; books which if "our young men will read, they ought also to "read the just castigations which Doctor Ed-"wards in his Preacher has bestowed upon "them. Upon this occasion you will forgive "me, if I do not suppress the words which a "venomous writer of some things, that he call-

* This was Samuel Mather, of Witney, Oxfordshire. One of his publications (1719) was an examination of Doctor Clarke.

* Wodrow, in writing to Colman, after Mather had been disappointed of election as President of Harvard College, says: "My friend, Doctor Mather, it seems, is dis-"appointed in his expectations, and you know his way bet-"ter than I. He is a good and useful person; but you "bear with his peculiarity and freedoms that he uses, whe-"in a pet."

'*Laconicks*, has, with what aim I know not, "lately published. 'The Presbyterian Divines "'have been observed of late' (says the man.) 'to "'preach after the manner of the Church of Eng-"'land men. But without setting up for a "'prophet,' (says he,) 'I dare venture to affirm, "'that this will be their ruin.' And now I dare "venture to affirm, that such a prophecy, from "such a Balaam, is what some in the world "have cause to think upon." Again he says: "The truths wherein the *mystery* of CHRIST is "most contained: wherein the *spirit of the* "*Gospel* is most Conspicuous and by which the "*power of Godliness* is most enkindled and pre-"served: *My Friends*, what have these *Truths* "done, to desreve an *Excommunication* from the "House of our GOD? Or are we fond of seeing "an *Ichabod*, upon our ministry? Verily, if we "let these Truths go, the Glorious GOD himself "will be gone: yea, be gone *far* from a forsaken "*Sanctuary*."

The Convention Sermon of 1726 was preached by the Reverend William Williams. At that time the Subscription controversy, among the Irish Presbyterians, was at its height; and emigrants from Ireland were finding their way into New England, as well as into Pennsylvania. The Sermon of Mr. Williams seems to indicate that the attacks made abroad upon the Deity of Christ had led him, as well as, doubtless, many others, to emphasize the importance of the controverted doctrine. Under the head of the question "How should Ministers endeavor the advancement of this Kingdom?" he remarks, in reply: "By setting forth the glory of Christ, "who is the head of this kingdom, and to whom "the chief administration of all the affairs of "it doth belong. The preaching of Christ is a "main and essential part of our work, to set "forth the glory of Christ, in the wonderfulness "of his person, natures, offices and benefits. A "clear knowledge of which things is of the "highest use to the safety, benefit and comfort "of our hearers. And it is not only Christ crucified which we should with the Apostle, I., *Cor.* "ii, 2, make it our thorough care to proclaim "and publish, but also with him to testify that "this Jesus, who was once ignominiously crucified, is now by the right hand of God exalted, "to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins. *Acts* vii. 31. "And we have no reason to fear that it will be "interpreted as if we were carrying on any treasonable design against the State, whilst we "proclaim another King, even Jesus; that we "extol him as the best of Kings, own him the "most true and Catholick King, that his authority is most rightful and indisputable, that he "is vested in his office by nature, grant and purchase; and thence none have so good a right "and title to rule as this King whom God hath "set upon his holy hill of Zion. His govern-"ment runs through the whole circuit of Nature "and Providence. He hath power over all flesh. "*John* xvii., 2. Yea every thing in the earth and "under the earth must bow to him. *Phil.* ii., 10. "The supporters of his throne are Justice and "Mercy; he has the greatest state and magnifi-"cence. He maketh the clouds his chariots, and "rides upon the wings of the wind. He can "powerfully and speedily dispense judgments "and mercies as he pleaseth. All the hosts of "heaven stand ready to fulfil his will; he is "such a King as none can resist and control, a "King whose power reaches not only to the "bodies of men, but to their hearts and consci-"ences, and it is in them in a peculiar manner "that he erects his throne on earth; and there "he delights to reign and dwell."

The circumstances which led the speaker to dwell with such emphasis upon his theme are thus referred to: "Now, whenever the Sovereign-"ty of Christ is invaded, and especially an open "contempt is cast upon his glorious Person and "Laws, it becomes those who love his Honour to "be zealously concerned for the vindication of "it; and *to lift up their voices like a Trumpet*, "against the growing Impieties and immorali-"ties of the times wherein they live."

Something of the tenacity with which the doctrine of Christ's divinity was held, a few years later, may be inferred from the Convention Sermon of 1743, by Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge. The wave of religious revival and excitement had just swept over the land; and Appleton was not one of those who regarded it with unmixed complacency. He subjected it to somewhat severe criticism; and, undoubtedly, sympathized with the views presented in Doctor Chauncey's *Seasonable Thoughts*, published in that same year. The Sermon itself indicates the fact that he belonged to the more liberal class of the Clergy of his day. For instance, he utters the following stricture on theological systems and efforts to secure a precise orthodoxy: "Al-"though the reducing Christianity to a system, "is upon many accounts very useful; yet by en-"deavoring to make every thing quadrate with "a particular scheme, we shall, without care "and caution, darken rather than enlighten "some Christian doctrines." Yet, notwithstanding this liberality of spirit, when he comes to speak of the person of Christ; he places his views above suspicion. He says: "Thus every "doctrine that gives the least indulgence to "men's lusts; that connives at sin of any kind, "or degree; or that tends in the least to take off "the sense men have of the evil of sin, though "it should be with never such plausible pre-"tences of advancing the merits and righteous-

"ness of Christ, or the richness and freeness of "divine grace, must be declared against. So "on the other hand, any doctrine that leads us "away from Christ, from our dependance upon "him, or a sense of our obligation to him, or "that leads us to a self confidence, self boast- "ing; or that takes away any of the glory that "belongs to the Father, Son, or Holy Spirit, in "the grand affair of our redemption, is a cor- "rupt doctrine, and to be openly opposed, if we "would keep the world from being corrupted "with it."

This was the language used by Nathaniel Appleton, Pastor at Cambridge, more than ten years after the death of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard College. It was addressed to the Convention of the Ministers of the Colony, by one who was reputed, and on good grounds, to be far removed from the high "orthodox" strictness of his day. Yet he contended that anything which, as respects the person of Christ, approached the Unitarian standard, was "cor- "rupt doctrine, and to be openly opposed." It will readily be seen how little impression had, as yet, been made by the speculations of English theologians, upon that system of belief, in New England, which had been sanctioned by the authority of the fathers, made venerable by tradition, and compacted even by civil legislation.*

But, meanwhile, Arian views were spreading in England; and men like Chandler, Gibbons, Benson and Lardner, had their *American* correspondents. It was next to impossible that their influence should not be felt, especially by men like Stiles and Mayhew, already predisposed to what, more recently, have been denominated liberal views. But, among all English writers of the time, none, perhaps, was more revered than Doctor Watts. To the last, he evidently considered himself orthodox; but, at times, under the excitements of controversial discussion, his views seem to have wavered; and he indulged in a freedom of speculation not quite acceptable to all his admirers.

Jeremy Belknap, in his *Life of Watts*, (1793) remarked: "But there was one distinguishing "feature in his character which both Gibbons "and Johnson have entirely passed over, and "that was his love of truth, and his freedom, "impartiality, diligence, and humility in his in- "quiries after it. It is, indeed, a character sel- "dom to be met with, though of peculiar im- "portance in a Christian Minister, and, there- "fore, ought to be noticed with particular ap- "probation. In Doctor Watts, it was conspicu- "ous in a very eminent degree.

"'In matters of the Christian faith,'" saith he, "'I would make the Scripture my guide and "'enter into a calm conference with myself in "'a survey of the oracles of God in order to a "'decision of the sense and meaning of them, "'not neglecting the assistance of pious and "'learned authors, but conversing very little "'with the angry and supercilious. I would, "'with daily importunity, address the Father of "'Lights to shine upon his own word, and to "'discover his own meaning. I would humbly "'implore the spirit of wisdom and revelation "'to take the things of Christ, and shew them "'to my understanding in a most convincing "'light. My reason should be used as a neces- "'sary instrument to compare the several parts of "'revelation together, to discover their mutual "'explication, as well as to judge whether they "'run counter to any dictates of natural light. "'But if an inquisitive mind overleap the "'bounds of faith, and give the reins to all our "'reasonings on divine themes, in so wide and "'open a field as that of possibles and prob- "'ables, it is no easy matter to guess where they "'will stop. I have made the experiment of "'this in my own meditations, when I have given "'my thoughts a loose and let them rove with- "'out confinement. Sometimes I seem to have "'carried reason with me even to the camp of "'*Socinus*; but then St. John gives my soul a "'twitch, and St. Paul bears me back again (if "'I mistake not his meaning) almost to the tents "'of *John Calvin*. Nor even then do I leave "'my reason behind me. So difficult a thing is

* It may not be amiss to notice here, some of the Laws enacted in behalf of orthodoxy.

The following Acts were passed, the first in 1646, and the second in 1697, and continued in force, we believe, until the adoption of the present State Constitution:

I.

"It is, therefore, ordered and declared by the Court, "that if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go "about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and "religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable "heresie, as * * * denying that Christ gave himself "a ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not "justified by his death and righteousness, but by the per- "fections of our own works, or shall deny the morality of "the fourth commandment. * * * or shall endeavor "to seduce others to any of the errors or heresies above "mentioned; every such person, continuing obstinate "therein, after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced "to banishment."

II.

"*Be it Declared and Enacted by the Lieutenant Govern-* "*or, Council, and Representatives, convened in Genera'* "*Court or Assembly, and it is enacted by the authority of* "*the same*, That if any person shall presume wilfully to "blaspheme the holy name of God, Father, Son, or Holy "Ghost. * * * every one offending shall be punished by "imprisonment, not exceeding six months, and until they "find sureties for their good behavior; by sitting in the "pillory; by whipping; boring through the tongue with a "red hot iron; or sitting upon the gallows with a rope "about their neck; at the discretion of the Court of Assize "and General Gaol Delivery, before which the trial shall "be, according to the circumstances which may aggravate "or alleviate the offence."

It will be borne in mind that these Laws were superseded or rescinded by Orthodox legislators, long before Unitarianism had any visible existence in the councils of Massachusetts.—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iv., 138.

"'it to determine by mere reasoning, those "'points which can be learned by Scripture "'only.'"

It is evident, that, before the death of Doctor Watts, he was regarded by some American Clergymen as having ventured upon dangerous ground. In his last letter to Doctor Colman, dated February 11, 1747, he says: "I am glad "my book of *Useful Questions* came safe to "your hand. I think I have said every thing "concerning the SON of GOD which Scripture "says; but I could not go so far as to say, with "some of our orthodox divines, that the SON is "*equal* with the FATHER; because our Lord him-"self expressly says, 'My Father is greater than "'I.' I hope there is nothing contained in my "book of *The Glory of Christ*, which I now "send you, with a volume of *Evangelical Dis-"courses*, but what Scripture is express in deter-"mining, that Jesus Christ, at least his human "soul, is the first of the creation of GOD." On receiving this letter, Doctor Colman observed to a friend—"My dear Watts has looked so long "at the sun, as to weaken his sight."—*Life of Watts*, 29.

It was but a few weeks after this remark was made, that a bolder and abler thinker than Doctor Watts entered upon his public career, in a Boston pulpit. In June, 1747, Jonathan Mayhew was settled as Pastor of West Church. Untrammeled by respect for Creeds; inheriting, from his father, who had been engaged in theological controversy with the celebrated Jonathan Dickinson, a taste for independent investigation; richly endowed with natural gifts that rendered him a powerful writer and an eloquent speaker; well read in the theological literature of his day; and familiar with the writings of Locke, Doctor Samuel Clarke, Taylor of Norwich, Whiston, and others, who had innovated on the old theology, he had imbibed or formed opinions which, from the first, subjected his orthodoxy to suspicion. It was necessary to call a second Council for his Ordination; and his theological views are reputed the obstacle which prevented his uniting, as a member, with the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers. Nor was he a man to disguise his sentiments. Within less than a year of his settlement, he had commenced the preparation of a volume of Sermons for the press. One of these Sermons was on *The Right and Duty of Private Judgment*. In this, he denounced "*Creed-making*; setting up "human tests of Orthodoxy, instead of the in-"fallible Word of God; and making other "terms of Christian Communion than those ex-"plicitly pointed out in the Gospel." "If these "*faith-makers*," he adds, "are so compassion-"ate as *only to give their brethren to the devil*, "for not submitting to their doctrines and de-"crees, even this has some tendency to intimi-"date them. But, when a Creed is begun, or "cked out with several reverend ecclesiastical "curses: and when it is confidently affirmed "that, *unless a man believe, faithfully*, every ar-"ticle contained in it, *he shall without doubt "perish everlastingly*; it cannot be supposed "that the generality of people shall ever have "the courage to hesitate, in the least, concern-"ing the truth of it; although it may be really "an affront to common sense, a medley of non-"sense and contradiction." Again, exposing the absurdity of using persecution to affect faith, he says: "A burning faggot may set our "bodies in a light blaze; but it has no tenden-"cy to illuminate the understanding. To at-"tempt to *dragoon* men into sound orthodox "*Christians*, is as unnatural and fruitless as to "attempt to *dragoon* them into good *poets*, *phy-"sicians*, or *mathematicians*. A blow with a "club may fracture a man's skull; but I sup-"pose he will not think and reason the more "clearly for that; though he may possibly be-"lieve the more orthodoxly, according to the "opinions of some. And, upon this account, "it must be confessed that those who make use "of these methods to propagate their senti-"ments, act very prudently; for their doctrines "are generally such as are much more readily "embraced by a man after his brains are knock-"ed out, than while he continues in his senses, "and of a sound mind."—Mayhew's *Seven Sermons*, 65-6.

In the last of his *Seven Sermons*, enforcing the duty of *Love to God*, Mayhew remarks, with manifest reference to the extravagances of the revival: "There are many, were they asked, "which was the first and great Commandment, "if they gave an answer agreeable to their own "practice, must say—'Thou shalt tell beads "'devoutly; visit the sepulchres of ancient "'Saints; fall down before relics; pay hom-"'age to painted canvass, to carved stones, and "'moulded clay; pray frequently to the Mother "'of God;' or the like: and if they thought "at all of the Love of God and our neighbor, "would assign them only that low place, which "our Lord gives to tything mint, anise, and "cummin. Others place religion chiefly in "having frequent raptures and strange trans-"ports of mechanical devotion; in which the "less they exercise their reason, the better and "more glorious it is. For, till they have lost "all *human understanding*, they think it im-"possible they should get a *divine one*. Thus "they go on, raising themselves from one de-"gree of religious frenzy to another, till they "run quite *divinely mad*; and then they ima-"gine, that, with *St. Paul*, they are *caught up*

"*into the third heaven*; that they *hear unspeak-*
"*able words*; that they *see visions*, and have *a*
"*multitude of revelations given to them*. And
"the consequence of this is, that they *are lifted*
"*up above measure*. They then look down
"with contempt upon all *moral duties*, as being
"below such *spiritual men*. They are for a re-
"ligion that consists in something more refined
"and sublime, than the love of God and their
"neighbor; these are but barely rational and
"natural duties, and fit only for carnal men, or,
"at best, babes in grace. Nothing can hit the
"refined taste of these *Goliahs* in Christianity,
"but what has some mysterious sublimity in it,
"and is quite remote from reason. What is
"plain and obvious is too low and vulgar for
"such great proficients in grace and spiritual
"knowledge. God forbid that I should say
"any thing to discourage a warm and lively de-
"votion. But such enthusiastic flights as
"these, have no countenance from the Gospel of
"Christ. And the almost invariable conse-
"quence of indulging them, is the neglect of
"solid, substantial religion; a rational love of
"God, of mankind, and the practice of moral
"virtue.

"When persons once get to grasping thus
"eagerly after immediate inspiration, they gen-
"erally bewilder themselves, lose sight of com-
"mon sense, and neglect sober religion for the
"sake of having fermented spirits and superfi-
"cial flashes of joy. They impute all their
"ravings and follies and wild imaginations to
"the Spirit of God; and usually think them-
"selves *converted*, when the poor unhappy crea-
"tures are only *out of their wits*.

"Since the substance of Christian duty con-
"sists in the love of God and of our neighbor,
"and in the practice of morality, this shews us
"what a gospel minister's preaching ought
"chiefly to turn upon. When he is concerned
"with such as are already Christians in *belief*
"and *speculation*; that which he has to do still
"is to bring them to be Christians in heart and
"behaviour—Not to dwell upon speculative
"points—upon trifling distinctions, and upon
"metaphysical niceties, which can only perplex
"his hearers, without bettering their minds and
"morals—But to excite them to put on a tem-
"per of mind, and an outward conversation,
"which corresponds to their holy profession;
"and, in the words of my text, to *love the Lord*
"*their God with all their heart, and their neigh-*
"*bor as themselves*. However, this is too plainly
"neglected by many. Their constant cry is,
"'Believe, believe'—'Come to Christ'—'De-
"'pend upon his righteousness.' As for holi-
"ness and good works, they very rarely men-
"tion them; and when they do, it is rather
"with a design to undervalue them, and per-
"suade people that they are good for nothing,
"than to enforce them as the indispensable con-
"dition of salvation. Nay, these things are
"not only spoken of very often, as being per-
"fectly useless, but even hazardous to the souls
"of men. Good God! that the design of thy
"Gospel should be thus frustrated by those
"whose immediate office it is, to enforce the
"holy precepts of it upon mankind!"—May-
hew's *Seven Sermons*, 157–159.

The character of Mayhew's thinking, as well as that of his preaching, is obvious from these extracts. His Sermons might well confirm the suspicions which his previous reputation had excited. But, secure in his position, he felt no apprehension from the exercise of his freedom of speech. So far as his *Seven Sermons* were concerned, he had doubtless many sympathizers among the Clergy. Appleton, Gay, Chauncy, Barnard, Tucker, and a score of others, contemporary with Mayhew, have been named as persons whose orthodoxy was denied or suspected; but in some instances, at least, on insufficient grounds.

In a letter from the late President Adams to Doctor Morse, dated May 15, 1815, the writer observed: "Sixty-five years ago, my own Min-
"ister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant; Doctor Jonathan
"Mayhew of the West Church, in Boston;
"Reverend Mr. Shute, of Hingham; Reverend
"John Brown, of Cohasset; and, perhaps equal
"to all, if not above all, Reverend Mr. Gay of
"Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the laity,
"how many could I name, lawyers, physicians,
"tradesmen, and farmers. I could fill a sheet,
"but, at present, will name only one, Richard
"Cranch, a man who has studied Divinity and
"Jewish and Christian Antiquities, more than
"any Clergyman now existing in New Eng-
"land!!! More than fifty-six years ago, I
"read Doctor Samuel Clarke, Emlyn," etc. It was in 1756, that extracts from a Publication of Thomas Emlyn, were reprinted in Boston, and thus fell, soon after, into the hands of John Adams. For the re-print, doubtless, Mayhew was responsible.

At almost the same time, a note appended to one of his Sermons, then issued from the press, excited public attention. In this, it was very plainly intimated that the author was an Anti-Trinitarian. His biographer remarks: "He
"was the first Clergyman in New England, who
"expressly and openly opposed the scholastic
"doctrine of the Trinity. Several others de-
"clined pressing the Athanasian Creed, and be-
"lieved strictly in the unity of God. They
"also probably found it difficult to explain
"their views on the subject; and the great

"danger of losing their good name served to "prevent their speaking out. But Dr. Mayhew "did not conceal or disguise his sentiments on "this point, any more than on others, such as "the peculiar tenets of Calvin. He explicitly "and boldly declared the doctrine irrational, "unscriptural, and directly contradictory. Yet "he did not dogmatize; and he did not require "others to believe precisely as he did, nor de"nounce Trinitarians as wicked, polytheists, or "hypocrites. In what sense Christ was the Son "of God, or what was the particular nature of "the connection between the Father and the "Son,—'the holy child Jesus,' 'a man approv"'ed of God by the signs and wonders and mir"'acles which he performed,'—he pretended not "to decide; but insisted that God was ONE and "SUPREME, and Jesus was sent by God to instruct "to reform and save the world."—*Life of Mayhew*, 465. He subsequently adds: "When Dr. May"hew was ordained, it was well known that he "did not believe in the Trinitarian dogma; and "this was the chief reason with the Clergy, for "declining to assist, as well as for withholding "ministerial intercourse with him for a long "period: for many of them were as anti-Cal"vinistic as he was. Dr. Lowell says, that Dr. "Mayhew was full and decided in his belief "that God is ONE; and, it may be added, in "opposition to the Trinitarian creed, however "attempted to be explained consistently with "the fundamental doctrine of the divine unity. "Dr. Mayhew and his Church may justly, "therefore, be considered the first in New Eng"land, which openly adopted the Unitarian "faith. He was not, indeed, a Socinian or "Humanitarian; and, therefore, not a Unitarian, "in the sense in which the term is now used in "England. But 'Unitarian' ought, and does, "usually, in this country, signify any and all "who are anti-Trinitarians; whether they adopt "the views of Lardner, or of Worcester, in his "*Bible News*, which is nearer the Arian theory." P. 468.

It was the note appended to one of Mayhew's Sermons, as mentioned above, that gave special occasion of offence. In this note, he said that it would not surprise him to hear that the Pope and a General Council had elevated the Virgin Mary to be the fourth person in the Godhead; yet deciding "that there are not four "eternals, but one eternal," he adds, "neither "Papists nor Protestants should imagine that "they will be understood by others, if they do "not understand *themselves*. Nor should they "think that *nonsense* and *contradictions* can "ever be too sacred to be *ridiculous*."

It was not easy to mistake the implications of such language as this. Doctor Mayhew sent a copy of his discourses to Doctor Benson of London; and the following is a portion of his letter in reply: "I do not wonder that several "expressions, in your volume of Sermons lately "published, and especially in the notes, should "displease. Neither you nor I can write any"thing which will please persons of that spirit. "I have, several years ago, drawn out all the "texts in the Gospels, and in the Acts of the "Apostles, concerning the *Spirit;* and that "with a view to inquire, 'whether they do not "'all relate to the miraculous gifts granted to "'the Apostles and other Christians of that "'age!' But such an inquiry cannot pass, "even with the friends of liberty here, much "less with the sons of orthodoxy. They rail "against me in private; they preach against "me; they write against me—though my trea"tise has got no further than short hand, and "has laid near twenty years in my desk, where "I suppose it must lie. I have neither leisure "nor any inclination to go through the Epistles "and Revelation, till I see a better spirit. I "hope, when I am dead, a better spirit will "arise; and every honest and free inquiry, at "least be read and examined. May the bless"ing of God attend your honest and faithful "labors. A few such persons in every com"munity—firm, faithful to one another—would "shake the foundations of *orthodoxy*, and make "primitive Christianity to arise in its genuine "purity. May God send us a happy meeting "in the glorious realms of liberty, truth, peace, "and love."—*Life of Mayhew*, 135.

It may readily be imagined that the friends of orthodoxy, in New England, would not be disposed to pass such a development, in silence, especially, when it was accompanied with a reprint of Emlyn's Arian views. The innovations of error were charged to the account of English heterodox writers. Their prevalence here, says a writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, "was "hastened by the importation and dispersion "of heretical books. The writings of Whit"by, Taylor, Clarke, Emlyn, and others of the "same character, were brought over from Eng"land, and by many were received and circu"lated with much pleasure. * * * A distin"guished clergyman," Doctor Bellamy, "in "Connecticut, speaking in 1759, of the various "errors which prevailed in England, adds, "'These corruptions in doctrine have crossed "'the Atlantic, and too many in our churches, "'and even among our ministers, have fallen "'in with them. Books containing them have "'been imported; and the demand for them "'has been so great, as to encourage new im"'pressions of some of them. Others have been "'written on the same principles in this coun-

"'try; and even the doctrine of the sacred and "'adorable Trinity has been publicly treated "'in such a manner, as all who believe that "'doctrine must judge, not only heretical, but "'highly blasphemous.' President Edwards, "in the preface to his work on *Original Sin*, "written in 1757, mentions 'the great corrup-"'tion of doctrine in New England, in conse-"'quence of Doctor Taylor's writings which "'had been published about fifteen years be-"'fore.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 177, 178.

This quotation fails to give the full force of the language employed by Doctor Bellamy in his letter to Doctor Dana of Wallingford.—*Letter to Scripturista by Paulinus*, 1760, 18. He says, "In New Hampshire Province, this party "have actually, three years ago, got things so "ripe that they have ventured to new model our "*Shorter Catechism*; to alter or entirely leave "out *the doctrine of the Trinity*, of the *decrees*, "of *our first parents being created holy*, of "*original sin*, Christ *satisfying divine justice*, "*effectual calling*, *justification*, &c, and to "adjust the whole to *Dr. Taylor's* scheme. "Come from New Hampshire along to Boston. "and see there a celebrated D. D., at the head "of a large party. He boldly ridicules the "doctrine of the Trinity, and denies the doc-"trine of justification by faith alone, in the "sight of all the Country in his book of "Sermons."

The offence given was notorious. Jonathan Edwards, in his exile at Stockbridge, was deeply disquieted. He wrote to Professor Wigglesworth, Divinity Professor in Harvard College, communicating his apprehensions and urging him to come forward in defence of the orthodox view of the Deity of Christ, assailed by Doctor Mayhew in his recent publication. The reply of Wigglesworth assured him that "the worthy "ministers [*of Boston*] were generally vindicat-"ing the Divinity of Christ." This, however, did not satisfy Edwards. Too deeply absorbed himself, in the preperation of his *Treatise on the Great Doctrine of Original Sin*, to turn aside or take up his pen in a new controversy, he probably applied to his son in-law, President Burr, of Princeton College, to prepare a pamphlet such as the emergency demanded. Burr promptly responded to the appeal; and his treatise on the *Deity of Christ* was published at Boston, only a few months after the Extracts from Emlyn, and the note to Mayhew's discourses had been given to the world.

At this juncture, political questions began to absorb the attention of the community, to the exclusion of matters of doctrinal interest. Doctor Mayhew was a close observer of the signs of the times; and, in patriotic zeal for civil and religious liberty, he was one of the leaders of his times. From 1762, till his death, in 1766, his controversies with Apthorp and Bishop Secker withdrew him somewhat from the sphere of theological discussion. His successor, however, as Pastor of the West Church, Simeon Howard, (1767), was regarded, from the first, as far from sound on the doctrine of the Trinity. Soon after his Settlement, the Reverend Andrew Croswell, of Boston, preached a Sermon which exhibits the state of feeling which then existed in regard to the controverted point. In this he remarks: "The divin-"ity of Christ is an antiquated doctrine; very "unfashionable and unmodish. The high mode "is to laugh at it, and all that hold it; or, "at least, by words and actions, to say, 'Tis "'but of little consequence!' Trinitarians can "be concerned in settling Ministers, where they "are satisfied Christ will be preached only as a "subordinate God. But they who have fellow-"ship in such undertakings, if they are not "Arians themselves, are next door to Arians. "Their zeal for Christ's God head is not thank "worthy. Such men, whether Ministers or "others, can carry on the cause of Arians for "them, *better than they themselves can*.

"These have been the chief instruments of "promoting it, through the land in general, "and especially in the metropolis. There hath "not been done so much against the Divinity of "Christ in Boston, for an hundred years before, "as has been done against it, in an oblique man-"ner, within these ten months past."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 631.

In the following year, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington, published a Sermon which he had preached in Boston, entitled, *The importance and necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the extent of his high and glorious character*. It was preached in Boston; and "was composed," says the author, "with a design to preach it there, under a conviction that the doctrine of the Divinity of "Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved "by a number of the Ministers in Boston."

In a note appended to this discourse, he points out the source from which he apprehended danger to the churches. He evidently had in view those circumstances of Mr. Howard's ordination, upon which Croswell had animadverted. He says: "I desire it may be considered, whether "the ordaining Councils who neglect to examine "candidates for the ministry, with respect to "their religious sentiments, and they who zeal-"ously oppose such examinations, do not by this "conduct openly (show) that it is with them no "matter of importance what men believe, what "their sentiments are, and what doctrines they "hold with respect to Jesus Christ; or what "thoughts they have of his character and relig-

"ion: that they may be 'apt to teach,' and 'hold
"'fast the faithful word,' so as to 'be able, by
"'*sound doctrine*, both to exhort and convince
"'the gainsayers,' whatever sense they put upon
"the words in the Bible, or they have no under-
"standing of them at all. And is not this, in
"effect, openly to declare that the truths of the
"Gospel are of no importance, and that Christi-
"anity is really but a trifling affair?

"The conduct of these gentlemen is really
"surprising, and none need be at a loss what
"will be the fate of Christianity, so far as their
"influence reaches. All the distinguishing, im-
"portant doctrines of it will be neglected; and
"instead of preaching the Gospel, sermons will
"be either insipid dissertations upon something
"else, or filled with stupid inconsistencies; else
"be only florid harangues, without any meaning.
"Unless, perhaps, when times and circum-
"stances will bear it, another system of doc-
"trines will be preached up, which, at present,
"are somewhat unpopular; therefore cannot be
"with safety expressly and openly espoused:
"For the sake of which, that they may be *privily*
"introduced; and from a desire and design to
"extirpate the more commonly received, popu-
"lar doctrines, many think they have good rea-
"son to conclude this method with respect to
"candidates is gone into."—*Sermon*, 27, 28.

Howard seems to have taken no notice either of Croswell's or of Hopkins's Sermon. Even those who might be regarded as in sympathy with him, did not feel disposed to make an issue on the doctrine of the Trinity. They rather planted themselves on the more popular ground taken by Dana, of Wallingford, and others, in opposition to Creeds. John Tucker, of Newbury, who preached the Convention Sermon of 1768, and whose views, ultra-liberal in matters of doctrine, for his day, are sufficiently disclosed in his numerous controversial pamphlets, indicated the ground upon which the party innovating on the traditional doctrine of the Churches, was prepared to make a stand. His Sermon, on *Colossians*, iv., 11, led him to set forth the nature of the "Kingdom of God" and the mutual relations of Ministers, as "fellow-workers." He then proceeds: "And this account of the King-
"dom of God, may, I apprehend, naturally
"suggest to us such important truths as these;
"that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ,
"who by commission and appointment of the
"Father, hath erected this Kingdom; and to
"whom the administration of it is committed,
"is the sole legislator, and judge of the sub-
"jects of it; *i. e.*, of all Christians. That he
"only hath authority to make laws and to ap-
"point ordinances for them, and to annex sanc-
"tions to these laws. That he only hath author-
"ity to determine and fix the terms upon which
"any shall be intitled to the privileges and bless-
"ings of this Kingdom. And, that, as all
"Christians of whatever rank, and however
"characterized, and distinguished by human de-
"terminations and appointments, are equally his
"subjects, and accountable to him; and in this
"respect, perfectly upon a level with one
"another, none of them can have any authority
"even to interpret the laws of this Kingdom for
"others, so as to require their assent to such in-
"terpretation. These, with other truths of a
"similar nature, must be obvious upon a mo-
"ment's reflection. For if others, besides Jesus
"Christ, have a right to make and establish
"laws in this Kingdom, obligatory upon Chris-
"tians; to appoint ordinances; to decree reli-
"gious rites, etc., they have then authority to
"alter the very Constitution and nature of it;
"and so far as thus altered, it would cease to
"be the Kingdom of God."—*Page* 12.

Again, he remarks: "From all which, it evi-
"dently follows, that every subject of this King-
"dom, *i. e.*, every Christian, has, and must have
"a right to judge for himself of the true sense
"and meaning of all gospel truths; and that no
"doctrines, therefore;—no laws;—no religious
"rites;—no terms of acceptance with God, or
"of admission to Christian privileges, not found
"in the Gospel, are to be looked upon by him, as
"any part of this divine system; nor to be re-
"ceived and submitted to as the doctrines and
"laws of Christ. And to make any article of
"faith, or mode of worship essential to the
"Christian character, and a term of admission
"to Christian privileges, not made so in the Gos-
"pel, is manifestly an unwarrantable, and rebel-
"lious usurpation of ecclesiastical power, which
"cannot be answered for to the great Head of
"the Church."—*Page* 13.

"Without this charitable forbearance, there is
"not, there cannot be union, harmony and peace
"among them. When they lay great stress,
"therefore, upon disputed, and comparatively
"little points; when they run into hot and un-
"charitable contentions about things but ob-
"scurely delivered, if delivered at all in the
"sacred oracles; and which are of a dubious
"and uncertain nature, they manifestly mistake
"their business, and forfeit their characters, as
"servants of the same Lord, and fellow-workers
"in the Kingdom of God;—they neglect their
"proper work to contend and quarrel about
"trifles, still again."—*Page* 19.

"This cannot be expected, whenever we are
"ready hotly to contest and wrangle about disput-
"able and lesser matters in religion; when we
"are forward to insist upon, as of great weight
"and importance, and uncharitably to contend
"about certain points, not clearly revealed, or

"the importance of which is not manifest in the "Gospel.

"This cannot be expected, if we aim at lord-"ing it over others;—if we challenge authority "to interpret the doctrines and laws of Christ "for our brethren, and to impose upon them "our particular sense;—if we place our own "decisions upon a level with the plain declara-"tions of the Word of God, by censuring and "condemning those, who will not assent to our "particular dogmas."—*Page* 26.

These views of Tucker seem, thenceforth, to have obtained a very general acceptance among the Ministers of Massachusetts. They were favored by the spirit of the times and the patriotic zeal for liberty which prevailed on every side. President Locke, of Harvard-college, who preached the Convention Sermon in 1772, admits fully the danger of the introduction of error from foreign sources. He remarks: "All "publications on the other side of the Atlantic "are soon handed over hither—errors are import-"ed as well as truths—heresies will arise—must "arise, that those who are approved may be "made manifest; and unless the Ministers of "the Gospel are pretty thoroughly versed in "their business, and are able to give a reason of "their faith and hope, they will be exposed to "reproach & contempt from men who will be "capable of doing them much mischief, and if "they lose their reputation, their usefulness will be "at an end. Yea some may be brought to totter "on their foundation, if not driven entirely "from it, after they have been long employed in "behalf of Christianity."

Still he would have the danger met by the force of argument and truth alone. He observes: "Such is the nature and genius of Chris-"tianity, that the proper method of defending "and propagating it, is not by silencing objec-"tions, with fines and censures, and crowding "down Creeds and Confessions, upon pain of "eternal punishments; and requiring an implicit "submission to the authority of the Church, or "of Synods; but by understanding the truth, "asserting it, and offering the proper evidences "which support it, and showing how God their "Saviour will look upon and treat those, who "despise and reject it; by convincing gainsay-"ers, in shewing them the impertinence, the "weakness of their objections; and that it is "want of knowledge rather than the possession "of it, which is the grand cause of most doubts "and cavils."—President Locke's *Convention Sermon*, 1772, 34.

The opening scenes of the Revolutionary War were now at hand; and theological discussion gave place to political agitation and the conflict of arms. The first expressions of theological sentiment, however, which arrest our attention on the return of Peace, are, for the most part, of a strain similar to that which characterized the discourses of Tucker and of Locke. All were fully aware of the diversity of theological belief which prevailed on every side; and each one, who shrank from rebuking it, felt it incumbent to apologize for it. It had been tolerated so long, that it seemed to have acquired the right to be left with entire immunity.

In 1781, Joseph Willard was elected as successor of Doctor Langdon, to the Presidency of Harvard-college. He was very generally regarded as tending to Arminianism; but the language of his printed discourses has been pronounced moderately Evangelical. It is a significant fact, however, that when he was settled as Pastor at Beverly, in 1772, the very fact of his previous connection with Harvard-college is supposed to have operated to his prejudice among his orthodox hearers. Sidney Willard, speaking of him, in his *Memories* of his father, says: "Among some members there was a distrust of "his orthodoxy; not arising, probably, so much "from anything that they discovered to be un-"sound, or any thing they found wanting in "his sermons, as from a dread of the contagious "taint prevalent in Harvard College, corrupting, "as they had been made to believe, the immacu-"late body of sound Calvinism."—S. Willard's *Memories*, i., 51.

The sympathy with France, occasioned by the aid which she rendered to this country, during the Revolutionary War, facilitated the introduction of French literature and, with it, French infidelity. The effects of this were experienced in all parts of the land; but in an especial manner at Harvard-college. President Willard, with his literary tastes, numbered several distinguished Frenchmen among his correspondents. One of these was Chastelleux; and to Willard's literary curiosity, he responded: "To your fur-"ther inquiry, what are the best works that have "been recently published in France, I am almost "tempted to reply by saying simply '*Voltaire* "'*est mort*.' But, although the sun is set, the "sky is not without luminaries. M. de St. Lam-"bert, l'Abbe de Lilles, M. de la Harpe, and "M. de Marmontel still sustain the honor of "French poetry."—S. Willard's *Memories*, i., 81.

It may readily be conceived that the atmosphere of such a correspondence was not favorable to any excessive orthodox strictness; and that Harvard college, under Willard's Presidency, could not be like to regain the reputation which it had largely forfeited while he was yet a student. But there was less danger of contamination from a correspondence with avowed friends of Voltaire, than with such as still retained the Christian name. During the Revolutionary period, this country had not, in England,

any warmer friends than some who were known as Unitarian Dissenters. Among these, Doctors Price and Priestley held a high place. With both these men, President Willard maintained a frequent correspondence. "Doctor Price had "previously (1783) presented to Mr. Willard his "*Review of the Principal Questions in Morals* "and his volume of *Sermons on the Christian* "*Doctrine*, delivered at Hackney. In regard to "his *Sermons*, he said, 'I cannot hope that you "'approve some of the sentiments in the first "'five of these Sermons' [*containing his Anti-* "*trinitarian views of the person of Christ, and* "*of his pre-existence*]; 'but I can safely rely on "'your candor. My friend, Dr. Priestley, who, "'you know, is a zealous Socinian, is preparing "'an answer. But nothing shall engage me in "'a controversy.' In another letter, he said of "Priestley: 'His abilities and ardor, as a divine "'and philosopher, are wonderful. In philos- "'ophy and politics, he and I are perfectly "'agreed. But in metaphysics and theology, we "'differ much.'"—S. Willard's *Memories*, i., '75, 76.

Literary intercourse and political sympathy made the correspondence between Willard and Price more and more intimate. It became like that of personal friends, "not only friendly, "but affectionate and confiding." The publications of Price, with regard to the condition and interests of this country, endeared him to many, and favored great allowance, if not acceptance, for his peculiar religious views.

With Doctor Priestley, Willard also engaged in correspondence; and from him he received a letter expressing the apprehension of the necessity of seeking, as he ultimately did, a refuge in the United States, and giving his preference, in this case, to the neighborhood of Harvard-college.—S. Willard's *Memories*, i., 77.

In these circumstances, it is not strange that laymen and clergymen, in and around Boston, less decidedly orthodox than Willard, should be prepared to regard, favorably, the writings of leading English Unitarians. No objection was made to their circulation, and no alarm was expressed at their teachings. The Boston Ministers, we are told, (*Monthly Repository*, iii., 302,) "individually agreed to differ, and maintained "this moral and truly religious principle, that "*every man* should be fully persuaded in his "own mind."

Such as described was the state of things in Boston, when James Freeman was invited by the congregation of King's-chapel, to become their Reader, as he subsequently was their Minister. His Congregation had been trained up in high-church notions, and desired him to receive Episcopal Ordination. He refused, however, to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; and the result was, ultimately, that the Congregation took the matter of Ordination into its own hands, and broke off all connection with the Episcopal Churches of the Diocese.

It was while the issue between Mr. Freeman and the Bishop was yet undecided that events occurred which are thus narrated:—(*Monthly Repository*, iii., 305.) "About this particular "crisis, a gentleman from this country," [*probably the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt*] "embarked for Ameri- "ica with his family. After spending some "months in the Southern States, he arrived at "Boston the 15th of May, 1784: and having a "letter to Mr. Eliot, who received him with "great kindness, he was introduced on that very "day to the Association. The venerable Chaun- "cy, at whose house it happened to be held, "entered into a familiar conversation with him "and shewed him every possible respect, as he "learned that he had been acquainted with Dr. "Price. Without knowing, at the time, any "thing of the occasion which led to it, ordina- "tion happened to be the general subject of dis- "course. After the different gentlemen had "severally delivered their opinions, the stranger "was requested to declare his sentiments; who "unhesitatingly replied, that the people, or the "Congregation, who chose any man to be their "Minister, were his proper ordainers. Mr. "Freeman, upon hearing this, jumped from his "seat in a kind of transport, saying, 'I wish "'you could prove that, Sir.' The gentleman "answered, that 'few things could admit of an "'easier proof:' and from that moment, a "thorough intimacy commenced between him "and Mr. Freeman. Soon after, the Boston "prints being under no *imprimatur*, he publish- "ed several letters in supporting the cause of "Mr. Freeman. At the solicitation of Mr. Free- "man, he also published a *Scriptural Confuta- "tion of the Thirty-nine Articles*. Notice be- "ing circulated that this publication would ap- "pear on a particular day, the printer, apprized "of this circumstance, threw off above a hun- "dred papers beyond his usual number, and "had not one paper remaining upon his hands "at noon. This publication, in its consequences, "*converted* Mr. Freeman's Congregation into an "Unitarian Church; which, as Mr. Freeman "acknowledged, could never have been done "without the labors of this gentleman. A Com- "mittee was appointed to reform the *Book of* "*Common Prayer*, and to strike out all those "passages which savoured of Trinitarian wor- "ship. This object being pursued with great "deliberation, the ordination of Mr. Freeman, "by his Congregation, did not take place before "the end of the year 1788; and this Congrega- "tion is now as flourishing, since it has learned "to say '*sumpsimus*,' as it had formerly been

"under its old '*mumpsimus*.' Thus, then, "seven hundred or eight hundred people, who "had been accustomed to worship three Gods, "and to believe one of these, as consisting of "two persons, to be in reality two Gods, are "now become so enlightened as to worship only "the One God and Father of our Lord Jesus "Christ."

"While the gentleman referred to, in this "communication, was at Boston, he preached "repeatedly there the Thursday's Lecture, and "to many congregations in that city. He also "preached at Dorchester, Jamaica Plain, "Weymouth, Marshfield, Scituate, Providence, "Salem, Hallowell, etc. At Old Hingham, "where the venerable Mr. Gay was Pastor, he "preached above forty times; and the noble-"minded General Lincoln was one of his twelve "hundred hearers."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iii., 665, 666.

It was, of course, necessary to effect a change in the Liturgy of King's-chapel. On this point, a successor of Mr. Freeman, Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, in his *History of King's Chapel*, 138, 139, remarks: "The alterations made in "the Liturgy, were principally those of Dr. "Samuel Clarke, the celebrated English Divine, "and were, for the most part, such as involved "the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity. "The work, as amended, was immediately put "to press, and was used in this Church till the "year 1811, when other amendments were "made.

"Here was a most conspicuous and, as we "must regard it, a most happy revolution; an "auspicious turning from the dominion of "creeds and phrases of men's device, to the easy "yoke and authority of simple Scripture. This "most important change is to be attributed, "mainly, to the judicious and learned expositions "of Mr. Freeman, who preached a series of doc-"trinal Sermons to his people, and by the aid "and influence of God, moved them to respond "to his sentiments. *The first Episcopal Church "in New England became the first Unitarian "Church in America.*"—*History of King's Chapel*, 139.

The changes effected did not come up to the standard of Mr. Freeman's views; but they were all that he felt it wise to attempt to secure. In a letter to Mr. Lindsey, dated July 7, 1786, he allows: "that his new Liturgy was not such as "he should himself prefer, but insists that it "was all which the people could be persuaded "to adopt. 'I wish,' says he, 'that the work "'was more worthy of your approbation. I "'can only say that I endeavored to make it so, "'by attempting to introduce your Liturgy "'entire. But the people of the Chapel were 'not ripe for so great a change. Some defects "'and improprieties I was under the necessity "'of retaining, for the sake of inducing them "'to omit the most exceptionable parts of the "'old service, the Athanasian prayers. Per-"'haps, in some future day, when their minds "'become more enlightened, they may consent "'to a further alteration.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 289, 290.

A Church, avowedly Unitarian, was now planted in Boston, and its Pastor, in confidential correspondence with English Unitarians, exerted himself, and not without a considerable measure of success, to disseminate his peculiar views. It has been stated that "Dr. Freeman has been "instrumental in spreading Unitarianism, not "so much by his own preaching or publica-"tions as by circulating the writings of English "authors. He early opened a correspondence "with Mr. Lindsey, of London, received copies "of Lindsey's and Priestley's theological works, "and procured for them all the attention and "circulation in his power. A set of these "works was presented to 'the library of Harvard "'College, for which, as a very valuable and "'acceptable present,' Mr. Lindsey 'received "'the thanks of the President and Fellows.' "'Though,' says Dr. Freeman to Mr. Lindsey 'it "'is a standing rule of most of our *social* "'libraries, that nothing of a controversial nature "'should be purchased, yet any book which is "'presented is freely accepted. I have found "'means, therefore, of introducing into them "'some of the Unitarian Tracts with which you "'have kindly furnished me. There are few "'persons who have not read them with avidity.'

"The cause of Unitarianism was considerably "promoted in this country by the visit of a "Mr. Hazlitt, an English Unitarian Minister, in "1785. 'I bless the day,' says Dr. Freeman, "'when that honest man first landed in this "'country.' 'Before Mr. Hazlitt came to Bos-"'ton, the Trinitarian Doxology was almost "'universally used. He prevailed upon several "'respectable Ministers to omit it. Since his "'departure, the number of those who repeat "'only Scriptural Doxologies has greatly increas-"'ed, so that there are now many Churches in "'which the worship is strictly Unitarian.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 291.

There was, in no quarter, any earnest disposition manifested to withstand the spread, or expose the prevalence, of that indifference which allowed an open field for the efforts of men like-minded with Mr. Freeman. The Reverend Doctor J. Morse, in his *Appeal to the Public*, published in 1814, the year preceding the outbreak of the Unitarian Controversy, says: "Early after my settlement in this place, during "the last half of the year 1789, I was insid-"iously sounded as to my sentiments concerning

"the doctrine of the Trinity; and subsequently "gave serious offence to some of my brethren in "the ministry, by preaching a course of Sermons "on that controverted subject, at the Thursday "Lecture. This was followed by a concerted "plan to attack my Geography, which was "partially executed in the Summer of 1793, by "Rev. Dr. Freeman, in a pamphlet which he at "that time published, containing *Remarks* on "that work.* Opposition to this work has since "shown itself in many ways which it is not "necessary here to state."

It was in 1791, two years after this settlement of Mr. Morse at Charlestown, that he was visited by a young Presbyterian Clergyman from Philadelphia, Ashbel Green, subsequently President of Princeton-college. Doctor Green says, in his *Autobiography*, (Page 218,) "The afternoon "was spent very agreeably, and, in the evening, "I returned to Mr. Morse's, and had some pleas- "ing conversation with him and his wife. I "feel myself strongly attached to this worthy "man; and he says that my coming has served "to encourage him and strengthen him in his "sentiments and preaching. He is opposed to "the prevailing opinions of Arianism and Ar- "minianism, and to indifference in religion. Yet "he acts with suitable meekness, and what I "think is a true Christian spirit; that is, he is "firm and fervent, and yet not bitter or censo- "rious. He appears to be a man of great hu- "mility, of a warm heart, a good understand- "ing, and considerable improvement."

Respecting his visit at Worcester, Doctor Green remarks: "Arrived at Mr. Austin's about "7 o'clock. He received me politely. He "appears to be a man of real piety, and his "wife is a very amiable woman. He has the "reputation of being a new divinity man. The "sentiments of this system I do not altogether "like; but I have expressed myself in regard "to it too freely and severely; let me be more "cautious in future. Mr. Austin went with me, "in the evening, to call on Mr. Bancroft, the "other clergyman of the town. He is said "to be an Arian; but he appears to be a man of "considerable strength of mind, a good deal "improved, and fluent and ready in his conver- "sation. Alas! that his religious opinions "should be so erroneous as I fear they are."

At Salem, also, he traced the Arian leaven. "We arrived at Salem about five o'clock, and "put up at Mr. Barnard's, one of the clergymen "of the town. He is said to be an Arminian, "if not an Arian, as is also Mr. Prince, with "whom we supped. He showed us a lucernal "microscope of his own making, and a new "air-pump of his own invention and construc- "tion. He treated us politely, as did Mr. Bar- "nard also, with whom we lodged, but never a "word was said on the subject of religion. "Salem is a large town, with seven churches "and eight thousand inhabitants."—*Life of Dr. A. Green*, 219.

Dr. Green is somewhat minute in his sketch of the state of religious opinion in Boston and its vicinity. "After dinner, went to the Associa- "tion of Clergy in and about Boston; and I "was glad to see one of their meetings. They "assemble, once a fortnight, in each other's "houses, by rotation. The time of meeting is "three o'clock, P. M., but members are dropping "in till five, and no account is required of "causes of absence or delay. At 4 o'clock the "Chairman is expected to pray; but this part "of the duty, in the present instance, fell on "me, as a stranger, and I performed it but "poorly. The prayer is usually the only thing "of a religious nature which claims attention. "The meetings are, indeed, so frequent that "there cannot be ecclesiastical concerns to "occupy the time spent in them all. Yet I am "ready to believe that there might be much "useful conversation on religious subjects—on "sentiments, doctrines, history, facts, &c.—if the "members were generally disposed to spend "their time in this manner; much also, I con- "ceive, might be employed in devising plans "for the advancement of true religion, if the "members of the Association were so disposed "to spend their time. But, as I understand, "they are so diverse in their sentiments, that "they cannot agree on any point in theology. "Some are Calvinists, some Universalists, some "Arminians, some Arians, and one, at least, is "a Socinian. How absurd it is for men of such "jarring opinions to attempt to unite. How "much more conducive to improvement and to "pleasure, that the parties should divide, and "that those who are agreed should walk by "themselves. Yet this plan I know would be "esteemed by them as the effect of bigotry and "narrowness of mind; and so they will meet, "and shake hands, and talk of politics and "science, and laugh, and eat raisins, and "almonds, and apples, and cake, and drink "wine and tea, and then go about their business, "when they please. To such a meeting as this, "for the purposes of amusement, relaxation or "sociability, few would probably object. But "for the purposes of Church government, to "me, at least, it appears ludicrous. Yet let me "do them justice. They had one question of "an ecclesiastical kind, at this meeting, in

* "That this public vindication of the *Trinity*, with "some other facts of the same nature, particularly the "exposure of a *mutilated* edition of Watts's *Divine Songs*, "occasioned this attack upon my Geography, I had evi- "dence at the time to satisfy my mind."—J. Morse's *Appeal to the Public*, Introduction, x.

"regard to a preacher of universal salvation "who appeared before them; and they refused "to give him a written recommendation or "*approbamus*, as they called it."—*Life of Dr. A. Green*, 224, 225.

It was on this journey, that Dr. Green fell in with Jeremy Belknap, who, since 1787, had been settled as Pastor of the Federal street Church, Boston. Of him he says, Mr. Belknap is "a man "of real science, and possesses an excellent "taste in composition; yet he discovers nothing "striking in his conversation. He is agreeable "and judicious, but he does not shine, nor does "he attempt anything brilliant; he is quite "common-place in his conversation. He intro- "duces no discussions of a literary nature, and "when accident introduces them, he says com- "mon things in a common way; and yet he appears "to have a quick discernment of faults, mis- "takes, and improprieties. I think he has a "talent for ridicule and smartness, if he chose "to indulge it, which he does not. He is ortho- "dox, as I am informed, in his religious senti- "ments, and preaches accurately and perspicu- "ously, but not with much life or energy."—*Life of Dr. A. Green*, 230.

In 1792, Doctor Belknap published a *Discourse on Christ the Foundation*, in which he spoke of Christ as "that glorious and exalted being, whose "comprehensive powers were equal to the crea- "tion and government of the heavens and "earth;" who was "Lord of the Angels," and to "the acceptance of whose sacrifice," "God "was pleased to give the most public solemn "testimony." In the following year, his *Life of Watts and Doddridge* was published, anony- mously. In this, he seems, to some extent, to accord with the views of Doctor Watts on the Trinity. He says, in his conclusion, "On a "review of this publication, so far as it respects "Dr. Watts's notion of the Trinity, (which I "confess was a leading object with me to bring "forward,) I can easily imagine that some in- "telligent readers will be dissatisfied, and will "think his scheme liable to equal objections with "other schemes. I do not apprehend that it is "incumbent on me to defend it, nor am I san- "guine in my opinion that it is the true one; "though I confess in the main, it appears to me, "at present, to be nearer the truth than that "commonly received as orthodox, which main- "tains three *real persons*, or distinct intelligible "beings, in the Godhead. If I am mistaken, I "should be truly glad to be better informed. "*Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* As I can "have no interest to serve in opposing any arti- "cle of sound doctrine, neither have I any "pleasure in dissenting from popular opinions, "or modes of speech. I am fully persuaded, "however, that the mode of explication here "brought to view, is not so essentially different "from some others which have been usually al- "lowed to be orthodox, as some persons imag- "ine. All that I here intend, is to offer a few "observations in proof of this, for the satisfac- "tion of serious Christians, who have imbibed "an early prejudice in favor of long established "systems, and certain human modes of speech; "and who may be alarmed under a suspicion "(which certain persons of better information "have taken pains to promote) that my design "is to promote *Socinianism* or *Arianism:* terms "of reproach which too many (and some without "understanding their meaning) are ever ready to "apply to such as venture to think for them- "selves, and to adopt language from that which "human creeds have stamped as sacred, though "the most remote from the language of the "Bible. If such will be attentive in reading, "and candid in judging, I hope to convince "them, whether they fall in with my mode of "explanation or not, that I have *done nothing* "*against the truth, but for the truth.*"—*Pages* 146, 147. And again, "It is true Dr. *Watts* main- "tained the *Man Christ Jesus* to have been a "created being. But if, on that account, his fol- "lowers are justly charged with heresy, I know "not who will be exempt; for I suppose all will "allow that Christ was properly MAN, and as "such created. Some, indeed, maintain that he "was a human PERSON, as really as any other "man is so; and on this ground deny that his "*Divinity* was a *real person*, distinct from that "of the Father (for otherwise there would be "TWO PERSONS in Christ;) while others strangely "and arbitrarily suppose (to avoid this last ab- "surdity) that the method of Christ was merely "a created NATURE. But both allow 'the "'Deity of Christ to consist in the union of the "'Godhead and the manhood, in the person of "'*Emanuel*, so that in him GOD *was manifest* "'*in the flesh*.' This general agreement I look "upon as all that is essential to true orthodoxy, "and a sufficient bond of union. How much "farther Christian charity may safely extend, it "is not my present business to enquire. I will "only observe, that they who have investigated "subjects of doctrinal controversy with the "greatest care and impartiality, will be the most "ready to confess, that there are difficulties on "all sides, where the Scripture has not explicitly "decided; and will see the greatest reason for "diffidence of themselves, and candour towards "one another. There are two principal lessons "which I have learned from the study of more "than thirty years, and these I am principally "solicitous to inculcate upon others. If this "publication should in any degree contribute to "answer this end, I shall be thankful, even "though it should expose me to the censures of

"some good men to whose esteem I am by no "means indifferent, though their charity is much "more confined than my own; and whom, what-"ever they may think or say of me, I will love "and honor."—*Pages* 151, 152.

The Convention Sermon of 1793 was preached by the Rev. Thomas Barnard of Salem. He lends his influence to cover, with a mantle of charity, the obvious discordance, in religious belief, which existed among the Ministers. His own views were, if we may accept Doctor Channing's statement, decidedly Unitarian. "With respect to Dr. Barnard, I have satisfac-"tory proof that he believed God to be one "person, and was accordingly a Unitarian. "From his language respecting the 'essential "'divinity of Jesus Christ,' I infer that he ac-"corded in some degree with Dr. Watts or Su-"bellius. He did *not* believe the Son to be a "divine person, distinct from the Father, and "possessing equal divinity. His views on these "subjects, like those of many good men, were "not very precise. Had he been obliged to "select a system it would have been Dr. Samuel "Clarke's."—Note to Channing's *Remarks on Worcester's Letter*, 4.

In his Sermon before the Convention, Barnard says: "We meet together in this house "of prayer, and present ourselves before God, "as Christians, and Ministers of the Gospel. "Yet there is not only a real difference between "us, as to form and manners, but as to our "opinion of the doctrines of Christ, and the "best mode of propagating them. Still, who "shall discriminate between us, and say, which "of us are the best qualified Ministers, and "which are unworthy the sacred office? God, "and our Lord, who only are infallible, allow "us, however different, to rank in the same "character. They fix upon us no mark, by "which we may be distinguished from each "other; nor have they set any causes in motion, "by which we may be distinguished. Shall "we distinguish between each other; and, with "haughty, magisterial airs, pronounce damna-"tory sentences? What gross impropriety! "We have not the spirit of infallibility."—Barnard's *Convention Sermon*, 1793, 14, 15.

"Whilst actuated by that bigoted attach-"ment to our own system of faith, which ex-"communicates all who think differently from "us, there is no probability of our becoming "mild, forbearing, and charitable, till we asso-"ciate freely with them. Confined to one party, "and course of conversation, we contemplate "those with a kind of abhorrence, who rank "themselves on a different side. We feel dis-"posed to treat them as heathen men and pub-"licans, unchristian, the foes of God and man. "But when we frequently meet with those, who "are opposed to us in their opinions, upon "terms of civility, and common friendship, we "are convinced, that there may be good sense, "and amiable manners, faith in Christ, and "obedience to his laws, in those who differ from "our theological creed, and mode of worship. "Nor is it seldom that such intermixtures pro-"duce between us, confidential and endearing "connections; and a persuasion that we must "make a kind allowance for different concep-"tions of the Christian doctrine, though we "may not be indulgent to impious and immoral "practice."—Barnard's *Convention Sermon*, 1793, 16, 17.

The Convention Sermon of 1794, was by the Reverend Chandler Robbins, of Plymouth. In this, he seems to vie with Doctor Barnard in the ostentatious exhibition and commendation of Christian liberality. He concedes the prevailing differences of religious opinion; yet with some caveats against fundamental error. "That a difference in opinion, on theological "points, does exist, among the professors and "the Ministers of Christ, is undoubted. In "many instances, perhaps, the difference arises "from mutual misconception of the ideas which "each affix to terms used to convey them, and "so, is not so great in reality, as in appearance. "In other instances there is, unquestionably, a "real difference and opposition of sentiment; "and that, too, on subjects which each party may "view as of fundamental importance. But be "it so; will this warrant a spirit of rancor and "unfriendliness? Will it justify *wrath* and "*bitterness*, or the stigmatizing one another "with invidious names, designed as terms of "reproach? In a word, can such a spirit and "conduct be supposed a likely way to convince "and reclaim a person from error? Surely no, "nor can it be justified, even if the *eternal sal-"vation* of the supposed heretic depended on a "conviction of his error, and renouncing his "present opinion. Our 'meek and lowly' "Master never inculcated, but rebuked sharply, "such a spirit, even in his dearest disciples, the "first *ministers* of his kingdom, and said, 'Ye "'know not what manner of spirit ye are of.' "If we cannot, by fair and friendly argument, "convince our antagonist; and by a 'manifes-"'tation of the truth so commend ourselves to "'his conscience' and understanding, as to re-"claim him from his error, we are not allowed "to call for 'fire from heaven to destroy him,' "or anathematize him as an incurable repro-"bate; but leave him to the mercy of the "heavenly Physician, always remembering, that "'errors of the mind, like diseases of the body, "'are rather the objects of pity, than of anger "'or scorn;' and that God alone can heal them.

"Catholicism, my brethren, although a term

"which has doubtless been misunderstood by "many and greatly abused by zealous partizans "to serve a purpose, is, however, exceedingly "desirable and important, in a right view of it "—importing that spirit of benevolence which "the gospel inculcates—that kind and generous "affection to one another, which the love of "God and of truth inspire. It is of great im- "portance, when thus viewed and exercised. "But it is a *catholicism*, falsely so called, which "teaches that it is of no importance what our "religious sentiments are; and that will lead a "person to a criminal and cowardly relinquish- "ment of the truths of Christianity, and to "sacrifice the fundamental doctrines of the "Gospel, for the sake of accordance with others, "whose sentiments appear evidently subversive "of essential parts of the Christian faith. "Such *catholicism*, such coalescence, would be "nothing better than base treachery to the "cause we profess to espouse—would be con- "demned by all the honest friends of truth, "and most certainly expose the subjects of "such perfidious complaisance, to the severest "indignation of Jesus Christ, another day."—Rev. C. Robbins's *Convention Sermon*, 1794, 22–24.

While each representative of the different shades of New England theology was thus saying the most mild and gentle things possible, the seed of Unitarianism was widely scattered, and was ripening to its harvest. In England, the progress of things had, for some years previous, been quite rapid. Belsham's biographer remarks, after referring to the influence exerted by Priestley's writings, "The writer well remembers, as early as the year 1783, "when he first entered as a student at Carmarthen, the Senior Class, and indeed almost all "the students who had paid any attention to "the subject, were avowedly Unitarian, in the "strictest sense of the term; and when, in the "succeeding year, he removed to Hoxton, he "found the same sentiments generally prevailing in that institution. The Class which "completed their course at the conclusion of "the Session, Midsummer, 1785, were all declared Unitarians, excepting one; and the "other Classes, with few exceptions, were generally disposed to receive, and ultimately embraced and avowed, the same sentiments; and "at the time of his leaving Daventry, where "the writer finished his academical course, in "the year 1789, these were the opinions of the "majority of his fellow students, who were then "entering upon the Christian Ministry, yet "were they invited by some of the leading "Dissenting Congregations to the pastorship; a "decided proof how much these Churches were "prepared to receive the advocates of Unitarian "Christianity."—*Memoir of Belsham*, 421, 422.

In 1791, "the Unitarian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Practice of "Virtue by the distribution of Books, was "formed. Mr. Belsham first proposed it, and "was ably supported by Lindsey, Priestley, and "others. The Preamble to the Rules of the Institution maintained the simple and proper humanity of Jesus Christ." —*Memoir of Belsham*, 434. Nor was this all. It asserted "*that rational Christians have hitherto been too cautious of publicly acknowledging their principles, and that this disgraceful timidity hath been prejudicial to the progress of truth and virtue.*"

This was too bold an admission for the more timid Unitarians to make. They wished, moreover, to secure a larger platform, and speak with less severity of idolatry in the Christian Church. But men like Belsham and Priestley opposed any modification, and carried the day against Disney and Dodson, who sought to draw into the denomination "some very valuable Unitarians at Cambridge."

It was in correspondence with Mr. Lindsey, that Mr. Freeman entered, and with the class whom he represented, among English Unitarians, that he was in strong sympathy. He was not less earnest or energetic than they, in disseminating his views. About the year 1796, or 1797, he writes, "Though it is a standing article of most "of our social libraries, that nothing of a controversial nature should be purchased, yet any "book which is presented is freely accepted. I "have found means, therefore, of introducing "into them some of the Unitarian Tracts with "which you have kindly furnished me. There "are few persons who have not read them, with "avidity; and, when read, they cannot fail to "make an impression upon the minds of many. "From these and other causes, the Unitarian doctrine appears to be still upon the increase. I am "acquainted with a number of Ministers, particularly in the southern part of this State, who "avow and publicly preach this sentiment. "There are others more cautious, who content "themselves with leading their hearers, by a "course of rational but prudent Sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it. Though "this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, "yet it produces good effects."—*Review of American Unitarianism*, 12.

Belsham, in his *Memoir of Lindsey*, testifies to the zeal of the latter, in disseminating his opinions in New England. "As a further means of dif- "fusing the important doctrines of the proper Unity of God, and the simple humanity of Jesus "Christ, Mr. Lindsey made a present of his own "and of Dr. Priestley's Theological Works to the "Library of Harvard College, in the University of "Cambridge in New England, for which, 'as a

"'very valuable and acceptable present,' he re-"ceived the thanks of the President and Fellows. "These books were read with great avidity by "the students."—*Review of American Unitarianism*, 17.

In like manner, Willard in his "*Memories*," speaks of the services of another English Unitarian, "the Rev. John Disney, who published "a *Memoir of the Life of Thomas Brand Hollis*, "and was his residuary legatee. Dr. Disney was "not unmindful of the College, and, besides his "own publications, made occasional presents to "the Library. Granville Sharpe, Joshua Toulmin, "Richard Price, and other English authors, sent "some of their own publications and other "works to the College, but the aggregate was "small."—*Memories of S. Willard*, ii., 117.

By means like these there can be no doubt that Unitarian sentiments were very widely and powerfully commended; and we have decisive testimony as to their extensive acceptance. "Dr. "Howard was reputed to be an Arian and Ar-"minian. When he was ordained as Minister of "the West Church, in 1767, he was regarded by "several of the Congregational Clergy in that "town, as heretical in his opinions. I remember, "not long before his death, that my father, re-"marking upon the reputed heresy of Dr. How-"ard, in the early days of his ministry, added, "'He is now as Orthodox as the other Ministers "' of his denomination,'—not implying, thereby, "any change in his friend, but a change in the "standard of Boston Orthodoxy. The fact is, "that it was after this time that the more rigid "theologians among the Congregational Clergy "begun to be very inquisitive about the meta-"physical doctrines and modes of philosophising "among their less positive brethren."—*Memories of S. Willard*. ii., 103, Note.

At the opening of the present century, we obtain glimpses from different points of view, of the condition of religious sentiment in and around Boston. The elder Buckminster, in 1799, (*Memoir*, 327), wrote to Doctor Morse, "I "lament the state of things to which, it appears "to me, a departure from true evangelical prin-"ciples, and a silence respecting the peculiarly "humbling, awakening, and affecting doctrines "of the Gospel, in the public teachers of it, have "contributed their full share. * * * Is it "not too true that Ministers leave the humiliating "state of man, as a fallen and apostate creature, "his helplessness and danger, the glorious char-"acter of Christ as a DIVINE person, etc., out of "their public discourses, and fill them with "philosophical disquisitions, moral essays, and "popular harangues?"

At the very time he was penning his letter, his son was drifting rapidly into what the father regarded as false doctrine.

"While studying at Exeter, he seems to have "rejected the doctrine of total and innate deprav-"ity, and other tenets connected with it; and, al-"though the doctrine of the Trinity was approach-"ed with caution and reluctance, yet, at the age of "nineteen, he writes thus to his father: 'I have "'employed almost every day, since my return "'from Portsmouth, in reading the most orthodox "'works upon the Trinity—Edwards, Jameson, "'Ridgely, etc.; and, from what I know of the "'state of my own mind, I despair of ever giving "'my assent to the proposition that Jesus Christ "'is God, equal to the Father. I have been thus "'explicit, that, whatever may be my future lot, "'I may still retain the consciousness of having "'preferred the relinquishment of every prospect "'of fame or preferment to the slightest evasion "' or hypocrisy upon subjects deemed by you so "'important.'"—*Memoir of the Buckminsters*, 331.

We shall soon see that, at Cambridge, the prevailing influence was not such as to correct the heterodox views of young Buckminster.

"It was not until several years afterwards," says Willard, "that an irreparable breach was "made in our Congregational Churches, which "charity, in its full perfection, that beareth, be-"lieveth, hopeth, endureth, all things, could not "heal. Yet we found there were among the "reputed Orthodox Clergy, those who were less "startled at doubts concerning the *letter* of some "of the generally received doctrines, or a de-"parture from them, than we had been accus-"tomed to expect. But they, whose doctrinal "knowledge was so comprehensive that they "were assured of the whole truth, who did not, "like Paul, ground their charity in the humble "axioms, that we know in part—and prophesy "or teach in part,—that we see through a dim "glass—denounced, as heretics, those who swerv-"ed from the more commonly received doctrines, "as if they themselves had the tongues of men "and of angels, and had the gift of prophecy, "or teaching so infallibly, as to feel assured that "they understood all mysteries and all knowl-"edge.

"I well remember that, in the course of my "studies in the New Testament doctrines, I "opened, with some hesitation, my difficulties "concerning the Trinity, to my father. He was "not shocked at the disclosure, nor inclined to "offer illustrations of what he deemed to be "mysterious; and he left on my mind the im-"pression, that he was willing to trust me to the "unbiassed results of my own investigation of "the matter, whatever might have been his own "views concerning it."—*Memories of Willard*, ii., 101, 102.

It has been asserted, on Unitarian authority, that, at the beginning of the century, there was

not, in Boston, a single Trinitarian Pastor of a Congregational Church. Dr. Eckley, according to his statement of his own views, in a letter to one of the Worcesters, fell short of the Orthodox standard; and he was subsequently regarded as the only one whom the Orthodox might rightfully claim. The tone of his belief, or, perhaps, of his liberality, may be inferred from the testimony of the Reverend Doctor Archibald Alexander, in 1801: "Doctor Eckley was one of a class I had "never known. He was refined, possessing "great sensibility, punctiliously courteous, and "talkative on all subjects. I accompanied him "to the Thursday Lecture, where about fifty per- "sons were met, and where old Doctor Howard "delivered a downright Arian sermon; not, "however, in a controversial way, but just as if "all agreed with him. Indeed, at that time, all "controversy was proscribed by the liberal par- "ty."—*Life of Doctor Alexander*, 251.

Doctor Alexander. thus continues his sketch of Boston Ministers and affairs at Harvard-college: "Indeed, there was yet no public line of demar- "cation among the Clergy. One might learn, "with ease, what each man believed, or rather "did not believe, for few positive opinions were "expressed by the liberal party. Doctor Kirk- "land was said to be a Socinian, as was Mr. "Popham, [*Popkin*]; and Doctor Howard, an "Arian. Doctor Eckley had professed to be an "Edwardean, but he came out, after my visit, a "high Arian. Mr. Eliot was an Arian; Mr. "Emerson, a Unitarian of some sort; and Doctor "Lathrop, a Universalist. Doctor Freeman, one "of the first who departed from Orthodoxy, was "the lowest of all, a mere humanitarian. He "still used the *Book of Common Prayer*, altered "so as to suit his opinions. Doctor Morse was "considered a rigid Trinitarian. Doctor Harris, "of Dorchester, was reckoned a low Arminian, "and became a thorough Unitarian.

"Harvard-college was not yet fully under "Unitarian influence, but was leaning in that "direction. President Willard was thought to "hold the old Puritan doctrine, but had no zeal "for Orthodoxy. Doctor Tappan, Professor of "Theology, was, in his writings, a Calvinist of "the school of Watts and Doddridge; a very "amiable man, of prepossessing manners. Doc- "tor Pierson was Professor of Hebrew; he was "much opposed to Unitarianism, but did not "possess great influence. All were for making "little of doctrinal differences. As soon as the "liberal men had caused this to be settled as a "principle, they devised a way to introduce the "ablest Unitarians into the College, as fast as "vacancies occurred. When Dr. Willard died, "Kirkland, a man of genius and eloquence, was "put into his place. Even at the time of my "visit, all the young men of talents, in Harvard, "were Unitarians."—*Life of Dr. Alexander*, 252, 253.

Under Doctor Alexander's guidance, we obtain a glimpse of the state of theological sentiment at Newburyport, at the same date. "The next "Clergyman on my list was the Rev. Daniel "Dana, a son of the Pastor of Ipswich. He "was about my own age, and received me kind- "ly. There was a considerable excitement in "the town, where the Free Will Baptists had "just commenced operations, and made a num- "ber of converts. I was informed by Mr. Dana "that, although there were eight Congregational "Churches, no two Ministers agreed in their "theological system. One, an Englishman, was "an old-fashioned Calvinist; another, a disciple "of Gill, was called an Antinomian; a third "was a moderate Calvinist; a fourth an ultra "Hopkinsian; a fifth an Arminian; and a sixth "a high Arian. These are all that I remember, "and I preached for them all."—*Life of Dr. Alexander*, 255, 256.

At Portsmouth, Doctor Alexander fell in with Doctor Buckminster and his son, the latter recently graduated at Cambridge, and more firm than ever in the sentiments which he had previously imbibed. "After spending a week in Exeter, "Mr. Rowland, the Pastor, accompanied me to "Portsmouth. I preached here several times, "(for Dr. Buckminster,) in the week evenings, "and to full houses. I found the Doctor an "exceedingly agreeable man; well-informed, if "not learned; orthodox, without any ultraisms; "but not abounding in zeal. He introduced "me to his son, who had been graduated, at the "late commencement; and was the pride of "Harvard. He was full of anecdotes, such as "were current at Cambridge, and which were "mostly intended to ridicule evangelical opin- "ions."—*Life of Dr. Alexander*, 257, 258.

In the region of Plymouth, great innovations had been made upon the old established theology. It has been estimated (Clarke's *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference*, 1855,) that, of twenty Congregational Churches planted by the Puritans, "only two or three adhered to the "doctrines of Grace." Among the great majority, Arminian, Arian, or Socinian notions prevailed. We are told, "It is a suggestive fact, "that this first case of secession from the faith of "the Pilgrim Fathers, which has since been "followed by nearly a hundred others in Massa- "chusetts, should have occurred in the first "Church of their planting on these shores."—Clarke's *Discourse at Plymouth*, 1855, 19.

Concerning Eastern Massachusetts, at the opening of the century, we have the following testimony: "Of the two hundred Congregation- "al Churches located East of Worcester-county, "at that time, not more than seventy-five (or

"two-fifths of the whole,) were under an evan-
"gelical Ministry. In Boston, out of nine Con-
"gregational Churches, there was but *one* left,
"answering to this description; and even this,
"like many others here classed with the Evan-
"gelical, was not so firmly grounded in Ortho-
"doxy, as to remove all anxiety for its safety."
—Clarke's *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference*, 1855, 26, Note.

In 1803, Hosea Ballou, a prominent Universalist preacher, took the lead in promulgating Unitarian views. In the edition of his work on the *Atonement* (1811) they are distinctly avowed. Here, he contends, expressly, "that the Mediator "is a created, dependent being." In this open avowal of Unitarianism, he stood almost alone; and it has been asserted that he was the earliest avowed Unitarian preacher, (1803), in New England. Certainly, his predecessor, Murray, had never sanctioned this innovation upon the Creed of the body which he founded. But the avowal of Mr. Ballou did not tend to provoke imitation. His denominational character and social and literary standing were not such as to tempt Boston Ministers or Cambridge scholars to place themselves under his patronage. Doubtless, in their eyes, he rather prejudiced the cause which he undertook to defend.

It needed a man of the ability and popularity of the younger Buckminister, in a Boston pulpit, to make that latitudinarianism of theological belief which he entertained, and which, in so many cases, was the precursor of avowed Unitarianism, predominant in certain quarters where, already, it was far from unacceptable. He was not a Trinitarian, neither was he disposed to call Socinus his Master. He says, for instance, (1805) of Faustus Socinus, "It appears that Faustus paid no "attention to theological inquiries till he had "attained the age of thirty years, so that, for "his opinions, we must probably look to his "uncle. Neither can we discover that his mind "passed through any of those successive revolu-"tions of opinion, which have marked, and "must mark, the intellectual history of eminent "men. He does not appear to have digested "his peculiar Creed with any great method or "accuracy; and his sentiments are frequently "inconsistent and obscure."—*Life of the Buckminsters*, 251.

On one point, however, his position was decided. He was thoroughly anti-Calvinistic. At the request of his father, who saw, with bitter grief, his departure from Orthodox doctrines, he read works in which they were defended, for instance, Edwards on *Original Sin*. But, so far from being converted by them, he was confirmed in his previous views. Judging from his own diary, he read more than enough of Benson, Bentham, Wakefield, Price, Priestley, Lardner, and other English Unitarians, to offset all the damage which Jonathan Edwards or Andrew Fuller would be likely to effect, in leading him back to the Orthodoxy of his father.

His laxness of theological sentiment was known, in some quarters, at the time of his settlement in Boston, in 1805. A writer in *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, says, "Many persons, now "living, recollect what took place, at the time "when the late Mr. Buckminster received his "call to become Minister of the Brattle-street "Church and Society, in Boston. When the "proposal was made to give him a call, Mr. "Cooper, a venerable member of the Church, "and son of one of the former Ministers, rose "and objected, on the ground that Mr. B. "did not believe in the divinity of Christ. "To this, it was replied, that Mr. Cooper "must be mistaken; that, though Mr. B. "might not have been so explicit, on that "point, as some desired, it was not to be doubt-"ed that he believed so important a doctrine as "the divinity of the Saviour. Mr. Cooper, how-"ever, insisted that he had taken pains to "satisfy himself of the truth of what he had "stated, and that he was not mistaken. On "this, a wish was expressed, by a third person, "that Mr. Cooper might leave the meeting, as "the Society would undoubtedly give Mr. B. a "call, and that it was very desirable that they "should be unanimous. This suggestion, how-"ever, was not followed or approved; Mr. "Cooper was suffered to remain; but it was "under these circumstances that the call was "given."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iii., 119.

It was at this time, that the death of Doctor Tappan left the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, in Harvard-college, vacant. It continued so, for more than a year. The two prominent candidates for it were Doctors Ware and Appleton—the former supported by the Liberal party, the latter by the Orthodox. A writer, in *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, says, "The Corporation were "divided, and, for a time, equally divided, so "that nothing could be done. At length, a "change was known to have taken place, "so that a majority could be obtained for the "present incumbent; and in November, 1804, "the Corporation were called on, in the public "papers, to act, and not to wait for greater un-"animity. A warm newspaper discussion now "commenced, and was continued, chiefly on one "side of the question, till after the election was "made and confirmed. In opposition to the "election of Dr. Ware, it was urged that he "was understood to be a *Unitarian*. But his "friends replied, that he had never professed "the sentiment imputed to him, and that to "mention such a thing was 'a *calumny*.' In-"deed, the pretence that his religious principles

"were unsound, was ridiculed, as one not enti-
"tled to serious consideration. 'It is well
"'known,' it was said, 'that an alarm has been
"'raised: 'Beware, he is an Arminian! he is
"'an Arian!' '*Foenum habit in cornulonge fuge.*'

"One of the principal writers in favor of Doctor
"Ware professed to be 'solicitous to establish
"'the opinions of our forefathers about *essential*
"'*doctrines*,' but urged the liberality of the
"Hollises as a reason for not being strenuous,
"and cautioned his opposers against imputing
"to him 'unpopular or erroneous sentiments.'
"It was urged by some, that the Creed of the
"proposed Professor was of no consequence;
"that he need not inculcate, or so much as
"avow, his particular sentiments; that his
"business was to open and explain divine sub-
"jects, and leave his pupils to form their own
"opinions."—*Spirit of Pilgrims*, ii, 472.

The controversy found its way into the public prints; and the whole religious community was called upon to take sides with the one or the other party. In the Board of Overseers, the election of Doctor Ware was strongly opposed by the Rev. Doctor Morse of Charlestown, on the ground that his religious views did not accord with what was required by the conditions imposed by Hollis. He complained that he was not allowed to read, before the Board, the testimony in regard to the doctrines and requirements of Hollis, which would establish this point. After the election had taken place, early in 1805, he published a pamphlet, in vindication of the course which he had pursued. It bore the title, *The True Reasons on which the Election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity, in Harvard College, was opposed, at the Board of Overseers, Feb.* 14, 1805, *by Jedediah Morse, D.D., Member of Board of Overseers.*

In this pamphlet, after a brief sketch of Harvard-college, he adduces facts designed to prove that the sense in which Mr. Hollis required that his Professorship should be filled by a man "of solid learning in Divinity, of sound "and orthodox principles," was one which would preclude the election of Doctor Ware, whose theological belief was of a different kind. He discussed, also, the matter of the Henchman Legacy, as well as other points connected with the subject. Quoting from Hollis's account of his own experience, which he regarded as emphatically evangelical, Doctor Morse remarks: "Let it be remembered that 'Mr. Hollis here speaks of '*corrupt nature*,' as 'the root of sin; that he ascribes the graces 'which constitute his Christian character, 'to "'*rich, free, and sovereign, electing love;*' that "his hope of justification and acceptance be-
"fore God rested not, in any degree, on his
"numerous and useful charities, in which few
'men have ever exceeded him, but '*only on the*
"'*obedience, active and passive, of the Lamb of*
"'*God, the propitiation for our sins*, through
"'faith in whom he expected peace with God,
"'the continued *influences of his Spirit*, and
"'complete redemption,' and, lastly, that he
"'adores the economy of the DIVINE THREE,
"'in the revealed works of our salvation,
"After this, it is presumed no one will be dis-
"posed to deny that Mr. Hollis was a professed
"believer in the leading articles of that faith,
"which is commonly denominated *Calvinistic.*

"If further evidence be required, however,
"it may be found in the following note, to a
"poem, written immediately after his death.
"'I am informed,' says the author, 'that Mr.
"'Hollis entertained a very honorable esteem
"'for the doctrine of the *ever blessed Trinity*,
"'*the imputed righteousness of Christ*, etc., and
"'that his *openly avowing these principles* was a
"'check upon some who appeared to have no
"'great opinion of them.' Besides, in a letter
"to Doctor Coleman, August, 1728, accompani-
"ed with a present of an elegant set of *Calvin's*
"*Works*, he says, 'I imagine they will please
"'you, as they do me.'

"Such was the religious faith and character
"of the founder of the Divinity Professorship,
"in Harvard-college. Is it probable that such
"a man would be indifferent, as to the doctrinal
"principles of his Professor, whether he were
"'a follower of Calvin, of Arminius, of Arius,
"'or Socinus?' No one, surely, who under-
"stands the wide difference between these sects
"of Christians, can reasonably suppose it. It
"would be contrary to common sense and to
"all experience, to believe that the founder of
"a Professorship of Divinity would not wish
"to have a Professor of the same religious sen-
"timents with himself. He might, indeed, ad-
"mit of shades of difference, in points not
"very important, as is the fact in respect to
"Mr. Hollis, who was a man of great Christian
"candor and liberality. But we are not left to
"infer this from the nature of the case; there
"is abundant evidence to show that he was re-
"markably particular in prescribing what
"should ever be the character and religious
"principles of his Professor, and in guarding
"against a departure from his orders."—
Morse's True Reasons, 41.

Again, Doctor Morse remarks: "In his
"*Rules, Orders, and Statutes*, relating to his
"Professor, he is explicit in declaring what
"*shall* be his qualifications and *principles*, and
"in prescribing his duties. The *first* and
"*eleventh* Articles declare what shall be his
"qualifications and principles.

"'I. That the Professor be a Master of Arts, "'and in communion with some Christian "'church of one of the three denominations, "'Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist.'

"'XI. That the person chosen from time "'to time to be a Professor, be a man of solid "'learning in Divinity, of *sound* or orthodox "'principles, one who is well gifted to teach, "'of a sober and pious life, and of a grave "'conversation.'"—*Morse's Appeal*, 42.

He subjoins, again: "In a letter to Dr. Cole-"man, of Jan. 14, 1723, he says 'I was dis-"'pleased to hear that another person at your "'board should say to this effect, on reading "'my orders, that *when Mr. Hollis was dead* "'*they could make new orders for him.*' It seems "by this that the disposition to disregard Mr. "Hollis's orders was not peculiar to the present "time. It is presumed, were the founder now "living, he would not be less displeased at the "*construction* some are disposed to put on his "'*orders*,' than he was at the suggestion, that "*new ones* might be *made for him*, after his "decease.

"In the same letter, he adds, 'I wait to see "'your Corporation's obligation, and how you "'shall *continue* to act.'

"In a letter of the eighteenth of March, fol-"lowing, he renews the subject of the *Bond* "and says, that 'it is the unanimous advice of "'Governor Shute, Lords Barrington and Ben-"'dish, Mr. Neal, and Mr. Hunt, that I should "'insist on it to have such an obligation, as "'strong as may be, according to your promise "'in former letters I should have, that, in *all* "'*times coming, the Corporation will perform my* "'*trust in the manner appointed in my orders,* "'*and not divert the monies devoted to any other* "'*uses;* and in case of default hereof, to my "'mind, that then, by the power I have reserv-"'ed to myself, I may devise it over to * * * "'for other uses discoursed of, * * * which, if "'you ask your Governor at his return, he will "'tell you more largely.

"'I am of opinion, when you have received "'the letters sent you, as above mentioned, "'your Corporation will come into it to send "'me an obligation as desired, without waiting "'for a copy of a draft from me. If I do not "'think it full enough, I may alter it, and "'return it; *and it will not be prudent for you* "'*to delay it.*'

"In 1726, Oct. 10th, Mr. Hollis again writes "Doctor Coleman thus: 'I desire you, Sir, to "'give me a particular account of my Professor "'of Divinity, how he performs agreeably to *my* "'*written Orders*, and wherein he is wanting in "'complying with them.'"—*Morse's Appeal*, 45.

"In perfect coincidence with Mr. Hollis's "design, in founding his Divinity Professor-"ship, Daniel Hinchman, Esq., of Boston, as "late as in 1747, left a legacy to aid in the sup-"port of the Hollis Professor of Divinity, in "Harvard-college, expressly on the following "conditions: 'so long as the person in that "'office shall be a member, in full communion, "'with some Congregational or Presbyterian "'church, and shall *profess* and *teach* the prin-"'ciples of the Christian religion, according to "'the well known *Confession of Faith*, drawn "'up by the Synod of the Churches in New "'England. But, if, at any time, hereafter, the "'person who shall be in the office of Hollisian "'Professor shall not *profess* and *teach* accord-"'ing to the aforesaid *Confession of Faith*, "'then the annual interest, aforesaid, shall be "'given by the President and Fellows of Har-"'vard-college to some deserving student of "'the said College, whose parents are not able "'to be at the charge of his public education; "'and who shall also be approved of by the "'Pastors of the Old South Church in Boston, "'for the time being.'"—*Morse's Appeal*, 47.

It was quite natural that such a pamphlet as that by Doctor Morse should give new intensity of feeling to the controversy. He complained, at a subsequent period, of the hostility which it had provoked against himself. He had, indeed, arrayed against him the dominant majority of the friends of Harvard-college, and all those who had been anxious that the truce to theological conflict which had hitherto been maintained by the prevalent liberality of feeling, should remain undisturbed. He says, (*Appeal*, 55,): "In April, 1805, about a month "after the pamphlet appeared, a friend wrote "me as follows: 'I ought to tell you that "'friends all passionately commend *True Rea-*"'*sons.* The —— folks are as sore as if they "'had cancers in their hearts. I saw one of "'them, on Saturday. He says, that Mr. —— "'is orthodox; that if Dr. M. had only visited "'him, he might have been satisfied that his "'publication, *after* the election, was wrong; "'*that he has injured the feelings* of his best "'friends; that his usefulness is, &c.'"

In the course of the controversy, however, the friends of Orthodoxy were not content with even the representations of Doctor Morse. While continuing, most persistently, to rebuke the perversion of the Hollis gift, they met every representation of their opponents with the "sound and orthodox" required by the terms upon which it was bestowed. If an attempt was made to represent him (Hollis) as sympathizing with the English Non-Subscribers, in England, it was argued that this did not imply, any more than in the case of multitudes of the Non-Subscribers, themselves, that he was disposed to attach to the term "Orthodox," any

other than its well-known and accepted meaning. It was moreover asked, "But how does "this comport with the views of Professor "Wigglesworth" [*Hollis's first Professor*] "as "expressed in his Sermon on the death of Mr. "Hollis? "'Tis no mean stroke in his character, in my account,' says the Professor, 'that "'he did not content himself to make ample "'bequests to this Society, and then leave it to "'the consciences of them who had, or might "'hereafter have, the direction of it, to see "'that they were well improved; but hath, "'from first to last, taken the utmost care to "'put it, as far as possible, out of our power "'to misimprove them, or, in any measure, to "'defeat his pious intentions.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii. 593.

New offences against fidelity to the trust reposed in the responsible guardians of Harvard-college were sought out and exposed. It was stated that "in 1657, Hon. Edward Hopkins, "previously Governor of Connecticut, died in "England, and, among other instances of his "great liberality, ordered that '£500 be made "'over into New England, for the upholding "'and promoting the kingdom of the Lord "'Jesus Christ in these parts of the earth.' "This sum afterwards fell to the Corporation "of Harvard-college; and the avails of the "fund created by it, to the amount of seven "hundred dollars a year, are now appropriated "to the support of Unitarian students in the "Cambridge Theological School. Governor "Hopkins came to this country in company "with Mr. Davenport, in 1637; was a strict "Puritan and Calvinist; a parishioner and admirer of the excellent Mr. Hooker."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii. 476.

Such things as these, circulated in a more or less public manner, and strengthening the implications contained in Doctor Morse's pamphlet, were quite exasperating. They bore severely upon men whom the community had been accustomed to revere. The subsequent avowal of Unitarianism, by many who were closely connected with the College, was, by no means, as yet anticipated; and the charges brought against them were, on this account, regarded as calumnious. The following is given in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, as constituting, in part, at least, the membership of the College Corporation: "Doctors Lathrop and Howard of "Boston were members of the Corporation, "from the time of the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, till their death. "Lowell became a member, in 1784, Governor "Bowdoin, (for the second time), in 1793; "Judge Davis, in 1804: Dr. Elliot, in 1806; "Judge Parsons, in 1807; Hon. John Lowell, "in 1810."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii. 478.

When charges like these contained in Morse's *True Reasons* were boldly made and sharply resented, it was obvious that, by whatever name they might be known, two distinct parties with definite aims and sympathies, were arrayed against each other. What was regarded as the Unitarian party and, subsequently, became avowedly such, although known, at first, as liberal, was really in possession of the field. It had the ascendancy, in Boston and Boston pulpits, and the control of the University. All that it asked was to be let alone. It disclaimed partisan zeal or purpose. It insisted upon its own liberality. It was confessedly made up of elements somewhat heterogeneous. In the *Life of the Buckminsters*, we are told: "There was but one point upon which the liberal party were united—the rejection of the "doctrine of the Trinity; to admit the personal Godhead of Christ was to them impossible. "Upon no other subject could they have agreed "in an issue. Upon the doctrines of the "Atonement, the supernatural influences of the "Spirit, the inspiration of the Scriptures, so "much did they differ that they probably "would not have held together. On these "subjects, some of the liberal party would "have been found, at the time of which we "speak, on the side of Orthodoxy."—*Life of the Buckminsters*. 339.

All through this period, the Convention Sermons, as well as many other discourses, from leaders of the liberal party, commended peace and forbearance, enlarging upon the claims of Christian charity and ministerial brotherhood. This uniform tone of utterance was very slightly and gently disturbed by Professor Tappan, in 1797. He remarked: "Among these "dispositions may be reckoned a positive, skeptical, or arrogant self conceit; an undue attachment to human reason as the standard of "universal truth; a haughty contempt of the "common people, and refusal to consult their "gratification or serious improvement; a fastidious and indiscriminate rejection of old religious opinions and authors; a disproportionate and impassioned attention to the graces of "modern composition and eloquence, and a "habit of seeking distinction and applause "on these accounts, inducing a comparative "neglect of more solemn and weighty objects; "a fierce zeal for liberty of thought and expression, unqualified with Christian prudence "and condescension, or a pious sense of responsibility to God for the manner in which this "freedom is exercised; a disposition to regard "strict and fervent piety, and those strong impressions of truth which precede and support "it, as the remains of ignorant, unfashionable "superstition or enthusiasm, and to place the

"whole of virtue in a cold approbation and "practice of social duties, or at most to view a "religious respect to God or to Jesus Christ "merely as an useful instrument of morality." —David Tappan's *Convention Sermon*, 1797, 32.

In the following year, however, Doctor Osgood gave plain intimation of the theological progress made by the liberal party, and the new views which were beginning to prevail. He said: "With the improvements in general "science and in the various arts of civilization, "there has been a proportional progress in "religious knowledge. The other sciences have, "in their turn, lent their aid to forward that of "Theology. Men of the first abilities have de- "voted themselves to the study of the sacred "scriptures. Commentaries upon them have "been written with great judgment and erudi- "tion. Every advantage from the knowledge "of profane authors, the reports of travellers, "and the researches of antiquaries, has been "applied to explain and illustrate their mean- "ing. A degree of success has evidently at- "tended these endeavors. Doubtful passages "have been elucidated and seeming inconsist- "encies reconciled; the great doctrines of the "gospel have been, in a good measure, cleared "of those mystic phrases and scholastic niceties "with which they were formerly obscured; and "its moral duties are better defined, more gen- "erally understood, and more strongly en- "forced."—David Osgood's *Convention Sermon*, 1798, 10.

He spoke, also, of the recognized duty of "mutual forbearance. These are his words: "Though the present be indeed an age of un- "common indifference towards all religion, yet "it is attended with one advantage among the "different sects and persuasions of Christians— "a spirit of candor and forbearance towards "each other, beyond what has appeared at any "former period. At length it begins to be "understood that religion is a concern princi- "pally between God and the soul of every "man. In many places, the rights of con- "science are already acknowledged and re- "spected, and will be so universally in propor- "tion as the other rights of human nature "shall be understood and reclaimed from usur- "pation and tyranny."—David Osgood's *Con- vention Sermon*, 1798, 11.

But, as the controversy progressed, the utterances of the two parties were brought into bolder and more striking contrast. The *Convention Sermon*, of 1804, was preached by Doctor Emmons, a man not disposed to tone his thoughts or language to the demands of prevailing sentiment or popular taste. He remarks, "if God has given a perfect rule of "faith to all, which all are capable of under- "standing, then there appears to be a propriety "in his requiring all to believe and speak the "same things in matters of religion. It is no "less proper that he should require all to be- "lieve alike in respect to the whole system of "revealed truth, than that he should require "all to believe alike in respect to any single "article of Christianity. But who will say "that it is not proper that he should require all "to believe alike, in respect to any one doctrine "of the Gospel? But, if we allow the pro- "priety of his requiring all to believe alike in "one, in two, or in ten points, we must be con- "strained to allow that it is equally proper "that he should require all to believe alike in "all points. No reason can be assigned for a "single exception in this case, if the rule of "faith be perfectly right, and altogether in- "telligible."—Emmons's *Convention Sermon* 1804—*Works*, i, 301.

And again: "From this it appears that the "Apostle did not allow the Christians at Rome, "any more than the Christians at Corinth, to "differ in opinion; but if they did differ in "opinion, concerning mere non-essential points, "he exhorted them to exercise mutual love and "forbearance. This is the plain meaning of "the apostle in the fourteenth chapter of Ro- "mans, which is entirely consistent with his "requiring all Christians to 'be perfectly joined "'together in the same mind and in the same "'judgment.'"

And again: "It appears that men are bound "to believe what is true, by the same authority "by which they are bound to do what is right. "They are as much under law to God, in re- "spect to faith, as in respect to practice. They "have no more reason, therefore, to hope that "God will save them, without believing the "doctrines which the gospel contains, than "without performing the duties which the "gospel enjoins. Their future and eternal "happiness as much depends upon the recti- "tude of their faith, as upon the rectitude of "their conduct. It is true that every deviation "from the law of faith will not exclude them "from the kingdom of heaven: nor will every "deviation from the law of love; but there are "some essential doctrines to be believed, as "well as some essential duties to be performed, "in order to obtain eternal life. We have no "right, therefore, to entertain the thought that "it is a matter of indifference what religious "sentiments men embrace; for it appears that "God has suspended his favor and their ever- "lasting happiness, upon the condition of their "believing, as well as loving, the great and "essential doctrines of the gospel."—Emmons's

Convention Sermon, 1804—*Works*, i, 305.

Yet, again: "The notion that men ought "not to blame one another for thinking differ- "ently upon religious subjects, is built upon "the principle that none can really know that "their own sentiments are certainly right. But "this is a false principle; because there is a "plain and infallible rule of faith, which gives "to those who conform to it, certain evidence "of their believing the truth. And a certainty "of being right in sentiment is very different "from the strongest confidence of being so. "Those who embrace error, may be extremely "confident that they embrace the truth, and "they may mistake confidence for certainty. "But should they ever actually embrace the "truth, they will then know that their present "opinion is right, and that their former one was "wrong. Paul verily thought that he knew "the truth, while he rejected the Gospel; but "when he really embraced the Gospel, he knew "that he knew the truth, and that his former "opinion was a gross and dangerous error. The "question among Christians is not, who are "probably, but who are certainly right, in their "belief of the great and fundamental doctrines "of the gospel? There is certainty to be ob- "tained in these points; and all who have "obtained it know that those who differ from "them in these points are certainly wrong. It "is true, indeed, their knowing themselves to "be right, is no proof to others that they are "so; but it authorizes them to say positively "that all who deny the great truths which they "believe, are grossly and criminally erroneous.

"Accordingly the inspired writers everywhere "direct those who embrace the truth, to avoid, "to condemn, and even reject all such as hold "and propagate false and dangerous opinions. "'Cease my son,' says Solomon, 'to hear the "'instruction that causeth to err from the "'words of knowledge.' Paul says to the "Romans, I beseech you brethren, mark them "'which cause divisions and offences contrary "'to the doctrine to which ye have learned, "'and avoid them.'" *Works*, i, 307.

He proceeds to rebuke the entire course of policy that has been so long recommended, in almost stereotyped phraseology, in the annual *Convention Sermons*.

"If there be a propriety in God's requiring "Christians to be united in belief of the truth, "then there appears to be no propriety in at- "tempting to unite them in affection, without "uniting them in sentiment. Many seem to "be much engaged to promote Christian union "and harmony in this way. They warmly urge "us to overlook the vast variety of religious "errors in the Christian world, and to unite in "affection, with all who bear the Christian "name. They would have us give up the "groundless hope of ever becoming united in "sentiment; and to use all our efforts to bring "about mutual love and peace among all the "professors of Christianity. But is this either "a proper or lawful method to obtain the de- "sirable end proposed? * * * * * * * * * *

"But it is hard to conceive how the true be- "liever in the gospel can exercise brotherly "love, to those who appear to disbelieve and "despise the precious truths upon which they "found their hopes of heaven, and in the "contemplation of which they expect the hap- "piness of heaven will chiefly consist. They "can no more exercise brotherly love to such as "disbelieve and deny the essential doctrines "of the gospel, than they can exercise bro- "therly love to such as deny the gospel itself. "Unity of faith is the only proper basis of "the unity of spirit. Christians may be, "and must be united in affection, so far as "they are united in sentiment; but so far as "they are disunited in sentiment, they are and "must be disunited in affection. There is, there- "fore, no propriety, nor prospect of success in "attempting to unite the professed friends of "Christ in brotherly love, without first uniting "them in the belief of the same essential doc- "trines of the gospel."—Emmons's *Works*, I, 308, 309.

It only needed a bold speaker like Doctor Emmons to lead the way, to provoke repeated echoes of the sentiments he urged. In 1806, the Convention Sermon was preached by Doctor Joseph Lyman, of Hatfield. Coming from a distant quarter of the State, where the Liberalism of Boston was little known or appreciated, he might be considered no unfair representative of the old Orthodoxy, bearing testimony against the innovations of sudden error, as well as the sources and the occasions of them. He remarked as follows:

"All our preaching which loses sight of "these doctrines of human depravity, and of "an atonement made for sin by the death of a "Divine Saviour, and of a spiritual union to "him through that faith, which is of the ope- "ration of his spirit; all our preaching, which "eludes these points of gospel doctrine, tends "only to dishonor God, to reproach our Sa- "viour, and to carry the souls of sinners down "the current of delusion and false security to the "gulph of perdition. Let us then follow Christ "by urging and reurging these humbling "doctrines, as we hope to do good to the souls "of men.

"We may, indeed, gain much applause and "favor from a proud and vain world, by "preaching smooth things and prophesying "deceits; by telling sinners what a worthy set

"of beings they are, and how much they can "do to redeem themselves; and how, if they "will view the character of Christ and believe "in him, as a sublime pattern of moral excel- "lence, and will cultivate the good seed "within, they shall attain to perfection and "glory; but alas, we shall offend our Master, "and plunge our own souls and those of our "hearers in ruin. Would we follow our Lord "and his holy Apostles, we must, in our in- "structions, dwell incessantly upon the great "and fundamental doctrines of his sovereign "grace, conferred on sinners through the me- "diation and intercession of a Divine Saviour. "This precious savour of free grace must sea- "son all our public discourses and private "instructions. A different course, it is possi- "ble may better please many; but this course "only will please God, absolve our own con- "sciences, and lead the people of our charge "to the gates of Zion, and a blessed immor- "tality."—Joseph Lyman's *Convention Sermon.* 1806, 19, 20.

In reference to this Sermon, preached in Brattle-street-church, the elder Buckminster wrote to his Son, who was, at the time, absent, "Dr. Lyman, of Hatfield, preached the Con- "vention Sermon in your desk, and delivered "a *concio ad clerum* with his usual indepen- "dence, animation and zeal; and, though it "contained some sentiments a little different "from those which have lately been heard "there, I think they are not different from "what may yet be heard there again."—*Memoirs of the Buckminsters*, 259.

It was coming to be regarded as a matter of courtesy, if not a matter of course, that, in the divided state of theological sentiment, the Convention Sermon should be alternately assigned to representatives of the two opposing parties. In 1807, it was preached by John Reed, of Bridgewater, a clergyman of some note, at one time a member of Congress, and classed on the liberal side. In following Doctor Lyman, he resumed the beaten track of the party he represented. He said:

"There is often abundant reason for *diffidence* "with respect to ourselves, and for *candor* and "*charity* with respect to others. The various "commands and exhortations of Christ and "his Apostles to the exercise of forbearance, "condescension, and charity, are predicated "upon the supposition that there would be a "*diversity* of opinions and practices among "Christians."—John Reed's *Convention Sermon*, 1807, 7.

"Christians are certainly accountable to "Christ, if not to one another, for their reli- "gious opinions, even in those particulars "which are not absolutely essential. It is, "therefore, of importance to have our opinions "founded in truth, and for us to be united in "true opinions. Union in error, although it "might produce unity of affection, would be a "greater calamity than disunion. But *who* "shall determine *what* is *truth*, in these dis- "puted and disputable points? There is no "*father* among us. *We are helpers of, not lords* "*over, each other's faith.* Various experiments "have been already made, in order to effect an "uniformity of opinion, on religious sentiments. "The *rack*, the *stake*, and the *gibbet* have been "tried. Human *Creeds* and *Confessions* have "been tried. Uncharitable *censures* and *anathe-* "*mas* have been tried. Every expedient has "been sufficiently tried, except that *mutual* "*forbearance and charity*, so frequently and so "earnestly recommended by our blessed Sa- "viour and his Apostles."—*Ibid*, 9, 10.

Again: "It was once thought, by many, an "indispensable duty to torment and kill here- "tics, in order to suppress and prevent the "propagation of heresy. For this benevolent "purpose, various instruments of cruelty and "death were invented and used in former pe- "riods. But the public opinion has changed; "and the barbarous practice is laid aside. The "censorious partizan of latter times, actuated, "frequently, by the same spirit and similar "motives, instead of attacking the life of his "brother, attacks his character. Having tip- "ped his tongue with poison, or dipped his "pen in gall, he rashly judges and condemns, "as damnably erroneous, all those persons who "will not adopt his particular opinions. By "these means he endeavors to ruin their in- "fluence, and cause their sentiments to be "suspected, abhorred and avoided."—*Ibid*, 24.

The preacher in the following year, in a more moderate tone, resumed the Orthodox side of the discussion. He designated the doctrines to be accounted fundamental, yet he dealt gently with diversities of sentiment. The following will give some idea of the tone of the *Convention Sermon* for 1808, preached by Daniel Chaplin, of Groton: "The faithful "Minister will preach and dwell on the doc- "trines of revelation which appear to have "been considered, by the sacred writers, as "fundamental and of the greatest importance; "and which have had the most influence on "the minds of men. These doctrines are—The "being and perfections of God—a trinity in "the unity of the Godhead—the eternal di- "vinity of the Son and Spirit—the unchange- "able sovereignty of God in all his operations "—the apostacy and ruin of man, by sin—the "freedom and accountableness of all the hu- "man race—the mission of the Son of God— "the nature and necessity of regeneration by "the influence of the Holy Spirit—justification "by faith in the blood of Christ- the new

"obedience and progressive sanctification of "Christians—the resurrection of the dead— "the final judgment, and the everlasting des- "tination, both of the righteous and the "wicked, according to their respective charac- "ters;—that, to the former, God will grant an "ample salvation, and to the latter he will as- "sign complete and endless destruction. These "doctrines are often brought into view and "urged, as highly interesting, in the Scriptures. "The faithful Minister will therefore pay "much attention to them, carefully explaining "them according to their true import, as rep- "resented by the sacred writers."—Chaplin's *Convention Sermon*, 1808, 13.

"Where there is a difference in speculations, "which are not essential in religion, that dif- "ference ought not to lessen their charity for "one another. And where there is a difference "of opinion or belief, in what may be thought "fundamental Articles of Faith, the differ- "ence, important as it may seem, should not "be magnified; but the varying parties should "rather take pains candidly to settle the real "boundaries of disagreement between them, "approaching as near to each other as they can "with a pure conscience."—*Ibid*, 23.

But while the controversy was exhibiting this annual phase in *Convention Sermons*, it was also taking effect, in other quarters.

In Boston, its history is identified, largely, with the origin of two publications, diverse in aim and character, *The Monthly Anthology* and the *Panoplist*. The former aspired to literary merit, although, under the patronage of the liberal party, it was repeatedly summoned to the tasks of party warfare. The latter was a professedly religious publication; and it was wielded in the exclusive interest of those who regarded, with apprehension, the prevalent liberalism.

It is not correct to represent the founders of the *Anthology* as committed for or against any particular religious system. Doubtless every member of the Club that conducted it was anti-Calvinistic; but not all, probably, were anti-Trinitarian. Willard, in his *Memories*, states that "The Society formed for conducting "the *Anthology*, commonly called the Antholo- "gy Club, consisted, at the time of its organiza- "tion, October 3, 1805, of fourteen members; "namely, J. S. J. Gardiner, William Emerson, "Arthur Maynard Walter, Wm. Smith Shaw, "Samuel Cooper Thacher, Joseph Stevens Buck- "minster, Joseph Tuckerman, William Tudor, "Jr., Peter Thacher, Thomas Gray, William "Wells, Edmund Trowbridge Dana, John Col- "lins Warren, James Jackson. At that time, a "Constitution was formed and adopted; and "the following gentlemen were chosen to fill the "offices named in this instrument; viz. J. S. J. "Gardiner, President; William Emerson, Vice- "president; Arthur M. Walter, Secretary; "William S. Shaw, Treasurer; and Samuel "C. Thacher, Editor."—*Memories* ii. 161.

Willard adds, in regard to the members of the Club: "Six of the number were clergy- "men, two were physicians, three were lawyers, "one was a bookseller and instructor in Latin "and Greek classics, one was a gentleman of "mercantile education, and was employed in "mercantile agencies, but was also a man of "scholarly habits, and one was a gentleman of "learned leisure, who held familiar converse "with English poets and dramatists, and, in "general, was well acquainted with English "literature and European works of art. This "number, fourteen, was increased, from time to "time, as aid became more and more requisite, "in consequence of increasing demands made "upon the professional men, in their respective "callings. In December, 1805, Benjamin Wells "and Robert Hallowell Gardiner were elected "members of the Society. In June, 1806, Rob- "ert Field was chosen; in July, James Savage; "and, in October of the same year, John "Thornton Kirkland. These gentlemen, added "to the original fourteen, and making nineteen "in all, were the only members who constituted "the Anthology Society when it was proposed "to place the library in the hands of trustees." —*Ibid*, ii. 245, 246.

The author of the *Memoirs of the Buckminsters* says: "*The Anthology* was supported by a "society of gentlemen in Boston and Cam- "bridge, consisting of the youngest of the "Clergy and many distinguished laymen. It "was planned in a wholly private manner; and "the business was afterwards conducted at "weekly evening meetings, held, in the begin- "ning, in succession, at the houses of the mem- "bers. This meeting took the name of the "*Anthology Club*. A light supper was allow- "ed; but it was never a convivial club. Per- "haps, it was one of the most agreeable literary "societies that ever existed in Boston; and, "among its members, were some of the most "honored names in every profession. It will "show the almost village character of Boston "society, forty years ago, and the early hours "of fashionable parties, to mention that ladies "would not invite company on *Anthology* even- "ing, because the meeting of the club robbed "them of the presence of the most agreeable "gentlemen."—*Life of the Buckminsters*, 228.

"Among its regular contributors were the "Rev. Mr. Emerson, and Rev. Dr. J. S. J. Gar- "diner, who wrote upon classical themes and "supplied many literary anecdotes; Professor "Willard, of Cambridge, whose articles were

"learned criticisms or reviews; Mr. William "Wells, Mr. Frank Channing, Mr. William "Tudor, were all occasional contributors. A. M. "Walter, Esq., who seems to have been the "darling of a numerous circle of friends, was "one of its most responsible supporters. Then "there were many very pleasant persons who "belonged to the club, who did not contribute "to the pages of its periodical,—drones in the "hive, that were too agreeable to be turned "out. Mr. John Lowell enriched its pages "with his graphic *Letters from Europe*, in a "series, through two or three years. The pa- "pers under the signature of "R." were valu- "able and rich—supposed to have been written "by Mr. Rockwell of Boston. There are many "fugitive papers, sent from regions far from "Boston. Daniel Webster, from the rocky "wilds of New Hampshire, enriched its pages "with his winged thoughts; and some elo- "quent papers upon Greek literature came "from Maine, which proved, as was remarked "at the time, that their author dwelt nearer to "Athens than the editors themselves.* Samuel "Dexter wrote occasionally for its pages; and, "a tardy *Remarker*, full of calm and transpar- "ent thought, proved that Dr. Kirkland could "sometimes, amid serious cares, finish a "lighter production."—*Ibid*, 230, 231.

The tone of successive articles in the *Anthology* gave great offence, in some quarters. The manner in which Kirkland—subsequently President of Harvard-college—in a review of the *Biography of President Wheelock*, to whom his father had sustained very near and intimate relations and to whom he was a kinsman, had spoken of him, was pronounced hostile to evangelical religion. Other articles seemed to breathe something of that spirit of religious Ishmaelitism which characterized the *Edinburgh Review*, just then in the young flush and pride of successful experiment.

One of the most elaborate and noted articles of the *Anthology* was from the pen of the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, who, at a date shortly subsequent, (1811) was called to succeed President Kirkland as Pastor of the New South Church. It was a review of *The Constitution and Associate Statutes of the Theological Seminary in Andover; with a sketch of its Rise and Progress. Published by the Order of its Trustees.* 1808.

Doctor Morse, in the preface to his *Appeal*, gives an account of the origin of the institution: "Immediately after the resignation of "Dr. Pearson, the plan of a Theological Insti- "tution at Andover, begun to be the subject of "conversation, which issued in its final estab- "lishment and organization, in its present "form, in the Autumn of 1808. The design "of this Institution was *mistakenly* considered, "as unfriendly to the interests and prosperity "of Harvard College. On this ground, it was "opposed, with much zeal and bitterness; and "its projectors and patrons were *unjustly* con- "sidered and treated as hostile to the Universi- "ty, particularly by gentlemen who have since "been foremost in the ranks of my adversaries.

"Among the reasons which Dr. Pearson as- "signed to the Overseers for resigning his "office, were the following:

"'Such a gloom is spread over the Universi- "'ty, and such is my view of its internal state "'and external relations and of its radical and "'constitutional maladies, as to alarm all my "'fears and exclude the hope of rendering any "'essential service to the interests of *religion* "'by continuing my connection with it.'"—Morse's *Appeal*, xi, xii.

There were several grounds upon which the new Seminary at Andover invited the criticisms of the liberal party. The institution was founded by a combination of the old Calvinists and the Hopkinsians, thus bringing together, to co-operate against the liberals, two parties who had been long and somewhat fiercely arrayed against each other. Of course, their united action implied, on their part, mutual concession and sacrifice, and the limited adoption of a principle, kindred at least to that which had been so severely reprobated by Doctor Emmons, in his *Convention Sermon*. Nor was this all. The course which had been adopted by the Overseers of Harvard-college, by electing Doctor Ware, seemingly in contempt of Hollis's express provision for an "Orthodox" incumbent, had led the founders of the Seminary to make special provision against any perversion of their trust. This had been done by prescribing a Creed to be accepted by the Seminary Professors, and making such requisitions upon them as would preclude the danger that might arise from any change in them of theological opinion.

Referring to the Creed, Thacher remarked: "No one can mistake the intent of all the "concluding clauses to assert the doctrine, that "the introduction of sin is for the glory of "God and the good of the universe; though "it must be confessed that the address with "which phrases have been selected, which may "possibly bear another meaning, has probably "never been equalled since the destruction of "the Order of the Jesuits."—Thacher's *Review*, 17

He adds. "Its effects must be deadly "to the best feelings of the minds of the Pro- "fessors. This we believe to be the first in- "stance on record of a Creed's being originally "formed with a designed ambiguity of mean

* Charles Davies, Esq, of Portland.

"ing, with the express intention of permitting "men of different opinions to sign it. The "circumstance, which disgraces the old age of "Creeds in other countries, pollutes the infancy "of this. Another particular which distin- "guishes this Creed from any other with which "we are acquainted, is, the *repetition* of the "signature at regular intervals. In other com- "munions, if a man can, at the period of sign- "ing, conscientiously believe the Creed, his "mind is afterwards comparatively free. But "these unhappy men are never out of chains. "It will never be safe for them to exercise their "minds on the objections which may be offered "to the minutest Article of their Creed. Their "interest and their duty must be perpetually at "war. They have a code of propositions put "into their hands, in which all their inquiries "must terminate, under the penalty of the loss "of their station and its advantages. It is "their interest never to *improve* or *modify* any "one of their opinions. Such are the horrible "principles on which this institution is founded, "that the venerable Watts himself, if he had "been a Professor in it, must, in his *old age*, "have been turned on the world, to trust to the "charity of his friends. What must be the effect "of such an institution on the minds of the "Professors, and what its effect on those they "are to instruct? We dare not trust ourselves "with attempting to predict it. We fear that "it is not to be expected, that men of learning "and talents will be prevailed on to accept "professorships, which must fetter, forever, the "freedom of their minds. It is a yoke too "galling to be endured by any man, who has "felt the difficulty of investigating truth; a "yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were "able to bear. In this age of religious light "and liberty, to see an institution rising among "us, which would have disgraced the bigotry "of the dark ages—but we repress our feel- "ings."— Thacher's *Review*, 33–35.

For such an attack as this, the Orthodox party was not altogether unprepared. In July, 1805, only a few weeks after the triumph of the Liberal party had been secured in the election of Doctor Ware, the *Panoplist* commenced its career. It came forth with the prefatory declaration that "the *Panoplist* rises in support "of this faith"—"the faith once delivered to "the saints." Yet it was said, "the sentiments "of no sect or party will be, indiscriminately, "admitted or rejected;" "nothing to recom- "mend one denomination of Christians, or to "throw odium on another: nothing of the "acrimony of contending parties against those "who differ from them, but pure, genuine "Christianity." The *Christian Observer* was its avowed model, the concluding parts of the Address of which were quoted in the preface.

Mr. Tracy, in his *Life of Jeremiah Evarts*, who was, for several years, the leading Editor of the *Panoplist*, states that "the *Panoplist* owed "its existence very much to the Rev. Jedediah "Morse, D.D., of Charlestown, who is under- "stood to have been the principal Editor for "several years, aided, however, and with great "efficiency, both in the commencement and "continuance of the work, by the best writers "among the orthodox Congregationalists of "Massachusetts and the neighboring States. "Every one acquainted with the state of things "in New England, and especially in Massachu- "setts, at that period, knows how important an "influence this work exerted as a vehicle of "evangelical truth and important religious con- "troversy; how much it contributed to sift "opinions, stem the tide of error, diffuse an "enlightened and scriptural piety, and awaken "the disciples of Christ to vigorous exertions "for extending the kingdom of their Lord. Its "establishment will ever be regarded as mark- "ing an era in the religious history of New "England.

"The Congregational churches were then "beset with peculiar difficulties and dangers. "Unitarianism existed to a great extent, but "not in its present open and tangible shape. "Its spirit had become dominant among the "Professors and guardians of Harvard College, "that ancient monument of enlightened piety, "devoted, in the earliest year of New England, "*Christo et Ecclesiæ*, to Christ and the Church. "It was exerting a powerful and ceaseless in- "fluence on the public mind from the heights "of metropolitan literature. It numbered "among its adherents those who gave law to "public opinion in matters of taste and learn "ing. But Unitarianism was not then, as now, "the system of another well-defined body of "men out of the bosom of orthodox Congrega- "tionalism. Its ministers had not, to such ex "tent, appeared before the public, as such; "their own views of Christian doctrine were "doubtless, in many cases, exceedingly vague "and unsettled; and in that transition state, it "was their natural policy to countenance and "cherish the belief that they had not departed "*essentially* from the faith of their fathers and "of their Orthodox brethren.

"The spirit of evangelical piety was hardly "to be found in free and vigorous action in a "single Congregational church in Boston. "Even where such piety existed, its free "growth and natural impulses were checked, "and the influence that it ought to exert was "opposed, more or less, by interests and agen- "cies of another character, in the same church. "Park-street Church was formed in 1809, on

"exclusively evangelical principles; and it was "there only, in Boston, that Congregationalists "who held the faith and cherished the spirit of "the Pilgrim Fathers, could unite their prayers "and efforts for mutual edification and for the "diffusion of truth, in the confidence of meet- "ing such only as were one with themselves in "principle and in feeling. So great a defec- "tion in the metropolis did not exist, of course, "without an extensive corresponding change "in the country. In many of the most impor- "tant towns, the larger and more wealthy "societies had come entirely under the same in- "fluences with those of Boston; and through- "out some large districts, the spirit of true "Christian piety seemed almost to be gone and "past recovery."—*Life of Evarts*, 59–61.

Occasions were not wanting for the exercise of the functions which the *Panoplist* was designed to employ. Publications of various kinds called for animadversion. Reprints of English works, patronized or produced by English Unitarians, found their way to the Boston market; and books which the *Panoplist* did not deign to notice—like a Compilation of the liberal utterances of scores of eminent Divines, not to mention others—showed the Editors with what a force of public opinion and theological prestige, on both sides of the Atlantic, they had to contend.

Among foreign publications, none, perhaps, attracted more notice or invited more animated discussion, than *The Improved Version of the New Testament*, which was published in 1808, and of which Mr. Belsham was the principal Editor. It was severely attacked in the *Quarterly Review*; and Mr. Belsham thought himself called upon to repel the charges, and to expose the cavils and misrepresentations of the anonymous writer. This he did, in two letters which were published in the *Monthly Repository* for 1809, pp. 373 and 415.—*Memoirs of Belsham*, 590.

The article of the English *Eclectic Review* on the improved version was reprinted in this country. It contained the following conclusion in regard to the work: "Though it will be in- "ferred, therefore, from our remarks, that this "work is capable of being rendered useful; "and that to those whom professional duty or "conscientious inclination leads to the exact "study and interpretation of the Scriptures, it "may imperfectly and beneficially supply the "want of Griesbach; we are compelled to add "that the dangerous bias which it is so care- "fully adapted to produce on the minds of "rash, ill-informed, or sceptical readers, forms "a very cogent argument, in addition to our "remarks in the first part of this critique, for "the publication, by authority, of a judiciously "amended version of the sacred Scriptures."—*Eclectic Review* on the *Improved Version*, Pamphlet Reprint, 1810.

One of the earliest theological developments of the time, which the *Panoplist* was called upon to notice, was a Unitarian publication, by the Rev. John Sherman, who had been settled, for several years, as Pastor of the Congregational Church at Mansfield, Connecticut. The account of him given in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* is as follows: "The next individual who "avowed and inculcated Unitarian doctrine, "both from the pulpit and the press, was the "Rev. John Sherman, Pastor of the First Church "in Mansfield, Conn. This aspiring, visionary "and changeable young man was led to re- "nounce the doctrines of the Bible and the "church, and to become a Materialist and Hu- "manitarian, by reading the works of Priestly "and Lindsey. He disclosed his change of "sentiments, to his people, in 1804; and was "dismissed by a mutual Council, in October, "1805. The same year, he published a work "entitled, *One God in one person only, and Jesus "Christ a distinct being from God*; which, "in the language of the *Anthology*, (iii., 249.) "'was one of the *first* acts of direct hostil- "'ity against the orthodox, which has ever "'been committed on these western shores.' "On leaving Mansfield, Mr. Sherman was set- "tled for a few years in the western part of the "State of New York. He afterwards relin- "quished the ministry—went into other em- "ployments—forfeited his moral and religious "character—and not long since died."

A different and fuller account is given in Sprague's *Annals*, by Rev. Abiel Abbot: "As "an evidence that he was not chargeable with "any lukewarmness as to the matter of Ortho- "doxy, he drew up a Confession of Faith, of "the strictest sort, and required that the Church "should sign it, previous to his Ordination. "His reading, up to this time, as he informed "me, had been altogether on the Orthodox "side, consisting of such authors as Horsley, "Jamieson, etc. Some time after his settle- "ment, he procured McKnight's *Commentary on "the Epistles*, and was much struck, not only "with the justice of many of his expositions, "but with the general tone of candour by "which the work seemed to be pervaded. "About this time, he fell in with Dr. Watts's "work on *The Glory of Christ*, which contains "what is commonly called 'the Indwelling "'scheme;" and, for a while, he accepted that, "as what seemed to him a more rational view "of that part of Scripture doctrine than any "he had met with; but this did not render "him obnoxious to his brethren, as several "members of the Association, for a time, at

"least, fully agreed with him. He now met "with Priestley's work in opposition to Hors- "ley; and, on reading it carefully, came to the "conclusion that Priestley had got the better of "the argument. He came to see me about this "time, probably for the same reason that he "had stayed away before,—that he considered "me less orthodox than any other Minister in "his neighborhood. He told me frankly of "his difficulties and scruples, and mentioned "that he had been examining minutely all the "texts bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity, "and writing out explanations of them, that "he might be ready to answer Dr. Dwight, "who he expected would, ere long, call him to "an account.

"After this change in his opinions had oc- "curred, he was, of course, embarrassed by the "Orthodox Creed which he had imposed upon "the Church, previous to his Ordination; but "this difficulty was removed by a vote of the "Church that the acceptance of it should not "be regarded as essential to Communion. The "Church, with the exception of one member, "made no complaint, in respect to him, for some "time.

"The Association with which Mr. Sherman "was connected, having become apprised of his "departure from the accredited faith, appoint- "ed a Committee to converse with him, in "order to ascertain the extent of the change "which his views had undergone. The confer- "ence was held, but resulted in nothing satis- "factory. A second Committee was appointed, "and the result of the interview was as unsatis- "factory as before. The Association now took "the matter in hand, in serious earnest, and "advised to the calling of the Consocia- "tion of Windham-county, and appointed the "Rev. Messrs. Brockway and Ely, the two "senior members of the body, to take the "requisite steps for convening it; and, if the "people of Mansfield would not consent to "their meeting there, (it being understood that "they should themselves pay the expense of "their sojourn among them,) arrangements "should be made for their meeting at Wind- "ham. The Committee wrote to the Church "at Mansfield, according to instructions, and "received for answer that no Consociation ex- "isted in Windham-county, and, even if there "was one, they had no business for any such "body. The Association then met, and, after "having had another unsatisfactory conversa- "tion with Mr. Sherman, voted that he was no "longer a member of their body, and appointed "a Committee to apprise the Church of their "final proceedings in respect to him, at the "same time requesting Mr. Sherman to warn a "Church-meeting for the purpose of their receiv- "ing the proposed communication. Mr. Sher- "man said he would give notice as far as he "could conveniently, without calling a regular "meeting—*that* he declined to do—though, "after a conversation which I had with him on "the subject, he resolved on a different course, "and actually complied with the letter of their "request. The meeting was well attended, "and the letter was accordingly read to them, "stating that, if they persevered in their ad- "herence to Mr. Sherman, the Association "would no longer recognize them as an Evan- "gelical Church. Seven or eight of the mem- "bers of the Church, immediately after this, "consulted Mr. Welch, the Minister of North "Mansfield, as to the proper course to be pur- "sued; and he suggested that they had better "send a Memorial to the Association, asking "their advice, and upon their consenting to "his proposal, he wrote one. The Association "advised the calling of a Council to be com- "posed of members of their own body, after "they had taken the regular steps with their "Pastor; but, as Mr. Sherman, about this time, "visited Trenton, N. Y., he received an invita- "tion to settle there, for a limited time, and "determined to accept it. In consequence of "this, he asked the Society to grant him a dis- "mission, waiving the provision of the con- "tract that he should give them a three "months' notice. The Church consented to "his proposal; and a Mutual Council was called, "consisting of five Ministers and as many Dele- "gates. The Council dismissed him with the "usual recommendation, though taking care to "avoid any thing that looked like a direct "endorsement of his religious opinions."

One phase of the Unitarian controversy, that which had respect to a mutual recognition of ministerial character by an exchange of pulpits, was signally brought out, in connection with the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. John Codman over the Second Church in Dorchester. The facts of the case are given at length by the Rev. Dr. William Allen, in his *Life of Codman*. Something of the state of the Churches, generally, and of the laxness of ecclesiastical order, which extensively prevailed, may be inferred from the *Reminiscences* of Rev. Dr. Joshua Bates, given in the *Life of Codman*: "In some "cases, persons were admitted to church-fellow- "ship without any examination; and in many "of the Churches there was scarcely any for- "mula of union, or barrier against the intrusion "of the thoughtless and impenitent into the "holy of holies, in the Christian sanctuary. "The consequence was, that men of loose opin- "ions and doubtful characters, whenever they "chose, from any worldly consideration, to "make the application, could find a ready ad-

"mittance to some acknowledged Congrega-
"tional Church. Hence persons of all grades of
"sentiments, from the highest point of ultra-
"Calvinism to the lowest point of Arminianism
"—men who adhered to the Puritan faith and
"practice of the fathers of New England, and
"men who scarcely acknowledged the Christian
"Sabbath as a day of holy rest, or prayer as an
"essential Christian duty—men who walked
"circumspectly, in the midst of a perverse gen-
"eration, and men who mingled with an unbe-
"lieving world in all their vain amusements
"and follies—men of habitual seriousness, who
"daily sought the grace of God as their hope
"of salvation, and men who despised and even
"ridiculed this seriousness and reliance on the
"grace of God, were sometimes found in the
"same Church; and notwithstanding their
"diversity of sentiment and character, meet-
"ing together at the same consecrated table of
"the Lord."—*Memoirs of Codman*, 179.

Nor was this all. "No ecclesiastical Coun-
"cil, called even for the simple purpose of Or-
"dination, could act harmoniously and with
"satisfaction to all parties. The different
"views of the members frequently caused jeal-
"ousies, discussions, unpleasant delays, and
"great dissatisfaction. Some desired no exam-
"ination of the candidate, as to sentiment and
"experience, but his own voluntary statement.
"Some were unwilling to go, or suffer others to
"go, in their inquiries, beyond certificates of
"moral character and church-fellowship. It
"was even contended by some, that when a
"Council was called to introduce a man into the
"ministry and ordain him as a Pastor and
"teacher, their whole business was to ascertain
"whether he had been so called to the work,
"and had so answered the call, as to lay the
"foundation of an ecclesiastical relation and a
"legal contract; and then to sanction the rela-
"tion and confirm the contract."—*Memoirs of Codman*, 181.

In this state of things, Doctor Codman, then a young man, of fine ability, cultivated intellect, and eminent piety, was called to the pastorate of the Church at Dorchester. He was well aware of the religious state of the community, at large; and frankly communicated to his people his Orthodox views. He said: "As Arian and Socinian errors have, of
"late years, crept into some of our Churches, I
"think it my duty to declare to that Church of
"Christ of whom I may have the pastoral
"charge, that I believe *the Father, Son, and*
"*Holy Ghost, to be the one living and true God;*
"and that my faith, in general, is conformable to
"the *Assembly's Catechism* and to the *Confession*
"*of Faith* drawn up by the Elders and Messen-
"gers of the Congregational Churches, in the
"year 1680, and recommended to the Churches
"by the General Court of Massachusetts.

"With regard to the discipline of the
"Church, I shall be guided by that excellent
"*Platform of Church Discipline*, drawn up at
"Cambridge, principally by the Rev. Richard
"Mather, formerly Minister of Dorchester."—*Ibid*, 70.

"But, notwithstanding this explicit and
"frank communication, the call was renewed,
"and the included request, to substitute Watts's
"Hymns for those of Belknap, complied with."—*Ibid*, 185.

In respect for long-established usage, Doctor Codman read a statement of his belief before the ordaining Council. It was decidedly Calvinistic, the following paragraph exhibiting his views on the subject of the Trinity: "I
"believe that the Scriptures reveal, as a *funda-*
"*mental* doctrine, that there are Three in the
"Godhead; the Father, the Son, and the Holy
"Ghost; and that these Three are the One liv-
"ing and true God, the true Jehovah, the
"Christian's covenanted God, the only proper
"object of religious worship; and, although
"this doctrine is above my reason, I believe it
"is not contrary to it, but is to be received
"with meekness and humility, to be spoken of
"with reverence and godly fear, and always to
"be considered as a mystery, which to attempt
"to explain, is presumption, and which to
"comprehend, is above the capacity of finite
"beings."—*Ibid*, 75.

It was not long before the elements of disaffection began to ferment. Doctor Codman's Sermons were doubtless of a somewhat different type from that to which his people had, for the most part, been accustomed. But to these no formal objection was made. "The controversy
"which ensued, assumed at the outset, the os-
"tensible form of a question, 'Whether he had
"'the right of refusing to exchange pulpits,
"'indiscriminately, with the neighboring Min-
"'isters, with some of whom he did not agree
"'in religious sentiment, and whose teachings
"'he did not think could be profitable to the
"'souls of his people?' At a Parish meeting
"it was voted, that he 'be requested to ex-
"'change with the Ministers who compose the
"'Boston Association.'

"His reply was in accordance with his reserv-
"ed rights, in his letter accepting his call, that
"he could not 'pledge himself to exchange
"'pulpits with any man, or any body of men,
"'whatever.' He added: 'At the same time,
"'you may rest assured that, in my exchanges,
"'as in every part of my ministerial duty, it
"'will be my endeavor, as it always has been,
"'to conciliate the affections and to promote
"'the peace and happiness, but especially the

"'spiritual welfare, of the people committed to "'my charge.'

"In consequence of this reply, the Parish "voted, by a small majority, that the connec- "tion between them and their Minister, 'be- "'come extinct.' This, of course, was not in "itself an effective measure. In the progress "of the proceedings, at this period, seventy- "three male members of his Parish presented "to him an affectionate Address. This was "followed by an Address, admirably written, "from one hundred and eighty-one female "members of his Parish."—*Ibid*, 83, 84.

A mutual Council was called, and able Coun- sel were employed on both sides. "There "were various charges of imprudence or im- "morality, but their inventors did not seem to "attach any importance to them; and the "agents of the Parish declared, in the public "hearing, that if the affair of exchanges was "yielded, all other difficulties could be settled "in five minutes. In the result, the charges, in "general, were pronounced 'not supported,' or "unimportant. The great question was, "'Whether Mr. Codman should be censured "'for his course in regard to exchanges?' And, "on this, the Court were equally divided."— *Ibid*, 87, 88.

The opponents of Doctor Codman, dissatis- fied with the futile result of the first Council "demanded another Mutual Council, on the "failure of which proposition, the Parish Com- "mittee was instructed to call an *ex parte* "Council, and submit to it two questions: "First, 'Whether Mr. Codman had not given "'just cause of complaint in regard to ex- "'changes?' Secondly, 'Whether his dismis- "'sion should not take place, on account of "'the divided and unhappy state of the Par- "'ish?'"—*Ibid*, 91.

"The second Council, which met on May 12, "1812, consisted of nine Ministers, four of "whom were chosen by Mr. Codman and his "friends, and four by his opponents. Rev. "Dr. Lathrop, of West Springfield, was chosen "Moderator and umpire."

But this second Mutual Council, by the casting vote of the Moderator, decided in Doctor Codman's favor, the Moderator justify- ing his course by the expression of his confi- dence that an accommodating spirit would prevail, and Doctor Codman favor his people with an enlarged system of ministerial ex- change. But Doctor Codman was not disposed to surrender his right to exchange, as his views of duty required. The steps which he took to carry out Doctor Lathrop's suggestions failed to give satisfaction. "The Parish Committee "still insisted that Mr. Codman should ex- "change with twelve Ministers, whom they "named. Although he actually exchanged "with two of them, this did not satisfy his "opponents."—*Ibid*, 95.

"The difficulties were not ended, but matters "soon came to a crisis. At a meeting of the "Parish, Nov. 24, 1812, it was again voted "by the Parish to dismiss their Pastor. On "the following Sunday, they placed another "Minister in the pulpit, with a guard on the "pulpit-stairs, so that Mr. Codman was obliged "to preach from the platform, below the pul- "pit; and, after preaching, he retired with his "congregation. The Parish preacher then "went through his services; and, in the af- "ternoon, performed a second service, at the "close of which, Mr. Codman regained his pul- "pit and went through his usual labors, hav- "ing some hundreds of hearers; while the oth- "er preacher, much to the confusion of the "opposition, had only about fifty.

"This strange and unheard of outrage was "so revolting to the public sense of decorum, "in the minds of men of all religious denomin- "ations, that the opposers of Mr. Codman, by "this step, annihilated, at once, their own "power and gave to him the triumph. They "soon agreed to sell their pews and retire from "the Parish. And thus was the Pastor left "perfectly free on the subject of exchanges; "and the Parish now voted as follows: 'As it "'is the important privilege of the Christian "'Minister to regulate his exchanges with his "'brethren according to the unbiased dic- "'tates of his own mind and conscience, we "'think it expedient that the Parish should "'agree, that Mr. Codman should not be confin- "'ed in his exchanges, the advice of any "'Council or member thereof notwithstand- "'ing; as the advice that was given was upon "'the expectation, that the disaffected were to "'continue active members of the Parish, "'which is not now the case; and that the ex- "'ercise of this privilege shall not again be "'made the subject of complaint before an "'ecclesiastical Council, in this Parish.'

"It appears that, at this time, of one hun- "dred and fifty church members, all but seven "or eight were anxious to retain their Pastor; "which may show how very unjust and op- "pressive, in respect to the Church, would have "been the triumph of the opposers of the "Minister in the Parish."—*Ibid*, 49.

While the Dorchester controversy was pend- ing, the influences which prepared the way for an open development of Unitarian sentiment were in active operation. *The Spirit of the Pilgrims* (ii. 296) states that "In one year "(1809) were published Fellowes' *Religion* "*without Cant*, with a new title and slight al- "terations; the *Improved Version of the New* "*Testament;* Belsham's *Letters on the character*

"*and writings of Dr. Priestley;* and, probably, "others of the like description."

But as to the real state of theological sentiment, at least in his own neighborhood, no one was better qualified, at this date, (1809) to testify than the Pastor of the Brattle-street-church. His letters to Belsham enable us to observe with his eyes and form our own judgment. His own theological position, as well as that of his brethren in sympathy with him, can be readily inferred. To Belsham he writes: "Do you wish to hear any thing of American "Theology? I can tell you that, except in the "little town of Boston and its vicinity, there "cannot be collected from any span of one "hundred miles, six Clergymen who have any "conceptions of rational theology, and who "would not shrink from the suspicion of anti-"trinitarianism, in any shape.

"In the Southern and Middle States, where "are to be found the most popular Clergy, who "have what the French call '*onction*' and we "'*cant*,' the higher orders of people are infi-"dels; the lower, fanatics; the preachers, "Scotch Calvinists. It is the prevailing idea, "all over the United States, that the Clergy of "Boston are little better than Deists."—*Letter of Buckminster, Feb.* 5, 1809, in the *Memoir of Belsham*, 593.

"The State of Connecticut, the greater part "of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, are "filled with what we call Hopkinsian Clergy-"men, or the followers of Jonathan Edwards "and others (especially Dr. Hopkins) who "pushed the first tenets of Calvinism only to "their natural consequence. A new theologi-"cal institution, under the direction of Minis-"ters of their description, has just been en-"dowed and opened within thirty miles of "Boston; its funds are derived from the extra-"ordinary munificence of three or four well-"meaning men, who think to support the "cause of Orthodoxy, which has been very "much declining under the influence of good "sense and liberal Ministers. However, the "most bigoted and exclusive spirit of Calvin-"ism seems now reviving, and, perhaps, gain-"ing ground, even in Boston. I have been, for "many months, exposed to some of its dead-"liest shafts, in consequence of a little Collec-"tion of Hymns, unorthodox, not heterodox, "which I have made for the use of my Society. "However, we shall stand our ground very "firmly, in Boston. There is no place on the "face of the globe where so much attention is "paid to Ministers, by all ranks, especially the "most polished. Those very men who, in "New York and Philadelphia, would probably "be infidels, because they could not be Calvin-"ists, are among us, in Boston, rational Chris-"tians; the most intimate friends of the Cler-"gy; and, not a few, *professors* of Christianity. "Our only danger is in our security and "strength."—*Ibid.*

"Our American edition of Griesbach is "nearly printed at the University Press, at "Cambridge. I shall take the trouble of com-"piling and collecting a supplementary vol-"ume, to contain a translation of his *Prolego-"mena*, the authorities for his variations, and "some miscellaneous matter, which I hope to "make useful to theological students.

"We are reprinting your edition of Newcome, "though without much encouragement, which, "indeed, can hardly be expected. But it is a "great thing to have a book accessible and in "print."—*Ibid.*

"I am always mortified when I find you ex-"pressing such confident expectations of Amer-"ica, and such high sentiments of its religious "freedom and spirit of improvement. The "truth is, that, except in Boston and its imme-"diate vicinity, the most bigoted Calvinism "prevails among the regular part of the Clergy; "and the Baptists and Methodists, of every "description, are the only sectarians known. "The Presbyterian Churches, in New York, are "not less narrow and intolerant than the most "despotic portion of the original Kirk of Scot-"land; and, what is yet more to be lamented, "the Congregational Churches of Connecticut "and Vermont have formed a partial union "with the Presbyterian-church in the United "States, and sent Deputies to the General As-"sembly at Philadelphia. We are, as yet, in-"dependent, in Massachusetts; and, though "with some inconveniences, retain our old "Congregational connexion, subject to no Plat-"form, subscribers to no Articles, and united "only so far as we please with one another, ex-"changing with whom we please, and acting "with those only with whom we find we can "best agree. But there is, among us, an in-"creasing party of Calvinists and Hopkinsians, "who wish to promote a more *exclusive* union, "on the basis of the *Westminster Confession of "Faith*, and who will, therefore, form a schism "in our Congregational connexion and separate "from *us*, and probably send Delegates to the "General Assembly. They are not yet the ma-"jority in our State, and it is much hoped they "never will be."—*Memoirs of Belsham*, 596, 597.

"I have barely time, at present, to inclose a "small parcel, consisting of some late Sermons "by Clergymen of this town and its vicinity— "that of Dr. Griffin will give you a specimen "of the tenets and talents of the bigoted Cal-"vinists, who have built a very handsome new "Chapel, and are making great exertions to "perpetuate and extend their doctrines. Vain "hope! Their place of worship must follow

"the fate of other places of worship in this "town, established to perpetuate the most rigid "principles of the Scotch Presbyterian and the "English Episcopal Churches; all the zeal and "jealous foresight of whose founders have not "availed to prevent their becoming Unitarian "Chapels, almost before they (the founders) "were cold in their graves."—*Buckminster's Letter, Dec.* 1809, in the *Memoir of Belsham*, 598.

In 1810, John Thornton Kirkland, who, from 1794, had been Pastor of the Summer-street-church, in Boston, was called to the Presidency of Harvard-college, as the successor of President Webber. Possessed of rare intellectual and moral gifts, with a remarkable fascination of manner and a power of discerning the character and controlling the motives of others, in which he stood pre-eminent, his influence, in connection with the College, contributed largely to prepare the way for the Unitarian developement that was soon to take place.

A writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* (ii. 477) says: "Of the measures taken to promote Uni- "tarianism in College, during the Presidency "of Dr. Kirkland, suffice it to say, that all pos- "sible means were used. Periodicals were es- "tablished; books, in great numbers and variety, "were patronized and published; very large "sums of money were, in some way, expended; "Unitarian officers were appointed; and the "work of innovation was carried on, until the "whole concern was revolutionized."

The Rev. Mr. Young, in his *Discourse on the Life and Character of President Kirkland*, (p. 45) remarks: "Dr. Kirkland's favorite study, the "one in which he excelled and had made the "greatest proficiency, was unquestionably Eth- "ics; and his favorite writer, in this depart- "ment, was Abraham Tucker, the ingenious "author of *The Light of Nature pursued*."

He adds: "His influence on the students was "no less remarkable than on the teachers. Be- "fore he went to Cambridge, he had a strong "impression that the pupils of a College may "be better managed by addressing their affec- "tions and appealing to their sense of honor "and right, than by threats and penalties. His "gentle spirit always leaned to moderation. It "was 'the silken string running through the "'pearl chain of all his virtues.' Accordingly, "he began by treating them as young gentle- "men, and leading them to regard him as their "friend. His whole intercourse with them was "suited to inspire them with mingled reverence "and affection, and to stimulate them to culti- "vate those elegant letters, the benign effects of "which they witnessed in his refined mind, and "polished language, and courtly, address."—Young's *Discourse*, 53.

Still again, he says: "Dr. Kirkland did not "sink the Clergyman in the President. He still "took the liveliest interest in the Church. He "did not forget that the College was primarily "and chiefly designed to educate Christian "Ministers and to supply the Churches with "able and pious Pastors. He recollected that "it was originally a theological institution, and "was dedicated to 'Christ and the Church.' "And, although, in the course of time and the "growth of the country, things had somewhat "changed, and the School of the Prophets had "grown into a University, he still regarded it "as one of the most important and sacred ob- "jects of the Seminary. Under his adminis- "tration, the Theological Faculty was separa- "ted from the College; new Professors were "added to it; Divinity Hall was erected; the "Society for promoting Theological Educa- "tion, in Harvard University, was formed; "and a fund of forty thousand dollars was ob- "tained and devoted to this special purpose." —*Ibid*, 57.

His influence upon the Ministers and, through them, upon the community, is also noted. "Standing, as he did, at the head of the Cler- "gy, he was looked up to, by them, with un- "mingled reverence and affection, as one of "themselves. They regarded him as presiding, "not over the interests of learning and educa- "tion, merely, but over the interests of religion "throughout the Commonwealth. When they "came up, annually, to Cambridge, at the "great literary festival of the Institution, his "house was the gathering place of their tribe; "and they visited him as their brother. On "the other hand, the President being the spir- "itual guide and counsellor of the graduates, "who were destined for the Church and prepar- "ing for the ministry, whenever they left to "take charge of Parishes, in various parts of "New England, he was invited to be present "and assist in the services. His attendance "was always solicited and expected; and, gen- "erally, obtained. It was thought that an Or- "dination could hardly go on in a regular way, "that was not sanctioned by the authority and "and graced by the presence of the President "of the University. At such times, he met "many of his brethren in the sacred office; and "revived his intimacy with them; and did not "fail to remind them of old Harvard. The "people, too, who attended the Ordination, "generally found out that the Clergyman with "the benignant countenance, and winning "manners, and delightful conversation, was "the President of the College. Their sons, "engaged in their preparatory studies, saw, in "him, their future guardian and patron. The "Minister ordained, coming forth from Cam- "bridge with ardent attachments to it and to

" its head, naturally diffused the same feelings " through the minds of these young men and " their parents; and the consequence was, that " the thought never entered their heads that " they could go to any other place than Har- " vard University for a collegiate education. " Young men of bright minds, but narrow re- " sources, were found out by the Minister, and " were encouraged to fit themselves for College; " and, when prepared, were sent to Cam- " bridge, with a letter to the President, which " was sure to obtain for them the means of go- " ing through the academic course."–*Ibid* 60, 61.

To this may be appended the tribute paid to the memory of President Kirkland, by the biographer of Chief-justice Parsons, (*Memoirs*, 288). "Dr. Kirkland was not a man of pro- " found learning, nor of a great variety of ac- " quirements. Although he was capable of con- " siderable application, for a time, his habits " were not those of a student, and, indeed, his " general indolence was obvious and undenia- " ble. But he had a knowledge of character, " a power of penetrating into motives and pur- " poses, and a sagacity in his judgment of " persons and of things; and, in his adapta- " tion of means to an end, which, within my " own observertion, have never been equalled. " This vigorous and penetrative intellect, " which gave him a great mastery over all who " approached him, was never, with him, a ser- " vant of ambition, either in the form of love " of fame or love of power. To these things " he was indifferent. The characteristic which " marked him out, from other men, and made " him one of the most conspicuous men of his " age, was the marvelous union of intellectual " force and faculties surpassed by none, with " the most simple and unassuming manners, " and a kindness—a warm, affectionate, univer- " sal, and unfailing kindness."

It is not strange that many who had been, hitherto, the friends of Harvard-college, should regard, with apprehension, the character of the influence which it was henceforth destined to exert. The alarm was increased when Doctor Griffin, recently settled as Pastor of the new Park-street-church, in Boston, insisted upon his right to a seat in the Board of Overseers of Harvard-college, and was repelled, his claim being referred to a Committee. The subsequent changes effected by the Legislature, at the instance of persons soon to be recognized as leading and avowed Unitarians, in the Charter of the College, seemed, to many, to intimate the plain purpose, on the part of the friends of Doctor Kirkland, to retain the control of it in their own hands. *

A degree of personal exasperation was produced, at about this time, by an affair in which the Rev. Doctor Morse, of Charlestown, was concerned. In publishing a small volume on the *History of New England*, he was represented as trespassing on the rights, and doing injustice to the claims of, Miss Hannah Adams, a lady who, in somewhat dependent circumstances, had issued a larger, and was, preparing to bring out an abridged, *History of the United States*. Doctor Morse was represented as taking advantage of her helplessness, and pre-occupying the market with a work which thereby excluded her's from the prospect of success.

A Committee of award, to whom the matter was referred, came to a conclusion which, on the two sides, was diversedly interpreted. Upon application, by Doctor Morse, for a clearer statement, it was intimated to him, by the Committee, that the idea of a pecuniary indemnity was included in the "valuable " consideration" of their award. Doctor Morse professed his earnest desire to do justice; but he could not consent, by the payment of any sum of money, to admit that he had committed any offence which required such a form of satisfaction. He had issued his own book in good faith, in utter ignorance of the intentions of Miss Adams. He had arrested the sale of the second edition, to avoid giving any new offense. He professed his readiness to co-operate with the gentlemen who most blamed his conduct, in making provision for Miss Adams's comfort.

* " An Act passed in 1810, prepared by the late Chief- " justice Parsons, which he declared to a Member of the " Legislature, he had held in readiness for more than two " years, waiting for a safe opportunity to bring it forward, " according to which the Board was to consist of the Pres- " ident of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Repre- " sentatives, and an elective body of fifteen Clergymen " and fifteen laymen, with power to fill their own vacan- " cies. By this law, Unitarianism was virtually enthroned " at Cambridge, and the way prepared for its perpetual " dominion. It was soon found, however, that what the " Legislature could do, the Legislature could undo; as, in " 1812, the new order of things was totally abolished, and " the Governmeat of the College restored to its former " standing. Only two years after, the law of 1810, with " some alterations, was revived. According to this enact- " ment, which is still in force, the Board of Overseers " consists of the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, the Coun- " cil. Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, " and an elective body of thirty persons, having power to " fill their own vacancies.

" The circumstances under which this Act was introduc- " ed, were very extraordinary. The Rev. Dr. Griffin had " been, for some time, Pastor of a Congregational Church, " in Boston, and, as such, by the express language of the " Constitution, a member of the Board of Overseers of " Harvard-college. No notice, however, was taken of " of him, nor was he apprized of the time or place of any " meetings. At length, he went, unasked, and claimed his " seat as a member of the Board. His claim was disputed, " and the subject referred to a Committee, a majority of " whom reported in favor of Dr. Griffin. Still, his right " was not allowed him; an adjournment was called for, to " save time; and, in the interval, the law of which we are " speaking, was whipped through the Legislature, obviously " for the purpose of excluding Dr. Griffin, and preventing " others, of similar sentiments, from evermore obtaining " seats in the old established way, as overseers of Har- " vard-college."—*Spirit of Pilgrims*, ii., 479.

But, in his own view of the case, the publication of his pamphlet, *True Reasons, etc.*, in 1805, had been his great offence, for which he was now called to suffer. He had incurred an odium which could be meted out to him, more plausibly, in connection with the affair of Miss Adams, than in connection with his opposition to the election of Doctor Ware, or his responsibility for the earlier volumes of the *Panoplist*. He was, among the Orthodox, the leading offender. Year after year, he felt that he was persistently persecuted. His name was paraded in papers and pamphlets; and his moral character was traduced as something odious. When, at a later date, his book and that of Miss Adams were carefully compared and examined, and it was found that the work of the latter had been—at least something like thirty per cent. of it—transferred from Ramsey, with only, here and there, the change of a word or the transposition of a clause, and these facts were spread before the community, the controversy came to a sudden close; and it is not known that another printed line helped to prolong the strife.

In his *Appeal* (1814), Doctor Morse takes occasion to show how a matter of a personal kind had been transformed into one of public interest. Under the conviction that his peace and usefulness had been well-nigh destroyed by the studious and over officious efforts of men whom he had provoked and alienated, by his opposition to the election of Dr. Ware, he recognized in them, not the champions, however mistaken, of injured innocence, but theological opponents who employed against him, not the legitimate weapons of argument, but the poisoned arrows of slander.

He states, in his *Appeal*, some of the reasons which convinced him of the necessity of its publication. "In November, 1812, another "friend, "urging me against an appeal to the public, "which I then contemplated, and alluding to "the 'power of popular prejudice,' writes "thus—'I will give you an instance in one "'who had no prejudice of his own. He men-"'tioned that it was *astonishing* how much the "'public were disaffected toward you, that "'your many virtues were buried in the affairs "'of——and *True Reasons*.'"

"Another letter, from another source, and "about the same date, addressed to a friend of "mine, has the following passage, 'So decid-"'edly and strongly is the tide of public "'opinion against *Dr. M.*'" [*mark the reason assigned*,] "'ON ACCOUNT OF THE DECISIVE PART "'HE HAS TAKEN IN THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS, "'and, as far as known, on account of the "'*open attacks on his character*, &c.' These letters are all from persons who move in the "circles of the *opposition*; who are conversant "with their opinions; who know their feel-"ings; and who are credible witnesses of "what they relate. If such, in truth, was the "state of *public* opinion, so far as respected the "opposers of Orthodoxy, and all whom they "could influence, was it not time for me to at-"tempt, at least, to correct this public opinion, "by a statement of facts,—by a refutation of "calumnies? If this shall have no effect to "change determined opposers, it may, at least, "prevent their influence in perverting and al-"ienating friends and the upright and fair-"minded in the community. It may check "the tide of calumny and, ultimately, turn it "against those who have wickedly put it in "motion."—Morse's *Appeal*, 55, 56.

In other instances, besides his own experience, he points out manifestations of what he regards as a persecuting spirit. "The spirit "and artifices of modern Unitarians, in this "region, have been manifested in acts of per-"secution, not only against me, personally, in "the instances brought into view in this pam-"phlet, and in many others, which I omit here "to specify, but which I may have occasion, "hereafter, to state; but also against Rev. Mr. "Codman, the Theological Institution at Ando-"ver, Park-street-church, in Boston, and its "Pastor, the Rev. Dr. Griffin, in the recent at-"tempts to prevent his obtaining a seat at the "Board of Overseers of the College. In these "prominent instances, and in many other ways, "visible to attentive observers, has this spirit "shown itself, in occurrences of greater or less "interest in this region, particularly for the "last twenty years."—*Ibid*, 182.

It is, of course, impossible to notice, at length, the documents or evidences in support of his assertions, produced by Doctor Morse. After presenting them, however, he remarks: "In "the preceding documents will be found, if I "mistake not, abundant evidence, that the "University at Cambridge has, since the death "of the late learned, amiable and excellent "President Willard, and his equally worthy "contemporary, Professor Tappan, undergone "an entire and very important revolution, in "its *religious character*. This is a fact, which "I trust no one will undertake to deny. By "those who have effected this revolution, and "who now contol this institution, the change "alluded to will be admitted and, probably, "gloried in, as a great improvement. *They* "doubtless, so consider it. But others, who, I "trust, are yet the great majority in New Eng-"land, who maintain, as the truth, the same "faith with that of the pious and venerable "Founders and subsequent Benefactors and

"Patrons of this Seminary, as well as of its "successive Instructors and Governors, down "to the late President Willard, have very dif- "ferent ideas on this subject. They consider "this change, as an unauthorized, *unconstitu- "tional*, and very injurious *perversion* of the "funds of the institution; as subverting the "great and pious designs of its founders and "benefactors; as converting the means which "they had provided, in their solicitude for the "welfare of their posterity, by their sacrifices "and their prayers, for the support of what "they considered the *pure faith* of the Gospel, "into means for *undermining* and *overthrowing* "this very faith; as seizing, by stratagem, the "Armory which they had established and fur- "nished for the defence and security of Zion, "in this New World, and employing all its "means for these purposes, to mar her beauty, "destroy her foundations, and lay her waste."—*Ibid*, 183, 184.

"Should I be asked, whence these fears? "Why this alarm? Where are the evidences "of this defection from the ancient faith? of "this threatening change in the religious char- "acter of the College? I direct such inquirer "to the evidence furnished in the preceding "pages. I point him to the *Anthology*, a work "edited and patronized by the leaders of the "party who effected this revolution, and which "ultimately sunk under the weight of its own "sins. I point him to *The General Repository "and Review*, the successor of the *Anthology*; "possessing the same character and spirit; dif- "fering in little else than its size and its name; "and issued *from the very walls of the College*; "*edited by one of its officers*; and supported by "others of that body. I risk nothing, when I "assert that the religious principles advocated "in these works are in *direct hostility* to the "faith of the Founders of the College and to "that of a very large part of its respectable "and liberal benefactors; and that one object "of these publications was, and is, to oppose, "to render odious and ridiculous, in the view "of the public, and, were it possible, to over- "throw, this faith, and to introduce, in its "place, what the Orthodox have alway, con- "sidered, *another Gospel*.

"I point also to the *Improved version of the "New Testament*, as it is styled, an edition of "which has been published and sold in Boston, "under the auspices of those who have a con- "trolling influence over the College. These "publications, without adverting to other "facts, which exist in abundance, sufficiently "indicate, that a great and important change "has taken place in the religious character of "the University; and they indicate, also, the "nature of that change. The tree is known "by its fruits; the fountain by its streams."—*Ibid*, 184, 185.

On the other hand, the "Liberal" party contended that their opponents were no more entitled than themselves to be called "Ortho- "dox," in the sense which they gave to Mr. Hollis's words. In *The Narrative of the Controversy between Dr. Ware and the Author*, by Miss Adams, published in 1814, it was said: "The point decided by the election of Dr. "Ware was this, that, in order to determine, "whether a man has the requisite qualifica- "tions for filling the theological chair, it is "not necessary to inquire, whether his opin- "ions, on subjects on which pious Christians "are divided in sentiment, correspond exactly "with the opinions of Mr. Hollis or with those "of the Westminster Divines; but, simply, "whether he is a man of acknowledged piety, "learning, talents, and benevolence. This is "the utmost, that the revolution in Harvard- "college, as Dr. M. is pleased to call it, amounts "to."—*Page* 21.

Again, "Now the doctrine of 'imputation,' "was as certainly among his" [*Hollis's*] "opin- "ions, as any other named by Dr. Morse, and "must be believed equally with the rest. But "this doctrine, every one knows, is given up, "universally, by the Hopkinsian Clergy, and, "we believe we may say, is now never preached, "at least in its original form, in any pulpit in "New England. On Dr. Morse's principle, "then, no *Professor at Andover* is 'sound or or- "'thodox' enough to be chosen the Hollis Pro- "fessor at Cambridge! Indeed, it is much to "be doubted, whether any respectable Clergy- "man, of any sect, can be found in the State, "who could conscientiously accept the Chair "on condition of subscribing to this article! "So absurd are the plain and inevitable conse- "quences of the precepts which Dr. Morse "would set up."—*Ibid*, 23, 24.

Again, "Never, we confidently say, never, "did a brighter day dawn on the College than "now illumes it. Never was it more sincerely "devoted to Christ and the Church. They "only, whose opinions will not bear examina- "tion, who fear the effects of honest and un- "biassed inquiry, can view, with alarm, the "system of theological education, which is "now established at Cambridge."—*Ibid*, 24,

It was in 1812, that Doctor Morse preached the annual Convention Sermon. It is quite moderate, although, by no means, wavering in tone, when we consider his relation to the pending controversy and the language which was used by some of the preachers who had almost immediately preceded him.

The Convention Sermon of 1810 was preached by the Rev. Eliphalet Porter, of Roxbury

It reduced to a minimum, the list of doctrines to be accounted fundamental; and, in the eyes of its critics, was but a transparent Trojan-horse in which to introduce into the City of God the fatal foe. It challenged very general attention; and, on account of its importance, will afford us extended extracts. Doctor Porter asks:

"What are we to think, not of those doc-
" trines, which have been exploded by protest-
" ants, and which have had, and now have,
" their turn of being viewed as essentials more
" extensively than any others, but of those dis-
" puted Articles of Faith which have been re-
" tained, or taught and required, in the Cate-
" chisms and Confessions of Protestant and
" Reformed Churches, and in particular among
" ourselves? Or, to be more explicit still, for
" I wish to be understood, what are we to think
" of the doctrines of original sin and total de-
" pravity; of imputation of sin and righteous-
" ness; of a trinity in unity; of the mere hu-
" manity, superangelical nature, or absolute
" deity of Christ; of particular and general re-
" demption; of unconditional decrees; of
" personal election and reprobation; of moral
" inability and the total passiveness of man in
" regeneration; of the special and irresistible
" operation of the Holy Spirit; of perseverance,
" or the impossibility of the believer's total
" apostacy; and, to mention no more, the abso-
" lute eternity of the torments to which the
" wicked will be sentenced at the last day?

" My individual belief, in respect to the truth
" or error of these points, can be of but little
" importance, and my subject no way requires
" that it should be given. It rather becomes
" me to follow the example which has been
" sometimes set by learned Judges on the
" Bench, when difficult questions suggested
" themselves, but whose decision the main sub-
" ject before them did not require, and pru-
" dently say, '*Neque tenes, neque refello.*' But
" it is pertinent to the object of this discourse
" and consonant to my serious and deliberate
" conviction, to observe, that I cannot place
" my finger on any one Article in the list of
" doctrines just mentioned, the belief or the re-
" jection of which I consider as essential to the
" Christian faith or character. I believe that an
" innumerable company of Christians, who
" never heard of these Articles, or who were
" divided in their opinions respecting them,
" have fallen asleep in Jesus; and that in-
" numerable of the same description are fol-
" lowing after."—Porter's *Convention Sermon*, 1810, 19, 20.

" Forasmuch as many, on this anniversary, or
" on other public occasions, have taken in hand
" to set forth in order a declaration of those
" more complex and mysterious doctrines which
" they suppose are to be most surely believed
" among us, I have thought that I might be
" more readily indulged in the preceding ob-
" servations, tending to illustrate and defend
" what I conceive to be 'the simplicity that is
" 'in Christ.'"—*Ibid*, 23, 24.

" Let us seriously review the religious Creeds
" and Church-covenants which are in use
" among us, and satisfy ourselves, not merely
" that they contain no Articles but may
" be proved by Scripture; but that they
" contain none which are unessential, or else
" discard them as unauthorized tests of
" the qualifications necessary to Christian
" communion and charity. To every symbol
" of faith, drawn up in the words which
" man's wisdom teacheth, in preference to
" those which the Holy Ghost teacheth, may
" we not justly apply the reasoning of the
" prophet. 'The hand of the workman hath
" 'made it, therefore it is not God.'"—*Ibid*, 29.

" Charity is greater than faith, and than all
" other Christian virtues. Let us cultivate it
" with sincerity and ardor; be at peace among
" ourselves; and study to promote each other's
" reputation, usefulness, and comfort.

" If there are any who are disposed to cast
" on us the reproach of heresy; to withhold
" from us ministerial or Christian communion;
" and to cause divisions and separations among
" our Churches, or their Pastors, let us not re-
" tort their accusations, nor imitate their con-
" duct. But, while we love and esteem them
" as Christian brethren, professors of the com-
" mon faith, and heirs of the common salva-
" tion, it does not become us, tamely, to surren-
" der our own reputation and standing, as
" Christians or Christian Ministers. It is rath-
" er our duty to follow the example of the
" Apostle Paul, in a similar case, and to adopt
" the language, which he employed, on behalf
" of himself and his friends, when his and
" their influence and Christian character were
" attempted to be destroyed. 'If any man
" 'trust to himself, that he is Christ's, let him,
" 'of himself, think this again, that, as he is
" 'Christ's, even so are we Christ's.'"—*Ibid*, 33.

"In the Convention Sermon of 1811, the speaker, Reuben Puffer, gave expression to fears which agitated many hearts beside his own:
" While Christ is recommended as a preacher or
" righteousness, let him also be held up to the
" view of sinners, as a Redeemer, in whose aton-
" ing blood their sins must be washed away,
" by the sanctifying influence of whose word
" and spirit they must be prepared for heaven.
" Let Christian practice be built on Christian
" principles. Let good works be enforced by
" gospel motives."—Puffer's *Convention Sermon*, 1811, 8.

" Vital godliness has ever been found to

" flourish or decline as evangelical principles " have been maintained or forsaken."—*Ibid*, 9.

" The same thing is required by the *spirit* " *of the Gospel.* This is a uniting, not a divid- " ing spirit; a spirit of harmony and peace, " not of strife and contention. The religion of " Jesus should unite all his disciples, especially " his Ministers, in bonds of holy friendship.

" With singular propriety are those Scrip- " tures, which discountenance divisions and " enjoin unanimity, applicable to them."—*Ibid*, 11, 12.

" May not the alarming defection in some of " our Churches and Congregations be traced to " the same cause? With surprise and concern " our hearers perceive the wide disagreement " there is betwixt Ministers. They are at a loss " to account how this should happen among " men who have made religion their principal " study, and are professedly conducting others " to heaven. To them, this is a rock of offence " which they cannot easily get over. This " weakens the confidence they once had in " their spiritual guides. Disgusted, they turn " from them, to seek, among other teachers and " from other guides, that unity of spirit, that " co-operation in the duties of the ministerial " office which they perceive do not exist among " their own, Nor is it to be thought strange " if the sheep are scattered in the wilderness, " when the shepherds fall out by the way. " How this thing will terminate, I pretend not " to forsee; but, forgive me, if I add my fears, " lest the goodly fabric of church order, reared " by the pious care, and consecrated by the " prayers and tears of our venerable forefathers, " will fall in ruins, unless prevented by greater " unanimity among us. Will these be thought " unfounded surmises? I appeal to ecclesias- " tical history. Trace it from the apostolic " down to the present age; and, if it do not " yield unequivocal proofs of the dangerous " tendency of clerical dissensions, and thus " confirm the truth of these remarks, then let " them be disregarded, and my speech counted " nothing worth."—*Ibid*, 14, 15.

In his Sermon, in 1812, Doctor Morse remarked, in conclusion, as follows: " We may " learn from our subject how to assort the " doctrines and truths of our religion—to dis- " tinguish such as are essential, from those " which rank in a lower grade, in the divine " scheme—and hence be assisted to proportion " our attention and regard to each, according " to its importance. The doctrine of an atone- " ment, made by a Saviour truly divine, and of " faith in this atonement; of repentance toward " God, followed by a renunciation of the " world; and of regeneration, by the special " influences of the Holy Spirit, we consider as " fundamental in the Christian scheme, as em- " phatically an essential part of the 'faith once " 'delivered to the saints,' and for which it is " our duty earnestly to contend. Wherever " these doctrines are correctly understood in " in their whole connexion, and cordially em- " braced, and their influence felt in the heart, " and manifested in the life, all the subordinate " doctrines, precepts, and institutions which, " together, constitute the Christian scheme, " will be habitually estimated and regarded in " proportion to their respective importance and " influence, in producing the end of the whole, " which is *Charity*."—Doctor J. Morse's *Convention Sermon*, 1812, 20.

In other quarters, the controversy took a more distinctly doctrinal form. Many minds that had been long satisfied with Orthodox views, amidst the discussions of the time, began to waver. Among these were Noah Worcester, one of a ministerial family-brotherhood, which was at length divided in itself, two out of its four members becoming leaders on opposite sides.

In 1810, Noah Worcester published a duodecimo volume entitled, *Bible News, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* He had been led, by study and his own speculations, to adopt peculiar views of the Trinity, the main feature of which was that he interpreted the phrase, " Son of God," in a somewhat literal sense. His book led to controversy, and provoked the publication of pamphlet after pamphlet.

In 1811, at Coventry, in Connecticut, occurred a case of apostacy from the Orthodox faith, which commanded the general attention of the religious community. For several years, Abiel Abbot had been settled there, as the Pastor of the Congregational-church. For a long time, there was no suspicion of his defection from the faith. But, at length, in 1810, apprehensions were excited in the minds of some of his people. These apprehensions were not quieted by the answers which he gave to inquiries addressed to him, nor by the Sermons which he preached on the controverted topic. His subsequent experience is thus stated by a writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims:* (ii, 93.) " He was, in consequence, dismissed by the " Consociation of Tolland-county, in April, " 1811; and, in June of the same year, was " dismissed again by a Council of his own selec- " tion. This Council was 'imported' from the " easterly part of Massachusetts, and consisted " entirely of men belonging to what was then " styled the *liberal* party. Their proceedings, " in interfering with and censuring the eccle- " siastical regulations of a sister State, and in " affecting to overrule an authorized decision of " Consociation, called forth a severe but merit-

" ed rebuke from the General Association of " Connecticut, at their meeting, in June, 1812. " It does not appear that Mr. Abbot was a be- " liever in the doctrine of the Trinity, at the " time of his Ordination. Yet so ambiguous " were his allusions to the subject, and so care- " fully did he keep his sentiments concealed, " that it was not till he had been settled more " than a dozen years, that any suspicions were " entertained of his dissent from the common " faith of the Churches."

Mr. Abbot published a lengthy *Statement*, in which he exhibited the injustice of his treatment, basing it on the assumption of the Consociation to exercise jurisdiction in his case. He quoted the language of John Robinson, and a portion of President Stiles's Sermon on *Christian Union*, to vindicate the cause of religious liberty and set forth his view of the Saybrook Platform, as interfering with the freedom of the Churches.

To this *Statement*, a *Reply* was made by the Association of Tolland-county. The writer of the *Reply* was the Rev. Dr. Bassett, of Hebron. In this, it was denied that injustice had been done to Mr. Abbot or the Church. The latter *was* Consociated; and the Church as well as its Pastor was subject to the jurisdiction exercised by the Consociation. The *Reply* embodied *A Statement of Facts by the Church*, as follows: " For several years after Mr. Abbot was " settled in the First Society in Coventry, there " was a general quietude among the people " respecting him. In his preaching, he dwelt " much on morality. When he dwelt on doc- " trines, his discourses were inexplicit. They " were particularly so respecting the character " of Christ and the work of redemption. He " recited scripture passages, which, taken lit- " erally, and as generally understood, prove " the Divinity and Atonement of Christ. " These were passed without explanation. The " people indulged not a doubt but that he un- " derstood them as they are generally under- " stood by Divines and Christians. His " morality of life and pleasant deportment " operated, in no small degree, to prevent suspi- " cion.

" As early as about five years previous " to his dismission, some noticed that he " never clearly and decidedly taught these " doctrines. This omission, with several other " concurrent circumstances, excited, in their " minds, strong apprehensions that he disbe- " lieved them. They embraced opportunities " with him to make the inquiry. To their in- " expressible grief, they found that what they " had apprehended was real. They endeavor- " ed, earnestly, first in private, afterwards two " or three brethren in company, to convince " and reclaim him. Eventually, the Church, " as a body, used their earnest endeavors to re- " claim their Pastor from errors which they " considered extremely dangerous to him; " greatly exposing others who might be led in- " to the same, by his instrumentality; and, at " the same time, highly dishonorable and of- " fensive to the great Head of the Church.

" Even to this time, though, for more than " two years, his sentiments had been matter of " public conversation in the Society, such was " his manner of preaching, that the people, in " general, professed to believe that his senti- " ments respecting the Divinity and Atone- " ment of Jesus Christ were in union with the " sentiments of other Ministers, in general, in " the vicinity,.

" The Church now urged upon him the duty " of relieving the people from this mistake and " clearly expressing to them his real senti- " ments. Soon after this, he delivered several " Discourses which seemed to produce general " conviction that he disbelieved Christ's Di- " vinity and Atonement. Had he, from the " first, frankly and unreservedly exhibited what " he believed to be the counsel of God; in " other words, had he freely communicated his " own sentiments on the most weighty subjects, " there would have been no occasion for pains " in others '*to awaken suspicion.*' It may be " added, that, had he done this previously to " his invitation to settle in this place, there is " no reason to doubt but that there would have " been as great unanimity in withholding, as " there was in giving, that invitation. Conse- " quently, incalculable mischief to the Church " and Society would have been prevented.

" The brethren of the Church, for a long " course of time, by prayer, by conversation, by " adducing texts of Scripture, by furnishing " books well-chosen for the purpose, employed " their solicitous efforts to reclaim their Pastor. " With deep lamentation, they found they " found their efforts to be unavailing. Having " pondered much on their unhappy situation; " having, in many instances, sought Divine " guidance, by united prayer; they were fully " convinced that duty to their Pastor, to his " Church and people, to the Church of God, " generally, and to the great Lord of all, re- " quired that further measures should be taken. " They judged it expedient, however, in the " first instance, to ask advice of the Associa- " tion."—*Reply to Mr. Abbot's* Statement, 15, 16.

By the advice of the Association, therefore, the steps were taken which have been, in part, detailed. Mr. Abbot, however, and the portion of the Congregation which adhered to him, resolved to call an ex-parte Council. This was composed of Ministers mainly from Eastern

Massachusetts, in sympathy with Mr. Abbot.* The Rev. David Osgood, D.D., of Medford, who had been invited, but was unable to attend, wrote to Mr. Abbot, "You have no more reason "to tremble at the anathema of the *Consociation "of Tolland-county*, than at a Bull of the Ro- "man Pontiff." The Council declined to consider the doctrinal questions that had been raised by the Consociation; expressed themselves satisfied with the views avowed by Mr. Abbot, in his exercise of Christian liberty; and denied that the Church was subject to Consociation, or that the pastoral relation had been dissolved by its action; yet, in view of all the circumstances, deemed its continuance inadvisable, and, on this ground, they, themselves, pronounced it to be dissolved.

Such a proceeding, on the part of Ministers from another State, exercising jurisdiction over what was still claimed to be a Consociated Church of Connecticut, excited, among the Ministers of that State, indignation and alarm. The subject was brought to the attention of the General Association, in 1812; and, after examination by a Select Committee, the following action was taken on the subject:

"*Resolved*, 1. That the Consociation of Tol- "land-county was regularly formed, when they "dismissed and deposed the late Rev. Abiel "Abbot.

"*Resolved*, 2. That the First Church in Coven- "try is a member of Tolland Consociation, and "has been such, from the formation of that "body.

"*Resolved*, 3. That the late Rev. Abiel Abbot "was, of right, considered and treated as be- "longing and amenable to Tolland Consocia- "tion.

"*Resolved*, 4. That, in the late proceedings a' "Coventry, the Elders and Churches of Tolland- "county have, in the opinion of the General "Association, borne a judicious, faithful, and "highly commendable testimony to the truth as "it is in Jesus.

"*Resolved*, 5. That, according to the firm "belief of this General Association, a denial of "the deity of Jesus Christ is heresy.

"*Resolved*, 6. That the exclusion from Chris- "tian Communion and from the ministerial "office, for heresy, is neither an attempt to bind "the conscience in matters of faith nor a viola- "tion of Christian charity; but an act which "that charity imperiously demands; and an "article of discipline which the principles of "agreement among the consociated Churches "require them to perform.

"*Resolved*, 9. That it is inconsistent with all "principles of ecclesiastical order, for Ministers "and Churches, belonging to another body and "another State, to act, as an Ecclesiastical Coun- "cil, in the affairs of any Consociated Church in "this State, without a previous request, or, at "least, consent, of the Consociation with which "such Church is connected, formally declared.

"*Resolved*, 10. That a Profession of Faith, "made in the words of Scripture, is no definite "exhibition of the real faith of the professor: "since all persons who acknowledge the divine "origin of the Scriptures, would, although some "of them are, in their faith, directly opposed to "others, make the same profession, in the same "words.

"*Resolved*, 11. That the decision of the Coun- "cil, 'that the relation between Mr. Abbot and "'the Ecclesiastical Society with which he was "'connected was not annulled by the act of Tol- "'land Consociation,' was a decision which the "Council was not authorized to make; since "they had neither power nor right to examine "the proceedings of the Consociation nor to sit "as judges over that ecclesiastical judicatory; "and since, if they had had such right, these "proceedings were not before them, nor was the "Consociation either heard or represented.

"*Resolved*, 12. That the circumstances under "which the Council of June 5th was convened, "and the nature of its result, constrain the "General Association to consider its proceedings "not only as unprecedented, but as disrespect- "ful to the Churches of Connecticut; as an "invasion of evangelical order; as an effort to "justify heresy; and as a public and solemn "declaration that there can be neither minister- "ial nor Christian fellowship between themselves "and the Consociated Churches and Pastors."—*Proceedings of the General Association of Connecticut, 1812*, 28, 29.

After such an experience as Mr. Abbot's and such an exhibition of resolute authority by Consociation—sustained, as it was, by the General Association—it was natural that Ministers of "liberal" sentiments would not feel strongly attracted toward Connecticut Churches. The issue in the Mansfield, as well as the Coventry, case, tended to repress the exhibition of any disposition to envy the latitude of the Churches and Ministers around Boston, and served to point the sneers of many a letter in which Connecticut orthodoxy was described.

On the fifteenth of May, 1811, Samuel Cooper Thacher, a leading writer for the *Anthology*, and author of the *Review of the Constitution &c. of the Seminary at Andover*, was settled as successor of President Kirkland, in the pastorate of the New South-church of Boston. His biographer has the following remarks upon the Pastor's

* Most, if not all, of these were subsequently known as Unitarians. They were Doctors John Lathrop, John Reed, Eliphalet Porter, Aaron Bancroft, Samuel Kendal, John Allen, and N. Thayer.

Creed: "It has long been, and still is, the "custom in our Churches, for the Pastor-elect to "read a Creed, or make some Profession of his "Faith, to the ordaining Council, before the "services of Ordination commence. For some "time, however, it has been generally under-"stood, by those of liberal sentiments, that the "ordaining Council is assembled for the purpos-"es of sanction and Christian fellowship, rather "than of authority; and, therefore, that the "Creed which is read to them is not a demand-"ed, but a voluntary, exhibition of religious "belief. It is allowed to be proper that the "Council should become, in some measure, ac-"quainted, in a formal way, with the opinions "of the person, whose entrance on the Christian "ministry they have met to welcome and ap-"prove; but that is all; if they are not pleased "with the character of his belief, they may "refuse their concurrence in his Ordination, and "protest against it, and disperse; but they have "not the least power to deprive the Congrega-"tion of the object of their choice of him, "whom that choice alone is sufficient to consti-"tute their Minister. This principle, it would "be almost unnecessary to advance at the present "day; but it was not, perhaps, so fully con-"ceded among us, at the time of which I am "speaking, it was thus decidedly implied in the "beginning of the Profession which Mr. Thacher "read to the Council which ordained him. 'A "'belief of the principles of natural religion "'and a general acceptance of the truths of "'Christianity are implied in the appearance of "'any one, who is believed to have any sense of "'integrity, before this venerable Council, to "'receive their approbation and blessing, as a "'Minister of Christ. If there should be any "'doubt of his sincerity, no profession, however "'ample, would avail to entitle him to confi-"'dence and credit. The object, therefore, of "'the Profession which I am now called on to "'make, is, I presume, to determine whether the "'general views which I have taken of the "'Gospel, will encourage the hope, that, under "'the blessing of God, the cause of Christ will "'not suffer in my hands.' He then expressed "his belief in the being and attributes of God; "in the Scriptures, as his revealed word; and "in Jesus Christ, as his well-beloved Son; and "concluded with the following scriptual, catho-"lic, and rational view of the objects and terms "of Christian communion. 'It may not be "'superfluous to add, that I regard a credible "'profession of *faith in Jesus Christ, as the* "'*Messiah*—a proposition rendered credible by "'such demonstrations of repentance and obedi-"'ence as, in the judgment of charity, may "'evince sincerity—as the only term of Chris-"'tian communion which the Scriptures au-"'thorize me to require; and of consequence "'that I embrace every one who professes this "'faith, as a friend and brother in the Lord.'" —*Sermons of S. C. Thacher*, xxvi–xxviii.

In the following paragraph, Mr. Thacher, who occupies a somewhat representative position in the controversy, and to whom Channing addressed his letter, in 1815, defines his doctrinal platform: "But, though the differences between us "and our fellow Christians are chiefly verbal, "there are others, which may be thought to be "more real. There are some doctrines, on which "many good men lay a great stress, which we "do not teach as any essential part of Christian "faith. These doctrines relate to modes of the "Divine nature and divisions of the Divine "essence; to the theory of the Divine attributes, "and the grounds and extent of the Divine de-"crees; to the origin and transmissson of sin; "to the methods of God's operation on the "human mind; to the final reasons of the econ-"omy and the ultimate results of the govern-"ment of God. Most of these speculations "evidently involve questions of the most ab-"struse metaphysics; questions on which man-"kind have for ages disputed, and in which the "most etherial spirits, after vainly excruciating "their understandings, have 'found no end, in "'wandering mazes lost.' All that is any way "practical, with regard to these speculations, "we embrace and teach; for it lies obvious to "the humblest mind. For the rest, we con-"scientiously think, that much of them will, for "ever, be beyond the reach of the human un-"derstanding, till it is enlarged in a higher "world; and, at any rate, that the Scriptures "either decide nothing with respect to them, or "only indistinctly allude to them, or else decide "against such views of them as are often re-"ceived."—*Sermons of S. C. Thacher*, 288.

In a letter, dated "PHILADELPHIA, Sep. 28, "1811," and published in Volume VII. of the London *Monthly Repository*—(republished in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 220.)—we have a sketch of the state of affairs in Boston, at this time. The writer says: "Of late years, there has been "a remarkable change in the Congregational "Churches at Boston. Of this description, there "are nine, eight of which are supplied by Min-"isters differing, more or less, on various topics, "but all living in great harmony with each "other, and with Messrs. Freeman and Cary, "with whom they occasionally exchange pulpits, "reading the King's Chapel service when they "preach there, and, on the other hand, Messrs. "Freeman and Cary, when in a Congregational "pulpit, conduct the prayers after the Congre-"gational mode. In most of the Congregation-"al Churches, Belknap's *Collection* is used. Mr. "Buckminster uses Tate and Brady's and a

"selection compiled by himself. Ere long, "Belknap's book must be discarded; for all the "Ministers alluded to are anti-Calvinistic and "anti-Trinitarian.

"The Ministers of Boston and its vicinity hold "meetings at each other's houses, in rotation, "once every fortnight, for the examination of "candidates and for friendly advice and social "intercourse. At these meetings, you may see "Unitarians, Arians, and Trinitarians, indiscrim-"inately—as also at the weekly Thursday morn-"ing Lecture, which is preached by orthodox "and heterodox men alternately. I heard two "of these, one by Mr. Cary, quite an Unitarian "discourse; the other by a Mr. Codman, in the "true style of an old Puritan. Dr. Osgood, "whose sermon was animadverted on, in the "*Monthly Repository* is a high Calvinist, of a "warm and affectionate temper, and of great "liberality and candor on theological subjects. "His sympathies are with the anti-Calvinists; "and, if any of his own folks show anything "like bigotry, Dr. O. is their (the anti-Calvin-"ists') champion. He is, therefore, a great "favorite with the Boston Ministers.

"The Presbyterians of the middle States, find-"ing that so many of the Congregational Church-"es had departed from the old faith, erected a "fine new Church, in Boston, to promote *revi-"vals*. It is supplied by one Dr. Griffin, who "had been extremely popular in New Jersey; "but he has SETTLED DOWN at *Boston*. The "Church is deeply in debt; half the pews are "yet to let; and the good man, himself, by not "returning the civilities paid him by other Min-"isters, when he first came to Boston, is now "neglected, not only by them, but by their hear-"ers; and he has to stand his ground, and plead "the cause of Orthodoxy against *eight of the "Congregationalists*, besides the King's Chapel "Ministers."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 221.

The work of Rev. Noah Worcester, entitled *Bible News*, was, meanwhile, provoking discussion, in various quarters. He had, doubtless, hoped by its means to bring to a settlement the great question upon which the religious community was known to be divided. But he found those who stood ready, publicly, to controvert his sentiments, and to pronounce the author of them, if not an Arian, at least no better than an Arian. Indeed, so sharp and unsparing was the criticism to which his book was subjected, that he felt it to be almost a personal assault. In 1812, when his gentle nature had been sufficiently irritated to impel him to notice the matter, publicly, he brought out his pamphlet, entitled, *A Respectful Address to the Trinitarian Clergy, relating to their manner of treating opponents.* In this, he sets forth his personal grievance. "Permit me, then, my fathers and brethren, to "ask, has it not been common, among Ministers, "to represent me as an *Arian* or a *Socinian?* "These terms, you know, have become terms of "*reproach.* What have been the *motives* in ap-"plying them to me? Every person acquainted "with my views and the views of Arius and "Socinius knows that I am neither an Arian nor "a Socinian. And those who are not acquainted "with my views have no right to *pretend* that "they are, and to stigmatize me for they know "not what. Has not, then, a disposition to "*reproach* been at the bottom of such represen-"tations?

"It is well known that some have said, that "they see no difference between my views and "the views of Arians. If the affirmation be "true, it is also true that they can conceive of "no difference between a *Son* from the *uncreated "essence* of Deity and a Son created out of "nothing. For this is the precise distinction "between my views and the views of Arius. "Whether I am in an error or not is not now the "question; but whether my brethren have con-"ducted, uprightly, in their representations of "my sentiment."—*Respectful Address to the Trinitarian Clergy*, by Noah Worcester, 1812, 5.

Doctor Worcester also gives extracts from a letter of Dr. Eckley, who had been reputed the solitary Trinitarian Preacher among the Congregationalists of Boston, which would show that he was himself equally orthodox. That letter was addressed to Thomas, the brother of Doctor Worcester, who was settled at Salisbury, New Hampshire. The extracts are these:

"My plan, when I saw you, as I think I inti-"mated, respecting the Son of God, was very "similar to what your brother has now adopted. "The common plan of three self-existent persons "forming one *Essence* or infinite *Being*, and one "of these persons being *united to a man*, but "not in the least humbling himself or suffering, "completely leads to and ends in Socinianism: "and though it claims the form of *Orthodoxy*, "it is a *shadow* without a *substance;* it eludes "inspection: and I sometimes say to those who "are strenuous for this doctrine, that they take "away my Lord and I know not where they "place him."

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"The *orthodoxy*, so called, of *Waterland*, is "as repugnant to my reason and views of relig-"ion as the *heterodoxy of Lardner;* and I am at "a loss to see that any solid satisfaction, for a "person who wishes to find salvation through "the death of the SON OF GOD, can be found in "either."

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"I seek for a plan which exalts the personal "character and attributes of the SON OF GOD in "the *highest possible degree.* The plan which

"your brother hath chosen does this. The "scheme he has adopted affords light and com- "fort to the Christian. I have long thought so; "and I continue to think I have not been mis- "taken."

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Doctor Worcester adds: "In a letter to my- "self, the Doctor wrote thus: 'What you have "'admirably well said, Sir, respecting the like- "'ness of a *Son* to his *Father*, and of the Son "'of God's possessing the same *nature* (of con- "'sequence divine) with the Father, resulting "'from the fact of his being his begotten and "'*own Son*, is sufficient, in my mind, as the "'ground or reason of his exaltation to the "'high rank you conceive him to hold in the "'system: *God of God, Light of Light*—to "'whom the Father hath *given* to have life in "'himself—to whom he may make all possible "'communications as to his *own Son*—may give "'him all power in heaven and earth, putting "'all things under him, *but Himself*—seat him "'at his own right hand, on the throne, and "'command all men to honor him as the angels "'do in heaven.'

"Thus the good man 'being dead, yet speak- "'eth.'"—*Respectful Address to the Trinitarian Clergy*, by Noah Worcester, 8.

In the interest of free investigation, he pro- ceeds: "Can it be supposed that much will be "done for the detection of error or the develop- "ment of truth in respect to long-received and "popular opinions, while the conduct of the "Clergy renders it extremely hazardous for a "man to enquire in an *impartial* manner? Is "there any danger that *divine truth* will suffer "by free inquiry? If you entertain opinions "which you are unwilling should be submitted "to the strictest scrutiny, does not this afford "some reason to suppose that you have perceived "that they will not bear a very close examina- "tion? If these opinions are so clearly reveal- "ed, and so important as you have pretended, "they can be supported from the Bible against "all the objections of your opponents. But if "they will not bear examination, and cannot "fairly be supported by the Bible, the sooner "they are set aside the better; the better for "you, and for the cause of truth in general."—*Respectful Address to the Trinitarian Clergy*, by N. Worcester, 14, 15.

As to his own position he remarks: "Not a "small number have been greatly alarmed by "the outcry of Trinitarian Ministers in respect "to what I have published, who, when they "came to know the truth respecting what was "written, have been surprised to find that they "had always believed the same doctrine."—*Respectful Address to the Trinitarian Clergy*, by N. Worcester, 41.

From the letters of Doctor Parkman and William Wells, Esq., we are enabled to learn, to some extent, the state of affairs, in Boston, in 1812. It would appear that, while Unitarianism was on the point of an open and armed developement, it was not publicly known or recognized, by name. A writer in the *Christian Examiner*, many years subsequent, remarks, "The time has "been, when our peculiar sentiments were so "unpopular that it was hazardous to teach them. "The minds of men were not prepared to receive "them. We were obliged to conceal them from "public view, or disclose them in ambiguous "language."

Doctor Parkman, in his letter, speaks of Doc- tors Freemen and Kirkland as both avoiding any open avowal of Unitarian sentiments, or, at least, any parade of them in the pulpit. He says: "Dr. Freemen can hardly be considered an ex- "ception to the great majority of his brethren. "For though, on other subjects, he is explicit "and unreserved, as he is able and intelligent, I "never heard him express an Unitarian senti- "ment; and I believe he carefully avoids it in "the pulpit, because it might unnecessarily dis- "turb some of his hearers. There is, now, one "more gentleman in Boston who, with his "intimate friends, may, perhaps, be considered "a Unitarian; but he maintains the same cau- "tious reserve; and, from neither his sermons, "his prayers, nor his private conversation, "could I infer that he was a Unitarian. Now "even admitting, what I hardly think I have a "right to do, that these three gentlemen are "Unitarians, to what can all this prudent reserve "be ascribed, but to their conviction that the "preaching of Unitarian doctrines would be "offensive to their hearers, and injurious to their "usefulness?"—*Parkman's Letter—Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 224.

Again: "Dr. Kirkland was formerly one of "the Ministers of Boston, and whatever his par- "ticular friends may think of his opinions, he "never preached these sentiments. Nay, I may "venture to say, that, had Dr. Kirkland been "an *acknowledged defender of Unitarianism*, he "would not have been elected to that place. "Unitarianism is too unpopular in the country; "and his friends, who are at the same time the "friends and Governors of the University, with "all the respect they most justly entertain for "his exalted talents and character, and particu- "larly for his candid and liberal mind, would, "I believe, have deemed it necessary to sacrifice "their private wishes, and consulted the interests "of the University, by electing a President whose "sentiments were more agreeable to the great "body of the Massachusetts clergy."—*Parkman's Letter—Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii., 225.

Mr. Wells, at nearly the same date, communi-

cates to his English correspondent the following information: "Most of our Boston Clergy and "respectable laymen (of whom we have many "enlightened theologians,) are Unitarian. Nor "do they think it at all necessary to conceal "their sentiments upon these subjects, but "express them without the least hesitation when "they judge it proper. I may safely say, the "general habit of thinking and speaking upon "this question, in Boston, is Unitarian. At the "same time, the controversy is seldom or never "introduced into the pulpit. I except the Chapel "Church. If publications make their appear-"ance, attacking Unitarian sentiments, they are "commonly answered with spirit and ability; "but the majority of those who are Unitarian "are, perhaps, of those sentiments without any "distinct consciousness of being so."—*Wells's Letter—Review of* American Unitarianism, 13.

"The violent party here have chosen to meet "their opponents upon very unfavorable ground. "Instead of making it a cause of orthodoxy "against heresy, they have very unwisely pre-"ferred to insist upon a subscription to Articles "of Faith. This has given great offence to many "who are disposed to be in favor of their Creed, "and thrown them into the opposite scale. Dr. "Osgood is really orthodox in sentiment, but a "noble and determined supporter of the right "of private judgment, and on the best possible "terms with our Boston friends. This is also "the case with the venerable Dr. Lathrop of "West Springfield, Mr. Palmer's friend, and "many others. In short, we are now contend-"ing for the liberty of being Protestants. If "we can persuade the people (and we stand upon "advantageous ground) that we have the right "to think upon religious subjects as our con-"sciences and the Scriptures direct, things will "go on well."—*Wells's Letter—Review of* Amer-ican Unitarianism, 14.

Another writer, at about the same time, dwells upon the cheering prospect. He says: "In the "State of Massachusetts, and particularly in the "environs of Boston, the great cause of Chris-"tian truth is making a silent but rapid and "irresistible progress. From the inquisitive and "liberal spirit which prevails in the University "of Cambridge, which has never been checked, "at any time, but which there is reason to expect "will receive every requisite aid and encourage-"ment from the present learned and accomplish-"ed Principal, Dr. Kirkland, the happiest conse-"quences may be expected to ensue."—*Review of* American Unitarianism, 18.

But the liberal party did not neglect the means of extending and propagating, as well as indicating, their views. Fully aware of the importance of the press, they were disposed to avail themselves of it, to the full extent. In this, they needed merely to act upon the suggestions of their own experience.

"The Boston Clergy are represented by Dr. Free-"man, as first converted by the labors of Mr. "Hazlitt. The Rev. Mr. Oxnard, the father of "the Unitarians at Portland, was 'convinced by "'the works of Dr. Priestly and Mr. Lindsey' "—(*p. 16*). 'The publications of these men,' "says Dr. F., 'have had, and probably will have, "'great effects'—(*p. 17*). By the same publi-"cations was the Rev. J. Sherman convinced. "—(*p. 24.*). The works of other Unitarians "make converts also at Oldenbarneveld and "other places. Dr. Priestly, in his letter, already "extracted, seems to consider his Tracts as nec-"essary to his success."—*Review of* American Unitarianism, 22.

The *Anthology*, which had been conducted on the plan of a literary Magazine and Review, although it had repeatedly stepped into the field of theological controversy, gave place to a new publication. "*The General Repository and* "*Review* was conducted by Mr. Andrew Norton, "the Librarian of Harvard-college. It was "a quarterly publication; and began with the "year 1812, and continued two years. It consist-"ed of four departments, namely, Theological, "Literary, Miscellaneous Reviews, and Intelli-"gence."—*Memories of S. Willard*, i., 251.

This, however, did not fully satisfy the demand for a religious periodical which should answer, for the Liberal party, the ends which were met by the *Panoplist*, in the case of the Orthodox. There was a call for some publication which, without indulging in controversy, and under the banner of peace, should yet subserve the liberal cause. In open collision with the *Panoplist*, the liberal cause had nothing to gain, while there was danger that it might lose. The name, "Unitari-"an," from its English associations, was not in good repute; and, so long as the party could maintain their position, without the odium of the name, they might remain strong in the confidence and respect of the community.

In these circumstances, several of the Boston Clergy looked abroad for the man whom they might engage as an editor. They fixed their eyes upon the Rev. Noah Worcester, a man of amiable spirit, and who, for his *Bible News*, had been virtually cast out by some of his orthodox brethren. Indeed, the question between the two parties had, of late, assumed a new phase. The more sagacious of the Orthodox party could not be blind to the necessity of a combined effort to withstand the threatening innovations. They saw, moreover, the advantage which was possessed, and which had been successfully employed, by Connecticut Consociation, to crush out the germs of Unitarian defection among their Churches. In the Presbyterian Church, also, they

saw an illustration of the power of a common organization, to which they were not insensible. The effort, therefore, was made, in Massachusetts, to secure a Consociation of the Churches, in local bodies, so that Churches and Pastors might be subject to a common ecclesiastical control.

To avoid the odium of innovation, they attempted to base their project on one that had been proposed in the days of the Mathers. They hoped to secure an ecclesiastical ascendency by the adhesion of a majority of the Churches. Doctors Morse and Lyman were the leaders in the plan for introducing this more compact organization. Odious, in itself, to the Liberal party, the plan was especially an object of suspicion from the well known position and character of its authors. They, therefore, soon took the alarm; and they had good reason to feel assured of the support of many of the opposite party. Even men like Doctor Emmons, zealously and sternly opposed to doctrinal Unitarianism, were equally at issue with any measure looking to a compact ecclesiastical organization of the Churches.

In these circumstances, Doctor Channing, in behalf of several of the Boston Clergy, addressed himself to Noah Worcester, inviting him to the editorship of the proposed publication. He says: "Our conviction of the importance of this "work has been strengthened by the appearance "of a publication, in *The Panoplist*, recommend-"ing the immediate erection of ecclesiastical "tribunals. After conversing about the best "means of attaining the end above described, "the general question was, 'To whom shall we "'commit the superintendence of such a peri-"'odical?' and we unanimously concurred in "the opinion that you are peculiarly fitted for "the office of editing it. * * *

"You may expect aid from gentlemen in this "town and vicinity. With the sentiments of "these gentlemen you are generally acquainted. "They are not precisely agreed as to the *person "or dignity of Christ;* nor do they wish that "the work should be devoted to any particular "view of that subject. Whilst they are willing "to admit the arguments of all sects, they wish, "chiefly, to exhibit those *relations* and *offices* of "Christ which Christians generally acknowledge, "and to promote a spirit of forbearance and "charity among those who differ in relation to "this and other difficult subjects. As to the pe-"culiarities of *Calvinism*, we are opposed to "them, without censuring those who embrace "those sentiments. We are opposed to that "system, particularly, inasmuch as it prostrates "the independence of the mind, and teaches "men that they are naturally incapable of dis-"cerning religious truths; generates a timid, su-"perstitious dependence on those who profess to "have been brought from darkness into light; "and so commonly infuses into its professors a "censorious and uncharitable spirit."—*Letter to Noah Worcester*, 1813—*Channing's Life*, i., 356.

From Willard's *Memories*, we learn that "*The "Christian Disciple* is the name that was given "to a periodical work which was commenced in "the year 1813. It was established under the "auspices of Rev. William E. Channing and "others. They who devised this practical work "had but one person in view for its Editor; "namely, the Rev. Noah Worcester. For six "years, comprising the same number of volumes, "he conducted the work in monthly numbers, "and then surrendered it into the hands of the "Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., who became the Editor "of the work, publishing a number once in two "months, giving it essentially the same character "that it had before sustained, and retaining its "former friends and contributors. As an evi-"dence of this, it may be added, that he edited "the work for five years,* comprising that num-"ber of volumes. In the year 1824, it came into "the hands of the Rev. John Gorham Palfrey. "He changed the title to *The Christian Exam-"iner*. Though it became more learned and less "popular and practical in its character, than it "had before been, it retained its former friends "and made new ones. Less exclusively a relig-"ious journal, it attracted a class of readers who "craved more variety. It prospered in his "hands, during the three years he held it, to the "pecuniary benefit of its proprietors and publish-"ers more than to his own. Mr. Palfrey, at the "close of his service, being about to leave "Boston for a season, transferred the *Examiner* "to Mr. Francis Jenks, who was the Editor for "six years, from 1826 to 1831, inclusive."—*Memories of S. Willard*, ii., 280, 281.

There was an evident necessity of making the platform of the *Christian Disciple* broad and liberal. The grounds of this necessity are hinted at, in Channing's Letter to Worcester. They are more fully exhibited by the biographer of the Buckministers (*Page 339*), in the assertion that the Liberal party disagreed among themselves, on almost every other subject except that of the Trinity. A writer in the *Panoplist* makes out a much stronger case. He says: "The following "opinions were held by one or another of the "Boston Association, viz:

"That Christ was a mere man;—That no such

* "He became ultimately the permanent conductor of "the work, and continued its management to the close of "1822. The interest taken in it, on it first appearance, "was very considerable. The list of subscribers immedi-"ately and rapidly increased; and it has since continued "to be one of the most uniformly well-supported journals "of the country."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Jr.*, 115.

"doctrine as that of the Atonement was taught "in the Scriptures;—That the idea of an Atone- "ment is perfectly ridiculous;—That the com- "mon opinion of Conversion is fanatical;—That "reason is superior to revelation;—That the "religion of nature is of higher authority than "book-religion;—That repentance of sin is all "that is required for the enjoyment of happi- "ness, here or hereafter;—That men are justified "by their works;—That those who do not repent "in this world, will become wiser, and repent, "and be happy, in the future world;—That there "will be no general judgment;—That the soul "sleeps with the body, from death to the resur- "rection;—That Christ made but two consider- "able additions to the religion of mankind; "viz. the *fact* of the resurrection of the body, "and the institution of the Christian ministry;— "That the soul of man is material;—and many "other unscriptural notions. All but two of "these opinions have been delivered from the "pulpit; and, most probably, they have also. "That we may not be misunderstood, we again "say, that the Boston Association contains num- "bers who differ widely from each other in doc- "trine; and that they range from decided and "consistent Calvinism down to the lowest Socin- "ianism, if not down to the station of Geddes; "whom we should place about half way between "Socinus and Voltaire."

This language is quoted with implied approval in the *Life of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester*, (*ii., 222.*) himself soon destined to take a conspicuous part in the controversy. Yet there still was no public avowal of Unitarianism; no external sign of the great change which had, in reality, taken place, and of which both parties were fully aware. Information of it had been sent across the ocean, and had appeared in print; yet it was little known on this side of the Atlantic, except to those by whom it was communicated. Things could not long remain in this state. The Liberal party might, indeed, be satisfied with it —this, indeed, was boldly charged upon them— but their opponents were not. The *Panoplist*, in its *Review of* American Unitarianism, remarked: "Thus it is, and thus it has been for years. "Knowing that the cold skepticism of Socinian- "ism cannot satisfy the wants nor alleviate the "woes of plain common-sense people, its advo- "cates in general have not dared to be open. "They have clandestinely crept into orthodox "Churches, by forbearing to contradict their "faith, and then have gradually moulded them, "by their *negative* preaching, to the shape which "they would wish. The people, after a while, "never hearing of the atonement, nor of special "grace or any of the kindred doctrines, forget "that they belong to the Christian system; and, "by and by, regard a man as a kind of enthus- "iast, or monster, who preaches said doctrines." *Review of* American Unitarianism, 20.

But, in some quarters, the conflict had reached its crisis, and the reaction had commenced, before the Unitarian name had been openly avowed. In Clark's *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference* (1855) he gives an illustration of this in the case of "The Sandwich Church." "The "heart of its Pastor, Rev. Jonathan Burr, who "had been preaching, some ten or fifteen years, "in an unconverted state, as he himself suppos- "ed, was touched by the grace of God. Having "thus become 'a new creature in Christ, old "'things passed away, and all things became "'new,'—his views of divine truth, his style "of preaching, his prayers, in short, his entire "ministry; and, although a majority of his "*Church* and a large proportion of his Congre- "gation were in sympathy with their new Min- "ister, the major part of the *Parish voters* were "better suited with the old; and so the gentle, "bland, and now evangelical Mr. Burr was eject- "ed. Denied access to his pulpit, as he was enter- "ing it, on a Sabbath morning, he and his adher- "ents, including most of his assembled wor- "shippers, withdrew to a neighboring hall for "religious service. This occurred in 1811; and, "on the seventeenth of Febuary, 1813, he was "'installed over the Calvinistic Society lately "'formed and associated with the First Church,' "of which he considered himself, and was con- "sidered by the installing Council, *as still the* "*Pastor*."—Clark's *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference, 1855, 27.*

He remarks again, "That act of sovereign "grace whereby the heart of one Minister had "been renewed, and an evangelical tone given "to his preaching, was soon after repeated in "other similar cases. It is a surprising and most "deeply interesting fact, that, between the years "1810 and 1816, not less than six Congregational "Pastors in this County passed through the same "experience, excepting that, in every case after "the first, the change in the Minister was fol- "lowed by a corresponding change in his people; "so that a schism was avoided."—Clark's *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference, 1855, 27.*

He gives another instance illustrative of the reaction that was commencing: "When the Pas- "tor of the Second Church in Plymouth, Man- "omet Ponds, lapsed into Arminianism, about "the year 1813, and, shortly after, avowed the "Unitarian faith, a small portion of the Church "and Society withdrew from his ministry, but "formed no separate organization. The little "band, meeting for worship, on the Sabbath, "in a private house, with no preaching except "an occasional supply from the Missionary Soci- "ety, slowly but steadily increased, till 'the "'Spirit was poured upon them from on high' in

"the Summer of 1819. This was the turning "point in their destiny. The Pastor, now near- "ly deserted by his flock, left his post, which "was speedily filled by an evangelical preacher, "as was also the empty meeting-house by its "former occupants; and no trace of Unitarian- "ism now remains in the Parish."—Clark's *Discourse at Plymouth, 1855, 21.*

The attempt to stigmatize the Liberal party as Unitarians was naturally resented by those who were conscious of dissenting from the views of Belsham and Priestly, and who yet were consciously opposed to the leading doctrines maintained by the Orthodox. They wished still to remain under the old Congregational banner, and keep their place among the Churches of the land. But the diversity of belief, which was becoming continually more apparent, could not much longer be concealed or kept in the back-ground. With such antagonists as Doctor Morse, Doctor Worcester, Doctor Lyman, and the *Panoplist* to contend with, the gentle words of liberality and charity were fast losing their charm. Doctor Morse considered himself a persecuted man. He charged all the grievances of which he had occasion to complain, in his controversy with Miss Adams, to the account of Unitarianism. He had opposed those whom he regarded as its champions; and his offense was visited upon his head, in what he accounted severe measure. He had urged forward the founding of Andover Seminary. He had denounced the perversion of funds given by Orthodox liberality to Harvard-college. He had established the *Panoplist* and contributed more than any other man to give it vigor and success. But one thing more remained to be done, before he could be assured of carrying confusion into the ranks of his opponents. His attempt to effect an ecclesiastical organization of the Churches, although he labored for it, strenuously, and wrote vigorously for it, in the pages of the *Panoplist*, was destined to be a failure; but the correspondence between English and American Unitarians was a fact which he ascertained, and of which he was soon prepared to make most effective and even startling use.

In 1812, Belsham's *Memoirs of Linsley* were published in England. They contained the correspondence of American Unitarians who were still supposed to disclaim the name. The book was little known in this country; and it was one which, for obvious reasons, the Liberal party was not disposed to circulate. Mr. Belsham, himself, was a Universalist; and, on many points, he went far beyond his American friends and correspondents. He was somewhat impatient at what he regarded as their timidity. He was even disposed to rebuke their policy of holding their peculiar doctrines in reserve and seeking to evade and avoid the odium of the Unitarian name.

Two years after the publication of the *Life of Linsley*, only three copies were known to have reached Boston. One of these copies was in the Library of Harvard-college; but it was rarely to be found upon its shelves. Those who perused it, perused it in silence and made few comments that could be overheard. No public notice of the work was taken in the journals in the interests of the Liberal party.

Doctor Morse incidentally heard of the work, and determined to secure the privilege of perusing it. He applied for it, at the Library, but it had been drawn out. He persisted in his applications till it came into his hands. Here he found what he had long sought—the means, as he believed, of tearing off the mask, as he considered it, which the Liberal party had so long worn. In certain Chapters of his work, Mr. Belsham had introduced the letters of American correspondents; and these letters admitted the fact of American Unitarianism, and gloried in its prospects. They pleaded for the policy of prudent reserve, practiced by their friends with respect to the avowal of their peculiar views. They seemed to admit that Unitarianism had succeeded, so far, by doing its work in disguise. The character of these letters may be inferred from the extracts that have been quoted above.

Doctor Morse took immediate steps for publishing what the liberal party had passed over in silence. He issued, in a private pamphlet, without comment,* those portions of Belsham's memoir which concerned the American Churches. The *Panoplist* stood ready to supply any lack of service in the way of comment. In the number for June, 1815, appeared its *Review of* "Ameri-

* This is not strictly correct. Doctor Morse called attention to the apparent reluctance of the Liberal party to give publicity to the work. "The care," says he, "which has been manifested to limit the knowledge of "this interesting work, during many months, probably "two years, since its arrival in Boston, indicates, pretty "plainly, the *unwillingness of those who have possessed* "*copies of it, to have its contents generally known.*"—(*Page* 4.)

The same account of the matter is given by a reviewer of this pamphlet, (a Unitarian) in the *Boston Patriot* for May 13, 1815. "It is a fact," says this reviewer, "that the "work" (*Memoirs of Linsley*) "no sooner arrived here, "than it was *studiously concealed.* But a few copies "were received, and the circulation of these was confined "to a small number of select individuals. On a careful "perusal, we can find but one motive for this suppression, "viz: that the Unitarians, who are principally confined to "Boston and its vicinity, are not yet prepared for an open "and explicit avowal of their sentiments. Thus reasoned "a political writer, a Unitarian, in 1815; and to the same "conclusion must every candid mind be brought, when "made acquainted with the facts."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iii., 118.

"can Unitarianism," the pamphlet which Doctor Morse had issued. In this *Review*, it arrayed, in the most effective manner, all the evidence it could command, to identify American with English Unitarianism, and involve it in a common odium. It commenced with remarking: "It "has been known, for at least a quarter of a "century, by those who have been well-informed "on the subject, that there has been, in Boston, "a defection from those doctrines of the Bible "which have usually been denominated ortho- "dox in Protestant communities. It has been "known that this defection has gradually in- "creased; has silently and covertly extended "itself into a considerable number of congrega- "tions, in the vicinity; and has been, in a few "instances, openly avowed. From a great va- "riety of anonymous publications, it has been "evident that the defection had proceeded in "the downward course to the lowest degrees of "Socinianism, and to the very borders of open "infidelity. Further than this, it has not been "in a few solitary instances only, that persons, "who have been near the centre of all these "operations, have heard from the pulpit, both "sermons and prayers, which neither expressed "nor implied any thing more than sober Deism, "and which were totally at variance with the "Gospel."

It proceeds to say that to substantiate these facts was not easy, inasmuch as the work of error was carried on cautiously, and those who were guilty of defection represented themselves as not differing materially from their clerical brethren throughout the country. The *Panoplist*, in this connection, spoke of such conduct as an "artifice practiced systematically by a majority "of the clergymen who have led the way in this "apostasy from the faith of the Protestant "Churches, and, as we believe we may safely "add, in apostasy from Christianity."

In preparing the way for its exposition of the real sentiments of secret Unitarians in this country, it gives the known sentiments of avowed Unitarians in England with whom they corresponded. From Belsham's writings, the several elements of his creed were drawn, the whole presenting, doubtless, a far more odious aggregate than his American sympathizers could have imagined possible. He was seen, for instance, confessing himself a Universalist; declaring the doctrine of Atonement exploded, as irrational; asserting that Christ was "truly and properly a "man, and nothing more than a man;" etc.

The *Panoplist*, after drawing out a scheme of Mr. Belsham's belief, remarks, that of the existence of such Unitarianism, in the metropolis of New England, its readers had generally been persuaded; but that it was making considerable progress, or that men, eminent in Church and State, could so conceal their sentiments, did not appear to them credible. But, indicating the necessity of controverting error, and justifying its course in its exposure, the *Panoplist* remarks, that had these facts of the pamphlet under review came from an Orthodox source, they would have been met by the allegation of party spirit and misrepresentation. But the writer had taken a deliberate survey of what he described. "He has shown us, that like the Grecian phil- "osophers of old, many of his order, in our coun- "try, would have one religion for the vulgar "and another for the wise; that it is a funda- "mental maxim, among the great body of lead- "ing Unitarians, here, not to expose their "sentiments directly to the inspection of the "world at large, and to challenge investigation, "but to operate in secret; to entrust only the "initiated with their measures; and to leave "the vulgar to fall into the tracks of the wise, "by the force of that principle of imitation "which is capable of operating so powerfully "upon them."—*Page 10.*

Extensive quotations are then given from the pamphlet, designed to sustain all the positions taken by the writer of the *Review*. He concludes by showing the incongruity of supposing that the two parties can harmonize, or that the Liberal party can be recognized by the Orthodox, or these approve of communion with Unitarians. He quotes Mr. Belsham's remarks on Sherman's case, in Connecticut: "Opinions such as these "can no more harmonize with each other than "light and darkness, than Christ and Belial. "They who hold doctrines so diametrically op- "posite cannot be fellow-worshippers in the "same temple. It was expedient that they "should separate." It then adds, "With all "our hearts, we subscribe to this frank and in- "genuous comment. It does honor to Mr. "Belsham. How different from the disguise of "our Unitarians, and their whining complaints "about illiberality in the Orthodox in refusing "to exchange with them."—*Review of* American Unitarianism, *25*. And again, "It is very "obvious that the two systems, of which the "sentiments on subjects such as these are in di- "rect opposition, cannot, with any propriety, be "confounded together, under one common "name. That both should be Christianity is "impossible; else Chrstianity is a term which "distinguishes nothing. For if opposite views "as to the *object of worship*, the *ground of hope* "*for eternity*, the *rule of faith and duty*, and "the *principles and motives of true obedience;* "if these do not constitute different religions, "we may, without much difficulty, discover "some principles of union and identity, among "all religions whatever; we may realize the

"doctrine of Pope's *Universal Prayer;* and "extend the right hand of fellowship to the "worshippers at the Mosque and to the vota- "ries of Brama."—*Review of* American Unitarianism, *26.*

The writer of this *Review of* American Unitarianism was Jeremiah Evarts, who, in May, 1810, removed to Charlestown, and commenced his editorial career in charge of the *Panoplist.* Few men could have been better qualified for the post. "Under his care, the reputation of "the *Panoplist* immediately rose; and it was "probably better supported, and had more of "the confidence of the religious community, "generally, for the ten years during which it "was under his editorship, than any similar "work ever published in this country."—Tracy's *Life of Evarts, 63.*

The Unitarians—as they were thenceforth known—could not pass over the *Review* in silence. The sensation which it created, in every direction, was such that men who would have gladly kept silent were forced to speak out, lest all the odium of English Unitarianism, with which they or their friends had been in the sympathy of genial correspondence, should fall upon them. It seemed important that an answer of some kind should be made to the *Review;* and the task fell to the lot of Rev. William E. Channing, the beloved and honored Pastor of the Federal-street Church.

For the expression of a merely eloquent and indignant protest, no better man could have been selected. At the very commencement of his ministry, in Boston, Mr. Channing gained the reputation of a high-minded, conscientious, and devoted Minister. He seemed, indeed, to belong, by sympathy and character, to the more evangelical class of preachers. He had co operated with the leading orthodox Ministers of the vicinity, in many important matters; and, in the early days of the *Panoplist*, it is believed that he repeatedly contributed to its columns. But the attempt to involve the entire Liberal party in the odium of sympathy with Mr. Belsham and his English friends—an odium from which he could not well escape, himself—exci ed him to the resolution of attempting to counteract the impression of an article which is said to have produced "an effect unparalleled "in the ministerial connections and the eccles- "iastical affairs of Massachusetts."

In a very few weeks after the Review had appeared, Dr. Channing published his *Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, on the Aspersions contained in a late number of the* Panoplist, *on the Ministers of Boston and the vicinity.* He joined issue with the reviewer on three points; he denied that the Liberal Clergy of Boston were Unitarians, in Mr, Belsham's sense of the word; he denied that they had been guilty of a hypocritical concealment of their sentiments; and he complained that a separation was demanded between the Liberal and the Orthodox, or that the latter were to withhold from the former Christian Communion.

On the first point he remarked: "The word "*Unitarianism*, as denoting opposition to Trini- "tarianism, undoubtedly expresses the charac- "ter of a considerable part of the Ministers of "this town, and its vicinity, and the Common- "wealth. But we both of us know that their "Unitarianism is of a very different kind from "that of Mr. Belsham. We agreed, in our late "Conference, that a majority of our brethren "believe that Jesus Christ is more than man; "that he existed before the world; that he lit- "erally came from heaven to save our race; "that he sustains other offices than those of a "teacher and witness to the truth; and that he "still acts for our benefit, and is our intercessor "with the Father. This was agreed to be the "prevalent sentiment of our brethren. There "is another class of Liberal Christians, who, "whilst they reject the distinction of three per- "sons in God, are yet unable to pass a defini- "tive judgment on the various systems which "prevail, as to the nature and rank of Jesus "Christ. They are met by difficulties on every "side, and generally rest in the conclusion that "He whom God has appointed to be our Sav- "iour must be precisely adapted to his work; "and that acceptable faith consists in regard- "ing and following him as our Lord, Teacher, "and Saviour, without deciding on his nature "or rank in the universe. There is another "class, who believe the simple humanity of "Jesus Christ; but these form a small propor- "tion of the great body of Unitarians, in this "part of our country; and I very much doubt "whether of these one individual can be found, "who could conscientiously subscribe to Mr, "Belsham's creed as given in the *Review.*"—*Channing's Letter to Thacher—Channing's Life, i., 383.*

"Most of us," Doctor Channing asserted, "have often contradicted Mr. Belsham's opin- "ions; and they who insist that these opinions "are ours, will be forced to maintain that we "practice deceit. As to myself, I have ever been "inclined to cherish the most exalted views of "Jesus Christ which are consistent with the "supremacy of the Father; and I have felt it "my duty to depart from Mr. Belsham in per- "haps every sentiment which is peculiar to him "on this subject. But I have always abstained, "most scrupulously, from every expression "which could be construed into an acknowl- "edgement of the Trinity. My worship and "sentiments have been Unitarian, in the proper

"sense of that word. In conversation with my "people, who have requested my opinion upon "the subject, especially with those who consid-"er themselves Trinitarians, I have spoken "with directness and simplicity. Some of "those who differ from me most widely have re-"ceived from me the most explicit assurances of "my disbelief of the doctrine of the Trinity." He admitted that the subject of the Trinity was generally avoided in the pulpit, by himself and his brethren; it had not been preached, neither had it been assailed. He deprecated, moreover, as mischievous and injurious, unwarranted and unchristian, the division which the reviewer demanded on the part of the Orthodox, by withholding Christian Communion from the Liberal party.

The biographer of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester remarks of Doctor Channing that, "If he "believed that the *Panoplist* reviewer had been "guilty of deliberate and malignant 'falsehood,' "it is not strange that he should have written "with some measure of the indignation which "breaks out in almost every paragraph. And "yet, if the charges which he so vehemently "attempted to repel, were as '*false*' as he "affirmed, then why might they not have been "left to their own self-destruction?"

"Such a letter as he wrote, could not come "before the public, without adding fresh fuel "to the flame of excitement. He knew very "little of the state of feeling among the ortho-"dox Clergy, in different parts of the Common-"wealth; and had no conception of the bearings "and relations of the general subject, as viewed "by such men as Doctor Worcester. He seems "to have been taken by surprise, that a man of "so much candor and liberality should be re-"ported to be preparing a reply to his *Letter*." —*Life of Dr. S. Worcester, ii., 327, 328.*

"Dr. Channing had said 'that he should "'not feel himself bound to notice any replies "'which might be made to his letter, especial-"'ly if they appear in the *Panoplist*.' And "this very announcement may have had its "weight in determining the mind of Dr. Worces-"ter to respond, himself. Some other reason "than an 'appearance in the *Panoplist*' would "thus be required of him, by the candid public, "if the reply should not be noticed. But the "flame which his own letter to Mr. Thacher had "kindled, was deadened, if not entirely quench-"ed, by the flood of reasoning and eloquence so "readily poured forth. It would not do to "be silent. Something must be said. And no "time was to be lost. Scarcely had Dr. Wor-"cester's Letter gone forth, before it was re-"ported that Dr. Channing would notice it, "at a very early day. And with some, proba-"bly, the anticipation of an answer was taken "as evidence that there was some deficiency or "vulnerableness in Dr. Worcester's Letter, "which they had not been able, themselves, to "discover."—*Life of Dr. Worcester, ii., 341, 342.*

Doctor Worcester was not, at this time, aware of the authorship of the *Review* in the *Panoplist*. Indeed, it was little suspected that the writer was Mr. Evarts. But Doctor Worcester, believing that the position of the reviewer were substantially correct, vindicated him on the three several points upon which he had been assailed.

Doctor Worcester had been emphatic on the incongruity of communion between those who believed the Gospel of Christ and such as accepted "another Gospel"—as he represented Unitarianism to be. Doctor Channing, who was reluctantly compelled to resume his pen in *Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Worcester's Letter to Mr. Channing*, confined himself to "remarks." He evidently was not fond of controversy; and he complains, in this second letter, of the spirit shown in Doctor Worcester's. "His letter," he said, "though milder in language, breathes too "much the spirit of the *Review*." "On the pres-"ent occasion," he added, "I am called to defend "myself rather than my brethren." He endeavored to depreciate the importance of the doctrinal differences between the two parties. He says "The principal argument which Doctor Wor-"cester offers in favor of the proposed separa-"tion is the greatness of the differences between "Trinitarians and Unitarians. I sincerely re-"gret that these differences are so studiously "magnified, whilst the points of agreement be-"tween these classes of Christians are studiously "overlooked. Doctor Watts and Doctor Dodd-"ridge have left us a better example. Trini-"tarians and Unitarians both believe in one "God, one infinite and self-existent mind. "According to the first, this God is three per-"sons; according to the last, he is one person. "Ought this difference, which relates to the "obscurest of all subjects, to the essence and "metaphysical nature of God, and which com-"mon Christians cannot understand, to divide "and alienate those who ascribe to this one "God the same perfections; who praise him for "the same blessings; who hope from his mercy "the same forgiveness; who receive on his au-"thority the same commands; and who labor to "maintain the same spirit of devotion to his "will and glory? According to Trinitarians, "Jesus, who suffered and died on the cross, is a "derived being, *personally* united with the "self-existent God. Ought this difference, "which transcends the conception of common "Christians, to divide and alienate those, who "love the same excellent character in Jesus "Christ; who desire to breathe his spirit and "follow his steps; who confide in him as per-

"fectly adapted to the work which he was sent "to accomplish; and who labor to derive just "conceptions of his nature from his own in- "structions? The differences between Trini- "tarians and Unitarians are very often verbal. "As soon as Trinitarians attempt to show the "consistency of their doctrine of three persons "with the divine unity, their peculiarities be- "gin to vanish, and in many of their writings "little or nothing is left but one God acting in "three characters, or sustaining three relations, "and intimately united with his Son Jesus "Christ. Ought distinctions so subtle and "perplexing, to separate those, who love the "same divine character and respect the same "divine will?"—*Channing's Remarks on Worcester's Letter, 26.*

Doctor Worcester's second Letter followed his first, after an interval of little more than a single month.

After a considerable interval, (November, 1815,) Doctor Channing's third letter in the controversy, the last which he wrote in connection with it, appeared. In this, he gave his own view of the prevailing sentiments of the class of Liberal Christians. He said: "As far as "I understand the prevalent sentiments among "Liberal Christians in this quarter of our "country, they appear to me substantially to "agree with the views of Doctor Samuel Clarke "and the author of *Bible News;* and, were we "required to select human leaders in religion, "I believe that we should range ourselves under "their standard, in preference to any other."

Again, speaking of the phraseology in which the theological distinctions in the controversy were expressed, he asks: "And ought phrases "like these—of which we find not a trace in "the Bible, which cannot be defined by those "who employ them, which convey to common "minds no more meaning than words of an un- "known tongue, and which present to the learn- "ed only flitting shadows of thought, instead "of clear and steady conceptions—to separate "those who are united in the great principles "which I have stated? Trinitarians, indeed, "are apt to suppose themselves at an immeas- "urable distance from Unitarians. The reason, "I think, is, that they are surrounded with a "mist of obscure phraseology. Were this mist "dispersed, I believe they would be surprised at "discovering their proximity to the Unitarians, "and would learn that they had been wasting "their hostility on a band of friends and broth- "ers."—*Channing on Worcester's Second Letter —Life of Channing, i., 410.*

Doctor Worcester replied to Channing's third letter in a more elaborate style than heretofore. He went over the entire field of the controversy, and pressed his argument with great vigor, especially in relation to the person and the divine claims of Christ. Doctor Channing had argued for liberality on the ground that the very principles of Congregationalism were in conflict with the policy which the Orthodox party wished to initiate in Associations, etc. Doctor Worcerter says: "You state, however, that "'the system of excluding professed disciples "'of Christ, on account of opinions, is incom- "'patible with the great principles of Congre- "'gationalism.' In this, as you cannot but be "sensible, you differ most widely from the "founders of the Congregational Churches, "whether we consider, as the founders, the "Apostles and primitive Ministers of Christ or "the leaders of the Puritans in England and in "this country. The Apostles certainly estab- "lished the primitive Churches upon this sys- "tem; and upon this system the leaders of the "Puritans and the Churches founded by them "uniformly acted. Look into the platforms of "these Churches, the Savoy, the Cambridge, "and the Saybrook; turn over the ecclesiastical "records of the primitive times of New Eng- "land, and proof will accumulate upon proof. "The Congregational Churches all had their "Creeds, their Confessions of Faith, and all "held it as their right and their duty to with- "hold and withdraw fellowship from all who "denied or corrupted the essential Articles.

"Yet you say, 'This system will shake to the "'foundation our religious institutions, and "'destroy many habits and connexions which "'have had the happiest influence on the relig- "'ious character of this people. The annual "'Convention of Congregational Ministers of "'Massachusetts, that ancient bond of union, "'must be dissolved. The Association of Min- "'isters in our different Counties must, in "'many cases, be broken up. Neighboring "'Churches will be mutually estranged. In "'the same Church, angry divisions will break "'forth. Many religious Societies will be rent "'asunder, their Ministers dismissed, and re- "'ligious institutions cease. Discord will be "'carried not only into Churches but into fam- "'ilies. The family altar must fall.' Such are "the direful consequences on which your fever- "ish imagination broods, and to which it has "given the most dismal colorings."—*Worcester's Third Letter to Channing, 76, 77.*

Doctor Channing had dwelt upon the revolutionary tendency of the policy of separation urged by the reviewer. Doctor Worcester replies: "But why must these dreadful consequences "now ensue? The 'system' from which you "say they must result, is not a new one. It has "been in practice from the first ages of the "Gospel. It has been in practice, in our "Churches, from the first settlement of our

"country. The orthodox Churches of New "England, of Massachusetts, have always held "it right to separate from those who essentially "corrupt the Gospel; at no period of our his- "tory have they supposed that they ought to be "in communion with avowed Unitarians; and "if, at any time, they have been in communion "with them, it is because those Unitarians have "not been publicly avowed and open.

"No, Sir; we are not introducing or pro- "posing a *new* system. We stand upon the "'foundation' of our fathers; the venerable "founders of our Churches, to whom, under "God, we are indebted for our 'religious insti- "'tutions' and the invaluable blessings which "have resulted from them to our beloved Com- "monwealth and country. We adhere to their "faith and their worship, to their principles and "system of ecclesiastical order and discipline; "and both the one and the other we wish to main- "tain and to perpetuate, in their genuine spirit, "and with all their benign and salutary influence, "as an inheritance to our children and our chil- "dren's children. *You*, not *we*, are the *innova- "tors*—the aggressors—the assailants. By *you*, "not by *us*, are our religious institutions to be "shaken to the foundation, and all those direful "consequences, which you have so rhetorically "represented, are to be produced! Are you and "your friends, Sir, *determined* on all this? It "should seem, from the portentous signal which "you have given, that such is the fact. Then, "indeed, 'the time is come,' when all who ven- "erate the religion of their fathers, who love "the Gospel of Christ, who wish well to the "temporal and eternal interests of their fellow- "men, 'are called to awake, and to remember "'their duties to themselves, to posterity, and "'to the church of Christ.' To affect to despise "your strength or your means, would not be the "part of wisdom. We know very well where "your seat is. We know that you have estab- "lished yourselves on the high places of the "Commonwealth; and that you possess advan- "tages for exerting an influence as extensive as it "may be destructive."—*Worcester's Third Let- ter to Channing, 78, 79.*

Doctor Channing had spoken with severity against the project of Consociation that had been agitated among the Orthodox and advocated in the *Panoplist*. It had been strenuously defended and commended by Doctor Morse, as necessary to the purity and power of the Churches. Doc- tor Channing, aware of the fact that many of the Orthodox were opposed to it, availed himself of this fact, and aimed to strengthen his cause by a denunciation of what others, beside himself, ap- prehended to be a project for ecclesiastical des- potism. Doctor Worcester replies, on this point: "The plan of Consociation, presented by the "Committee, I have considered with earnest "attention,—have examined and re-examined, "with anxious scrutiny; and I am free to de- "clare, that I can see nothing in it repugnant to "Congregational principles, to the Platform, or "to the liberties of the Churches. On the con- "trary, it does appear to me well calculated to "revive Congregationalism in its purity; to re- "store the Platform to its legitimate use; to "guarantee to the Churches their rights and "liberties; and to secure them from those inva- "sions, infringements, vexations, and usurpa- "tions, to which, since the Platform has gone so "generally into disuse, they have been continu- "ally exposed. I may be in an error. The "Report, however, *agreeable to the express inten- "tion and desire of the Committee*, is before the "public for free consideration and discussion. "To denounce it, as you have done, is more "easy than wise. I sincerely hope it will be "examined with all the fairness and candor, "together with all the faithful scrutiny and "jealous care, which its nature and importance "demand. If you or any other man shall make "it appear to be uncongregational in its princi- "ples or dangerous to the liberties of the "Churches, in its provisions, I pledge myself to "exert whatever I may possess of talent or of "influence to prevent it adoption."—*Note to Worcester's Third Letter to Channing, 78.*

But the controversy was proceeding also in other quarters. The entire community was pro- foundly agitated. The very atmosphere of the time seemed full of controversy. "A pamphlet "had just been published, as the last sheet of "Doctor Worcester's *Second Letter* was put into "his hands for correction. His attention was "called to it in the book-store of his honored "publisher and friend, S. T. Armstrong, Esq. "After reading it, he retired to a room, and "immediately wrote a '*Postscript*' which, in an "hour or two, was in the printing-office. The "'Layman' never recovered from the well-de- "served rebuke of his personal invective and "phrenzied vituperation."—*Life of Dr. S. Worcester, ii., 349.*

This is a somewhat summary method of dis- posing of a pamphlet which is especially import- ant as indicating the spirit with which, in certain quarters, the controversy was waged. Its very title—*Are you a Christian or a Calvinist?*—far exceeded, in the bitterness of implied interpreta- tion, any thing that had been said by Doctor Channing or Doctor Worcester. The author of it was John Lowell, a brother of Doctor Lowell, Pastor of the West Church, in Boston. He was a gentleman of learned leisure and a frequent writer for the press. Numerous pamphlets issued from his pen, most of them anonymous, but indicating the deep interest which he took

in the questions of the day. In the *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, by his son, the writer, speaking of the three sons of Judge Lowell, says: "The eldest, John Lowell, I knew very "well, for many years; and he was certainly "among the most remarkable men I have "ever known. Born in 1770, he was twenty "years younger than my father, but was one "of his most valued friends. In 1804, at "the age of thirty-four, he left his profession, "and never resumed it. Under the pressure "of a very extensive business, his health "broke down. He told me that, on the day "when he determined, in obedience to medical "advice, or rather command, to give up all at- "tention to business, at once and entirely, he "had ninety-three cases on his docket, marked "for trial. He went abroad, and there his "health improved; and he confirmed it, after "his return to this country, by regular labor on "his farm in Roxbury. He suffered little more "from ill health, but, perhaps, felt that his nerv- "ous system had been too much weakened to "permit him again to engage, with safety, either "in his profession or in official duty; and the "residue of his life was passed in retirement.

"He was a retiring man, and never thrust "himself into employment or public notice, but "accepted, cheerfully, the opportunities of use- "fulness which were not so much offered as "forced upon him; for he had no avarice, and "his ambition was satisfied. But it was impos- "sible that his extraordinary abilities could be "idle, or his enthusiastic energy wholly sup- "pressed. He wrote often for the newspapers; "and was regarded as taking Ames's place in "that duty. He published, at different times, "from twenty-five to thirty pamphlets, on vari- "ous topics."—*Memoir of Parsons, 145.*

One of these pamphlets—already mentioned—demands our attention as indicating the deep interest which laymen took in the controversy, and the fierceness of tone which could consist with the largest professions of charity and liberality. Mr. Lowell was one of the Fellows of the Corporation of Harvard-college, for twelve years, and sustained that relation to it at the present time. It is to be presumed that he would not have ventured to issue such a pamphlet, if he had not been well assured of the general approval and sympathy of his friends and the party with which he acted. He begins with remarking: "I expect the intolerant among the "disciples of Calvin will be ready to consign a "layman to the fate of '*unregenerate repro-* "'*bates*,' who shall dare to intermeddle with "the sacred mysteries of their faith. Their "master would never suffer any one to question "his doctrines under pain of the faggot. He "wished to dethrone the Pope only that he "might put the tiara on his own head. His dis- "ciples, in *this* country, and in this alone, retain "the same spirit. They would have it believed "that the laity are to adopt their faith from "them, as they have taken it from Calvin; and "the pains and penalties of infidelity and ex- "communication are now openly denounced "against those who shall call in question any "one of the dogmas uttered, two centuries ago, "by an uninspired Priest of Switzerland.

"If some future historian of the Church shall "relate, that, in the beginning of the nineteenth "century, in a country whose Constitutions secure "the freedom of religious opinion and require "only a general belief of the Christian religion, "a set of men combined to write down all who "ventured to think for themselves, to raise the "cry of heresy against those who preferred the "Scriptures as the rule of their faith to any "human Creed, it certainly will be deemed in- "credible. Posterity will require some collat- "eral evidence of the fact. They will search "the records of our Historical Societies and the "alcoves of our Colleges, for any controversial "writings which may confirm so improbable a "story. It is with a view to furnishing such a "document that I write. I do not mean to enter "into the subtleties of a theological controversy, "which would be unsuitable to a layman, if he "were capable of it. The principal end I pro- "pose, is to examine our rights, and to put on "record this alarming, and injurious, and bold "attempt to invade them, in such a country and "in such an age. It is one of the facts in the "history of human nature, that deserves to be "noticed."—*Page 3, 4.*

The following is his contrast of the two parties, a contrast certainly more striking than any drawn in the *Panoplist:* "The Orthodox believe "in Calvin and the Westminster Assembly; the "Liberal Christians in Christ and his Apostles. "The former are Calvinists—the latter, Christ- "ians. Yet so intolerant and unreasonable are "the party who have arrogated to themselves "the title of Orthodox, that they venture to "deny the name and title of Christians to the "followers of Christ, and apply it, exclusively, to "the followers of Calvin and of human Coun- "cils, Assemblies, and Creed makers."—*Page 6.*

He very naturally directs his attention to what he regarded as slanders against Harvard-college. He says: "These generous keepers of their "neighbor's vineyard would have it thought "that there is a great change in the theological "character of the College, that is, of its Super- "intendents and officers, within the last twenty "years. Every one knows, that, for sixty years, "at least, this institution has been distinguished "as the temperate region of theology; that the "five points and other points of violent theorists

"and zealots for orthodoxy have never been in-
"culcated; and that Calvinists and Hopkinsians
"have always considered Harvard college as a
"place where a man, instructor or pupil, might
"refuse to wear their badges without any for-
"feiture of reputation or influence."—*Page 52.*

He criticises Doctor Morse with some freedom:
"For many years, Doctor Morse and those who
"have chosen to identify their cause with his
"character and views, knew, as well as they now
"do, that many of the Boston Clergy held
"opinions opposed to those of Calvin, and in
"conformity with the simple doctrines which
"our Saviour himself taught. They knew also,
"that these opinions were generally prevalent
"among the laity in their Parishes. Yet, du-
"ing all this period, Doctor Morse courted their
"friendship, and held an intimate intercourse
"with the men he now denounces as heretical.
"It was not till after his ambitious views on the
"College were defeated, and till most of the
"Parishes in Boston felt a repugnance to his
"introduction into their pulpits, on various
"grounds, that he became an open assailant."—
Page 61.

He gives expression to his apprehensions of the tendency of the new Associations, organized on the basis of the ecclesiastical scheme then urged by Doctor Morse and others: "These new Asso-
"ciations, if not watched and made the objects
"of jealousy, will soon become tremendous en-
"gines in the hands of skilful and ambitious
"men. The Roman Pontiff, who dethroned
"monarchs and brought the Emperors of Europe
"to his feet, was only the simple successor of
"St. Peter, who walked, barefooted, in Rome,
"and fell a martyr to his faith, in that city,
"where his successor sat enthroned in purple.

"At this moment, the General Associations,
"though created with the view of forcing con-
"formity to Calvinism and extirpating heresy,
"appear very harmless. They terminate in pleas-
"ant tours, at free cost, much respect, and
"good cheer to the *Delegates*."—*Page 65.*

His remarks on this topic are quite extended:
"For nearly two hundred years, the discipline of
"our Churches rested on the Cambridge Plat-
"form. There were no General Associations, no
"ecclesiastical Assemblies, which arrogated to
"themselves the right of settling matters of
"faith. All these things were regulated by
"Councils, either mutual or *ex parte*, called for
"each particular case. The General Convention
"of Congregational Ministers never assumed to
"itself supervisory, or legislative, or judicial
"powers. If any public body had a right to
"assume them, certainly, that body had."—
Page 65.

"To what valuable or even honorable end
"these societies can be directed, it is difficult to
"perceive; but that they may have the most
"pernicious effects on the rights and liberties of
"the citizens, in matters of faith, we can all see.

"The authority of General Councils and of
"the Roman See took its rise in commence-
"ments infinitely more feeble. Once established
"and acquiesced in, they might proceed, as the
"Associations in Connecticut have sometimes
"done, to separate a Parish and its Pastor,
"where they were perfectly harmonious; and to
"strip a Clergyman of his sacerdotal character,
"for being faithful to his master."—*Page 66.*

"This project, though covered by as much art
"and sophistry as has ever been displayed by
"men aiming at secret encroachments on the
"rights of others, is simply this, under color of
"enforcing and amending, to abrogate and
"annul, the Cambridge Platform, which has
"been the rule of discipline and palladium of
"our religious liberties, from the earliest settle-
"ment of our country, and to substitute, in its
"place, a new ecclesiastical tribunal, unknown
"to our ancestors, and subversive of our relig-
"ious rights."—*Note, Page 70.*

"We are, however, encouraged to accept it,
"by the suggestion that Connecticut did, at that
"day, adopt it. Yes, she did, and we have
"seen its fruits. The recommendation, in brief,
"is, that Massachusetts shall abolish her relig-
"ious charter and conform her discipline to
"that of Connecticut, though she nobly refused
"so to do, one hundred years ago."—*Note, Page 71.*

"It is worthy of consideration, whether there
"should not be a covenant instantly formed by
"the friends of religious freedom and of the
"Cambridge Platform, for its defence against
"all schemes of innovation, and a public Con-
"vention of laity and Clergy of those opinions,
"called to adopt measures to counteract this
"conspiracy against the Chuch and its ancient
"rights."—*Note, Page 72.*

The controversy assumed a variety of phases as different topics became the subject of discussion. One of the most earnestly controverted points was that concerning Creeds and Confessions of Faith; and this was frequently and naturally associated with the effort to establish a new ecclesiastical organization of the Churches of Massachusetts. One of the earliest pamphlets on this subject was by "Elias "Monitor;" and was issued in a small duodecimo, in 1812. He proposed to defend the project of Consociation, while, in an ironical vein, he heaped ridicule upon it, and exposed it to odium and contempt. Something of the tone of the discussion may be inferred from the following passages: "But let the Churches,
"generally, be associated, and all inferior inter-
"ests are merged in the interests of the body;

"personal, family, and local influence yields "to the superior influence of Consociation; "and, in answer to every complaint of the "want of tenderness, friendship, and charity, "the declaration is—'I only comply with the "'requisitions of Consociation, whose authori-"'ty, in all ecclesiastical concerns, is supreme.' "Every individual will now be justified in as-"sailing the fears of the timid and alarming "the apprehensions of the serious, that their "salvation will be endangered if they continue "to support an heretical Minister; and the "prospect will daily brighten, that the increas-"ing opposition will soon remove the Minister; "and the Church whose 'duty it is to be con-"'sociated,' fatigued with strife and altercation, "will, at last, from the love of quiet, be in-"duced, voluntarily, to take the yoke, and "patiently submit to the imposition." And again: "In most places, the members of the "Church are but a small part of the town or "Parish. Under Consociation, what is the sit-"uation of our Christian Societies, as bodies "distinct from the Church? They are not even "represented in the tribunal by whose decis-"ions the Minister of their choice, whom they "support, may be taken from them; and they "suffer other and greater evils, for which they "have no remedy. Will not they appear in "defence of their privileges before they shall "feel the galling of the chains which are forg-"ing for them."

The following Note indicates a line of argument that was repeatedly adopted when the liberal party were charged with defection from the faith of the Puritans. It takes the form of a Note. "In the above remarks, no censure is in-"tended of those who have modified some of "the Articles of the Calvinistic system. We "consider this as one effect of the general im-"provement of the age; as one step towards a "greater harmony of opinion among the several "denominations of Christians; and, therefore, as "a subject of gratulation. But is it ingenuous, "does it comport with the simplicity of the "Gospel, for any one to hold up Calvin or the "Puritans of New England as standards of "Christian faith, when they dissent from Ar-"ticles, which Calvin published and the Puritans "admitted as essential doctrines of the Gospel? "Does not this carry, at least, the semblance of "a design to avail themselves of a popular "name, to which they have not a title, to secure "an influence with the public? Several Articles "might be mentioned on which the Orthodox "of the present day essentially differ from the "faith of the Puritans; but one is sufficient to "support the assertion in the text. The doc-"trine of imputation. Had any preacher come "unto the Puritans denying the imputation of "Adam's sin or of Christ's righteousness, would "they have received him into their houses, or "bid him 'God speed?'"

But one of the most prolific pamphleteers of the time, who discussed the question of Creeds, was Jacob Norton, Pastor of the Church at Weymouth. He ranked himself, at first, as one of the Orthodox; and was recognized as such, till 1813, when he published his *Seasonable and Candid Thoughts on Human Creeds or Articles of Faith, as Religious Tests, connected with an humble attempt to ascertain the true character of Jesus Christ, in answer to an extract of a letter from the Reverend* ———. Mr. Norton signed himself "An Orthodox Clergy-"man of Massachusetts." His pamphlet was occasioned by the inquiry of a brother Clergyman, as to whether he might extend ministerial fellowship and intercourse to a neighboring clergyman, whose views, on the subject of the Trinity, were regarded as unsound.

Mr. Norton, in reply, takes the side of Christian forbearance. Speaking of the sentiments of the erring brother, he remarks: "Let it be ad-"mitted that this view of Jesus Christ does not "perfectly harmonize with reputed or real ortho-"doxy; yet may it not reasonably be questioned, "to say the least, whether it is consistent with "Christian candor to adopt and patronize such a "religious Creed or Article of Faith, as to render "it necessary to exclude from your fraternity and "fellowship your Christian brethren, whose sen-"timents of the character of Christ thus vary "from the orthodox standard? and especially "when their religious sentiments, in relation to "other subjects, are generally, in your own es-"timation, correct and scriptural, and their moral "and religious character and conduct fair, ex-"emplary, and unimpeachable; and when, per-"haps, they are distinguished for their diligence "and zealous assiduity in the promotion of ex-"perimental religion and practical piety.

"If, for the honor or support of a religious "Creed or any Article of Faith, expressed in the "words which men's wisdom inventeth, you find "it necessary to excommunicate from your Asso-"ciation and Christian fellowship, your brethren "of this description, let me, respectfully, and in "the most serious manner, ask, whether that "Creed or Article ought not to be prostrated to "the dust? Can it have any just claim to your "support? Indeed, may I not, with propriety, "and without cause of offence, ask, whether a "religious Creed consisting either of one or of "many Articles, expressed in language of human "device, ought *ever* to be formed and advocated "as a *test* of religious orthodoxy? Has any "individual, or any association of Christians, a "*right*, on *Christian principles*, to form such a "Creed, and require their brethren to subscribe

"or give their assent to it, in order to their en-
"joying any privilege or institution of the Gos-
"pel?"—*Page 6.*

His own views of the person of Christ are thus indicated: "You must also perceive, that, "in my estimation, the Bible furnishes much "evidence, that Jesus Christ is a being or intelli-"gent agent *distinct* from God his Father, and, "therefore, that he cannot be either the self-"existent God, or strictly equal to the self-"existent God. You must perceive, also, that I "disclaim the idea that he is a man, who never "existed till he was born of the Virgin Mary; "and advocate the sentiment that he is the first-"born of every creature; as having existed be-"fore creation; and that God the Father made "the worlds by or through him."—*Page 37.*

With such views, it was natural that he should warmly plead the cause of the supposed offender: "Can I harbor the suspicion, Sir, that you "will give your voice against your faithful "brother, as unworthy of connection with your "associated body, and as unworthy of your "ministerial intercourse and fellowship? I am "persuaded better things of you. Has Mr. —— "forfeited his character as a Christian, or as a "Christian Minister, by any immorality or neg-"lect of the duties of his office? This, neither "you nor your associated brethren pretend. "Does he by any real or supposed error in opin-"ion exhibit evidence that he is not a real Chris-"tian? This you do not admit or believe. "Are you *sure* that his view of the character of "Christ is erroneous? I am persuaded you will "not venture, peremptorily, to say it is. But let "it be admitted that his sentiments respecting "the character of Jesus Christ are incorrect; "yet are his errors of that magnitude, as to ren-"der him worthy of excision from your associ-"ated body and ministerial fellowship?"—*Pages 39, 40.*

In conclusion, he refers with some severity to the language of a leading Presbyterian Clergyman of New York, and contrasts human compositions with the Sacred Scriptures, as a standard: "I have, in the preceding com-"munication, suggested the idea that human "Creeds or Articles of Faith have been consider-"ed, in some respects, at least, as a better crite-"rion or test of the soundness of a man's head "and the goodness of his heart, than the Bible "itself. If this were not, indeed, the case, "whence is it that such Creeds or Articles should, "by so many, be zealously advocated and highly "recommended? Why should subscription or "assent to them be required as necessary to ad-"mission into Christian Churches and ministerial "Associations? And whence is it that we find "one of the most celebrated classical characters "in the United States, on leaving the people of "his charge for a more distinguished station, "giving them, with much solemnity, the follow-"ing advice: 'Before I dismiss this topic, "'there is one thing more which I must, by no "'means, omit. It is, that nothing will more "'contribute to your being at peace among "'yourselves, both when vacant and at other "'times, than keeping strictly to the principles "'and forms of the Presbyterian Church, as laid "'down in our public standards of doctrine "'and government. By those standards, try, "'carefully, all doctrines and conduct, scrupu-"'lously, all your proceedings. Esteem it no "'hardship or oppression, esteem it as an un-"'speakable privilege, that these standards are "'given for your direction and control.' If, "my dear brother, we do not here find *another* "standard of faith and practice than the Bible, "yet we find, to say the least, a standard *addi-"tional* or *supplementary* to the Bible; a stand-"ard by which all *doctrines are to be tried*, that "it may be known whether they are *orthodox* or "*heretical;* a standard by which *all proceedings* "are to be adjusted and all actions weighed, to "determine whether they are *right* or *wrong;* "a standard which is to be esteemed *no hardship* "*or oppression*, but as an *unspeakable privilege;* "a standard which is *given*, not by the *inspira-"tion of God*, but by the *wisdom and will of* "*man;* a standard, in fine, for the *direction* and "*control* of the professed followers of him, who "is the sole constituted legislator for his people! "How strange is this! How passing strange! "Is advice like this—is following this advice— "consistent with that respect and reverence "which are due to the sacred Scriptures, as the "*only rule* of our faith and practice? Does it "not seem too much like making the *command-"ment of God* of none effect by human tradi-"tions? Does it not have too much the appear-"ance of *teaching for doctrines the command-"ments of men?* Does it not look too much "like *coveting* and even assuming the names "*Rabbi*, *Father*, *Master*, on *one part*, and, on "*the other*, of blind reverence and the most un-"reasonable veneration for those names? Alas! "my brother, how many are there who *claim* "the *right* and *exercise* the *authority* over their "christian brethren which they never received "from Jesus Christ? and how many are there, "who, apparently, *'love to have it so?'*"—*Pages 44–46.*

This pamphlet challenged a reply; and the reply came from T. A. (Rev. Thomas Andros) who had recently defined his position, as a Trinitarian, by his published answer to Noah Worcester's *Bible News.* The "Orthodox Clergyman," as Mr. Norton still claimed to be, was not disposed to allow Mr. Andros the last word. In 1814, he came forward with *Things Set in a*

Proper Light; in answer to a Letter from T. A. to a Friend.

"T. A." had said, in replying to the contrast, drawn by Mr. Norton, between human Creeds and the Scriptures: "Never before had I an "idea that the truth, disrobed of Scripture lan- "guage and put into the common dialect, be- "came rank poison, and the cause of immense "mischief, to the human race. Have mere "words, letters, or syllables such a terrific magic "power to transform the best thing in the uni- "verse into the worst? All this we must be- "lieve, if we accredit what this writer (the Or- "thodox Clergyman) says."

On the other hand, Mr. Norton remarks: "But if these Articles are imposed with the de- "sign to promote and secure *uniformity of sen- "timent;* and if subscription to them is to be "considered as required in *one and the same "sense*, who that has any reflection but must be "convinced, both of the *impracticability* and "*unreasonableness* of the device!

"By attempting to effect uniformity of senti- "ment in this way, hypocrisy may be encouraged "and promoted, or a sort of *blind assent* to a "sort of *blind formulary* may be secured; but a "rational and intelligible coalescence in opinion, "among men, will never be achieved by it. All "attempts to this purpose have, *heretofore*, in a "great measure, at least, failed; nor is it to be "expected that any desirable success will *ever* "attend or result from them.

"Whatever stress may be laid on subscription "to the Creed of the Church of England, or any "other human Creed; whatever parade of sanc- "tity may accompany the subscription, or how- "ever conducive a belief of its Articles may be "thought to holiness of heart or life, it is all "grimace and hypocrisy, if a real principle of "pure and undefiled religion do not influence "the hearts of the subscribers. But how this "principle should either be *originated* or *cher- "ished* by subscription or assent to a human "Creed, rather than to the Scriptures, I cannot "myself conceive, nor, it is believed, is any one "able to tell. From what I have seen and "learnt of human Creeds, I do not hesitate to "say, that points of Christian doctrine, so far "from being rendered more plain and intelligi- "ble by them, are, by *their* light, not a little "obscured. *The brilliancy of the diamond is "not increased by the daubings of the painter's "pencil.* The application of this remark can- "not be doubtful."—*Page 16.*

He quotes specimens of the persecuting legislation of the early settlers of New England, and charges the leaven of the same principles upon the suspicious and bigoted spirit which then prevailed: "It is indeed true that a spirit of bigotry "and persecution does not now operate among "Christians with that heat and violence with "which it heretofore has done; yet it is far "from being extinguished. And that it is in no "small degree kept alive and cherished through "the instrumentality of Creeds and Articles of "Faith of human construction, cannot reasonably "be questioned. By *these;* a middle wall of "partition, strong and high, is erected between "different denominations of Christians, which, in "a great measure, prevents that friendly, and "charitable, and improving intercourse with each "other which the spirit of our holy and benevo- "lent religion recommends and inculcates. And, "but for this separating wall, these different de- "nominations of Christians would not, it is con- "fidently believed, view each other, as is now "too much the case, with a jaundiced and jealous "eye; entertain towards each other unfavorable "sentiments and hard feelings; and load each "other with unfriendly appellations and oppro- "brious epithets. Nor, but for this same separat- "ing wall, would Christians of the same denom- "ination, and who, generally, harmonize in "sentiment, be chargeable with so much *misrep- "resentation* of each other, with so much *alien- "ation* in affection from each other, and with "treating each other in a manner *so repugnant "to the spirit and genius of the Gospel*, as is now "unhappily and lamentably the case."—*Page 18.*

In 1815, the "Orthodox Clergyman" had become simply "An Aged Clergyman," and now signalizes his aversion to Creeds in *A Short and Easy method with a late writer arrogating to himself the title of "Orthodox Clergyman," in a Letter to a young Gentleman just entered upon a course of theological studies, with a view to the Christian Ministry.* In this pamphlet, the writer, in an ironical strain, advises the young Minister to abandon his "design of acquiring a "comprehensive, correct, and critical knowledge "of the Holy Scriptures." Such a course would not render him more popular. It would be attended by difficulties. It would secure no advantage. It would not establish him in the orthodox faith. It would force him to relinquish the convenient support and authority of human standards. It would operate to the great disadvantage of himself and others, new discoveries in theology only tending to disturb the peace of Churches. It would probably shake his faith in the Trinity and in the old opinions, and subject him to many other inconveniences.

This pamphlet was followed, almost immediately, (1815) by one to which the author affixed, at length, his own proper name. It bore, directly, upon the controversy now agitating the entire community of Eastern Massachusetts. It bore the title, *Things as they are; or Trinitarianism developed, in answer to a Letter of the Rev. Daniel Thomas, of Abington, with Strictures on*

the sentiments of the late Rev. Dr. S. Hopkins; of the Rev. Doctors Emmons and Griffin; of the Rev. E. Smith; and Mr. T. A., in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity.

At this time, Mr. Norton is found uttering, in his own behalf, what had become a frequent and even general complaint, that, on account of the imputation of heterodox views, on the subject of the Trinity, his brethren declined to exchange pulpits with him. In his prefatory notice he says: "The author of the following "pages having, for a considerable time, been "considered by several of his *lately* associated "brethren as an heretic, on account of his dif- "fering from them in opinion, with respect to "the doctrine of the Trinity; and having been "denied by them, an interchange of profession- "al labors, while they assigned no distinct or "precise reason for this their denial,—was, by "a sense of duty, constrained, in the month of "January last, to express to the members of the "Association, then convened, the regret and "concern which he felt from the treatment he "had received from them.

"The communication which he made to his "brethren was dictated by a spirit of fraternal "affection—by an ardent desire to promote "brotherly love and union and to advance the "interest of the Redeemer's kingdom. Nor "was the communication made, as he believes, "in a manner which was indicative of any "other than a spirit of candor, of serious con- "cern, and of respectful fidelity. But, to his "great disappointment, the communication "was, at the time, treated by his brethren, with "the *neglect* of *expressive* silence.

"Early in February, however, he received a "letter from one of the members of the Associ- "ation, the Rev. Mr. Thomas of Abington, con- "taining some notices of the communication "above mentioned."

He denies that the diversity of his views is a sufficient reason for the course of his brethren in refusing to exchange pulpits: "As it is "'*solely* on account of the ground I have taken "'with relation to Christ and the Holy Spirit, "'that you have been constrained to suspend "'exchanges with me,' I pray you, very serious- "ly and carefully, to review that ground and "your conduct 'on account' of it. You do not "refuse to exchange with me on account of any "real or supposed difference in opinion which "may exist between us with respect to the "character of the One God, the Father of "Christ. Am I then to attribute this, your "refusal, to my belief that the 'Holy Spirit' is "self-existent, eternal, &c., and that this same "Spirit is not a being distinct from the One "God? This, my belief, if I am to credit your "assertion, is, *in part*, the ground or reason of "your rejecting me as erroneous in sentiment, "even to the subversion of the Gospel of Christ. "The *other part* of that ground of reason for "this is, that I believe Jesus Christ possesses "no lower character than that which the high- "est titles and attributes ascribed to him in the "Bible import; and that the One God, the "Supreme Jehovah, is as intimately united to "him, as you can suppose him to be united to "a creature, whose existence can be traced but "a few centuries back. The only real differ- "ence, Sir, which I can perceive between your "views and mine, 'with respect to Christ, is "'this—your views make him a holy man—a "'creature of moderate antiquity, and *nothing* "'*more;* whereas my view carries back his an- "'tiquity before creation, representing his dig- "'nity and glory as *great beyond expression*— "'*beyond conception.*' I well know you will not "admit that you thus *degrade* the character of "Jesus, the Lord of glory. But that you "*really do*, is my settled belief. And that it is "utterly beyond your power to make it appear "otherwise, I am fully persuaded."—*Page 13.*

In 1814, the Rev. Ethan Smith of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, had issued, in a duodecimo of two hundred and thirty-five pages, *A Treatise on the Character of Jesus Christ, and on the Trinity in unity of the Godhead, with Quotations from the primitive Fathers.* This treatise was accompanied by the recommendations of Doctors Emmons, Griffin, and Morse, over their own names. To this, therefore, Mr. Norton directs his attention: "To prove the humanity "of Christ, or that he possessed a created soul, "which began to exist at his incarnation, Mr. "Smith quotes *Hebrews, ii., 9.* 'But we see "'Jesus, who was made a little lower than the "'angels for the sufferings of death, crowned "'with glory and honor.' Because Jesus was "*made a little lower than the angels*, this writer "infers the manhood of Christ. But must he "not, to be consistent, infer that Christ is "*divine*, even the *Supreme Divinity*, from the "consideration that the author of the Epistle "to the *Hebrews, 1, 4*, speaks of Christ as 'being "'made so much better than the angels, as he "'hath, by inheritance, obtained a more excel- "'lent name than they?' Christ was as truly "*made better* than the angels, as he was *made* "*lower* than angels. But if, *because* he was "made *lower* than angels, he must be *man*, does "it not follow that, as he was made *better* than "angels, he must be *God?* Must not Mr. "Smith admit, then, that Christ, *as God*, was "*made God!* How *this gentleman* can reconcile "these representations, according to his theory, "I know not. But that they are perfectly "reconcilable I am fully satisfied. Nor do I "think that the *author* of the Epistle to the

"Hebrews has failed clearly to *reconcile* them. "Christ was made 'a little lower than angels' "in that *he was liable to 'the sufferings of death'* "and actually *suffered death*, to which suffer- "ings *angels were not liable.* But this same "Christ was 'made much better than the an- "'gels' in that God appointed him heir of all "things; 'in that he *made the worlds by him;'* "in that *he sat down* on the right of the Majes- "ty on high; and in that '*he obtained* a more "'excellent inheritance *than they;* for, to which "'of the angels said he [*God*] at any time, Sit "'on my right hand?'"—*Page 33.*

Mr. Norton also examines the views of other Trinitarians, and endeavors to exhibit their incongruity or inconsistency with one another. After noticing Doctor Emmons, he says: "From "this review of Doctor Emmons's celebrated "sermon on the Trinity, it appears that, in "order to avoid paganism, and infidelity, and "the dreadful consequences of infidel and "pagan services, we *must*, instead of approach- "ing the Father, *through* the Son, and *by* the "Spirit, 'according to the *most plain and obvi-* "'*ous meaning of the Apostle*, worship three "'distinct persons, perfectly equal in every "'divine perfection'—each, 'by nature, God,' "and, therefore, each self-existent and supreme! "And this, Sir, if I understand you, is a most "important and fundamental article in *your* "religious Creed. And yet the author of this "same sermon explicity avows it as his belief, "'that we ought to regard and acknowledge "'the FATHER as the *primary object* of religious "'homage,' and that 'Christians are required "'to address their prayers and praises to the "'God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, "'as the primary object of divine homage and "'adoration'—(*Page 23*). But is not this sen- "timent perfectly accordant with the belief of "the Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians?"—*Page 45.*

Toward the conclusion of his pamphlet, he seeks to expose the mischiefs which naturally follow from the policy of his opponents, in making acceptance of Creeds a term of fellowship: "But for these devices of human wis- "dom, the Christian Church would not, as it "now is, be shivered into angry factions; a "spirit of proselytism would not, as it now "does, operate with misguided and unhallowed "zeal; bigotry and censoriousness would relax "their rigid features and smooth their wrink- "led and repulsive visage; warm debates and "rancorous controversy about 'doctrines, the "'commandments of men,' and unintelligible "mysteries of human origin, would subside, "and give place to debates and controversies "of far different spirit and character, and "worthy both of Christians and the noble cause "of Christianity. The *school of the* prophets "would be erected on a basis worthy of its "liberal patronage. The bond of General "Associations, instead of 'scorched thread,' "would consist of that three-fold cord—faith, "hope, and charity—which can never be broken. "From such Associations we might expect no "decree that baptisms are invalid merely be- "cause they were administered by men, who, "after diligently examining the Holy Script- "ures, were constrained to believe that they do "not contain the doctrine of One God existing "in three equal persons! Nor might we expect "that any religious combinations would expel "from their affectionate people, or attempt "to expel, amicable, exemplary, and diligent "Pastors, because they cannot believe a myste- "rious and unintelligible doctrine—a doctrine "which holds a very *conspicuous place* in the "*catholic creed of the Roman Catholic Church!* "We might expect that Christian Churches "would not exclude from their communion "worthy, intelligent and pious members, and, "*without a single admonition*, because they do "not understand and, therefore, cannot believe "this mysterious doctrine. We might expect "not to hear human authorities quoted as "scripture texts; especially as paramount to "the authority of such texts."—*Pages 60, 61.*

After a short delay, (1815,) the "Second "Part" of *Things as they are*, appeared, *in reply to* A Letter written, in February, 1815, to the Rev. Jacob Norton of Weymouth, and now published, with an Appendix containing some notes and remarks, by Daniel Thomas, A. M., Pastor of the Second Church in Abington; together with a few Incidental Remarks on several passages of a Sermon preached at the Installation of the Rev. Holland Weeks, over the First Church and Society in Abington, on the ninth of August, 1815, by Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., Pastor of the Church in Franklin.

It would be tedious to give any adequate synopsis of this octavo pamphlet of one hundred and twelve pages, many of them closely printed. It goes over a variety of topics, including church history, doctrinal questions, and personal relations. Something of the issue between Mr. Norton and his antagonist may be gathered from the following passage, on page 42, of Mr. Norton's pamphlet: "In pages 20 "and 21, Mr. Thomas observes, 'This very con- "'sistent writer (Mr. N.) has labored through "'thirty pages, in reviewing the sentiments of "'several of the most celebrated modern writ- "'ers in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, "'and particularly in relation to the character "'of Jesus Christ,' with the professed design "to expose the clashings of their several theo- "ries, &c. On this, he says, 'whatever clash-

"'ings he may have discovered among those "'authors, he has utterly failed to prove, either "'that they are disagreed with respect to the "'essentials of Trinitarianism, or that their "'scheme is absurd, unreasonable, or unscrip-"'tural.' Here Mr. T. seems to admit that I "*have* discovered 'clashings' among those "authors. But they are not so great, in his "estimation, as to affect the essentials of Trin-"itarianism. And this I will readily admit, as "true, if that theory is consistent with believ-"ing that Jesus Christ is the supreme Jehovah, "and that the very same Jesus Christ is *not* the "supreme Jehovah. But if to believe a propo-"sition *is true*, with respect to Jesus Christ, "and that the same proposition is *not true*, is "inconsistent with the essentials of Trinitar-"ianism, I have shown, I think, that all the "theories of the writers above referred to can-"not be consistent with the essentials of the "Trinitarian doctrine. But if I have not suc-"cessfully done this, why has not Mr. T. ex-"posed the failure of my attempt?"

Still another writer, at this date, flung himself into the controversy. During the year 1815, "Amana" issued two pamphlets, the first in reply to John Lowell, entitled *The Catholick Question at Boston; or an Attempt to prove that a Calvinist is a Christian, (according to the proper signification of those names) Containing also more Remarks on American Unitarianism.* The other, which had previously been issued, was entitled *Remarks on American Unitarianism.* The author did not, himself, profess any attachment to Calvinism; but he maintained that a Calvinist might be a Christian. He appreciated also the scope of the controversy, remarking that it was "not, abstractedly considered, simply a "Trinitarian controversy; we are sensible that "every fundamental doctrine of Christianity is "included in it. Mr. Belsham worships an-"other God, preaches another Gospel, and looks "for a very different felicity than those do who "expect to worship the Lamb that was slain to "all eternity."

Adverting to Doctor Channing's confession of uncertainty as to the character of Christ, "Ama-"na" remarks: "It certainly does sound curi-"iously to hear a professed Christian Minister "say that he is not satisfied, whether Christ was "God or man; (Mr. Worcester's scheme goes so "far as to prove that Christ was neither God nor "man) whether *he died for our sins*; or whether "his death is to be considered in the same light "as the death of any other person; whether it "is right to worship Christ or not." Other passages are more specially designed to meet the case of "A Layman."

Other publications, more or less bearing upon the controversy, belong to this date. Those which had recently appeared in Scotland, in connection with the collision between Doctor Wardlaw and Mr. Yates, were reproduced in this country—the volume, by Doctor Wardlaw, entitled *Discourses on the Principal Points of the Socinian Controversy*, being issued at Andover, by Mark Newman, in 1815.

It is not surprising that, amid this continuous clash of controversy, many should be found sighing for peace. The Liberal party, generally, deprecated controversy, anticipating from it only mischief and increased alienations. Their views found expression in the Convention Sermon of 1815, preached by the venerable Charles Stearns of Lincoln. He insisted on peace and charity, in a tone which seemed to breathe the opposite qualities. For instance, he says: "Among pro-"fessed Christians, enjoying the same common "rights, where truth has free scope to exert it-"self, controversy is absurd, and even disputa-"tion is too bad. For what good purpose could "either answer? When we converse together, "concerning religious subjects, it ought always "to be with the sole view of discovering the "truth. No other legitimate end can be pro-"posed. Nothing peculiar to controversy offers "the least advantage towards this end; but "throws innumerable impediments in the way. "It is generally managed in a way highly inde-"cent and immoral."—*Page 13.*

"The diseased obstinately refuse all the waters "of Siloa and all the healing waters of Israel. "Yet there is another flood, in which they plunge "even to *total immersion.* The waters of Meri-"bah. Deplorable propensity! for, since the "days of Jerome, of accusative memory, by the "almost uniform result of millions of experi-"ments, it is proved that these waters have an "anti-baptismal effect, and wash away

"'From every creature, every sign of grace.'"
—*Page 15.*.

"Is it not certain that *he loves fighting who "always fights?* Will you then find these marks "of God's elect among controversialists? Some "few have had disputes and retained their "Christian graces in exercise. But I run no risk "in saying, that if you will produce a majority, "I will be your servant forever."—*Page 16.*

"Why then should a Minister of the Gospel "denominate himself a Calvinist or an Arminian? "Why profess to be a disciple of Hopkins or "Priestley? Such practices have done much "damage to Churches and Ministers. Churches "have been divided, have been prejudiced against "their Ministers, have lost the use of the finest "talents, of the ablest men. Against Ministers "it excites jealousy, fixes on them the eye of "malice, watchful for their halting; it sours the "minds of the whole, or a part of their Churches "against them."—*Page 19.*

In a Note, appended to the discourse, the author says: "A terrible commotion was excited "in our Churches, in Massachusetts, in 1745, be- "tween those who *called themselves* Calvinists, "on one hand, and those who *were called* Armin- "ians, on the other. This controversy, the "writer of this saw, at its full height. It was "most destructive. It was calculated that one- "fifth, at least, of our country Parishes were in a "divided state. Confusion was immense. Party "rage appeared in hideous forms. Many Minis- "ters lost their Parishes. The destruction was "nearly equal on both sides. The College was "libelled. The libeller was confuted, and his "mortification terminated only with his life. "The Ministers of Boston were assailed, in "pamphlets and public discourses. One of the "assailants was prosecuted in the law, and es- "caped punishment by a verdict of *non compos*.

"This controversy was dying of a lingering "debility, from 1765 to 1768 or '9, when it was "said to be actually dead. And no adequate "cause of its death can be assigned, but the "disgust of all sober Christians at the mischief "it occasioned."—*Note, Pages 30, 31.*

The question of Creeds, then so widely agitated, also engaged his attention; and, in a Note to his discourse, he thus presents his views: "QUESTION. Is a Christian under obligation to "give, to any unauthorized person or persons, "his *Creed* in form? This is denied.

"It may seem wholy impertinent to state such "a question as this. But it has lately been din- "ned in the ears of the public, that all ought to "*come out*, and *declare their belief*, and let us "know *where they stand*, else they are hypo- "crites, and dissemblers, and not worthy to be "owned as Christians. Some preachers have "vociferated this doctrine in public; pamphlet- "eers, with and without names, have asserted it "from the press. It has seemed to make some "impression, from the observation which I have "been able to make. I think the demand to be "impertinent and imperious, subversive of Chris- "tian liberty, and tending to mischievous conse- "quences. I shall therefore oppose it."—*Note, page 32.*

On the subject of a separation of the Liberal and the Orthodox, he says: "Much has been "said and written, of late, concerning a separa- "tion of one part of the Ministers and Churches "of Massachusetts from another part. The "writer of the preceding has long been apprized, "that it has been intended by those who call "themselves the Orthodox. In his Convention "Sermon, he intended to anticipate the proposal "of it, and to be understood to condemn the "measure. He is most decidedly against a sep- "aration, as injurious to the general interests "of religion; tending to bring its Ministers "into great contempt with the public; and "promising no kind of advantage to the Church- "es, in general; but rather a total subversion of "the liberties of the Congregational Churches." —*Note, page 33.*

"Should one party predominate, that party "can never establish its measures while the "brotherhoods retain their present liberties. To "establish an ecclesiastical tribunal out of each "Church, from whose decisions there can be no "appeal, will become a necessary measure. Let "the brotherhoods look to this. A word to the "wise is sufficient."—*Note, page 35.*

This discourse is the more significant as it came from the lips of one who, unless forced, by circumstances, to elect between two parties, would have lived and died in the conviction that he was treading, substantially, in the "old "paths;" and, in his views on Creeds, ecclesiastical tribunals, etc., we seem to have, reproduced, the features of controversies of a preceding century, in which Tucker was concerned, at Newbury, and Dana, at Wallingford.

Even in the sphere of the Convention, where the vehement protest of 1815 had been heard, peace was not restored. Doctor Channing was appointed to preach the sermon for 1816; but, avoiding all reference to religious doctrine, on which he had recently said so much, in his own controversial letters, he chose "War" for his subject, preferring a field of discussion in which all the friends of Philanthropy could unite, rather than prolong an agitation with which no one was, probably, more disgusted than himself.

It was not, however, so easy for others to refrain from speaking. The question of the day was not, however "A Layman" might urge it, "Are you a Christian or a Calvinist?" but, do you belong to Unitarians or the Orthodox? Doctor Alvan Hyde, from western Massachusetts, preached the Convention Sermon, in 1817, and, undoubtedly, in loyalty to his convictions, bore testimony to what he considered the cause of truth. He proceeds to say: "We "now hear that the Saviour of lost men is "represented as being a mere creature, though "far superior to angels. This sentiment is "espoused by those who profess to adhere to "the Christian Scriptures; and in places too, "where the true glory of Christ and his Gos- "pel have been clearly exhibited. That this "sentiment amounts to heresy, in the sense of the "text, is evident, because they, who embrace "it, 'deny the Lord who bought them.'"

"We hear also, that Jesus Christ, the Saviour "of lost men, is represented not only as a mere "creature, but as being nothing more than hu- "man, like unto ourselves, and as never having "existence, before he was born of the Virgin

"Mary. Truly we may ask, What have they, "who advocate this sentiment, done with the "Lord who bought them? They barely own "the Saviour as a mere man; they effectually "disown him as the Lord; and this is rejecting "that which constitutes his true glory. In the "view of candid minds, there will appear to be "no arrogance, no want of Christian meekness, "in saying, that there is an infinite difference "between regarding Jesus Christ, as a created "being, and regarding him as Jehovah, the "true God, manifested in the flesh. The case "is too plain to admit of a doubt. If the real "divinity of Christ be denied, he is denied as "being the Lord. It hence is evident, that "they, who withhold divine honors from Jesus "Christ, and rank him among created beings, "whether superangelic or human, fall into the "class of heretics particularly specified in the "text."—*Pages 10, 11.*

"The light of divine truth, in any place, is "never extinguished all at once; but the pro-"gress of error and darkness, among a people, "is *gradual*, like the advances of shade and "gloom of night, as the Sun declines and sets. "One important doctrine after another is re-"jected, until the essentials of religion become "few indeed; and at length the whole light is "extinguished. Instances doubtless might be "produced, where Churches, which, within the "period of half a century, were evangelical in "sentiment and inspired with a laudable zeal "to keep up the discipline of Christ's house, "are now corrupt in sentiment, and opposed to "all discipline. They have degenerated and "degenerated, until the life and power of "godliness have entirely vanished, and nothing "but error and darkness brood over them. "Churches and religious societies will, insensi-"bly to themselves, sink into this deplorable "state. Let a people only become inattentive "to the Holy Scriptures and the faithful in-"structions of the sanctuary, and, at the same "time, currency be given, among them, to "books of erroneous sentiments, ingeniously "and artfully composed, and they will soon "be landed on the ground of heresy."—*Pages 13, 14.*

The Convention Sermon of 1818 was by Doctor Ware, whose election, as Divinity Professor of Harvard-college, had been so intimately associated with the origin of the controversy. After having represented belief in Jesus, as the Christ, as originally the only essential Article, he proceeds: "But if the ques-"tion be, whether this single Article of Faith "be all that is necessary to salvation, the reply "will be different. No number of Articles can "be specified, which are necessary for every one "in order to salvation; nor can any be named, "which are alone sufficient for every one. The "reason is, that what is essential to be known "and believed by different persons, must vary, "as their capacities and opportunities vary. "The number of fundamental or essential doc-"trines, in this respect, can never be determined, "for every Christian, as far as his situation, "talents, and opportunities are peculiar to him-"self, must have a distinct catalogue, obligatory "on him, but binding on no one else."—*Page 18.*

"Let me add, that so far is it from being "requisite that all should assent to the same "Articles of Faith, that what is actually a "fundamental doctrine to one, another may be "under no obligation to receive, as an Article "of Faith. Besides, a natural difference in the "strength or clearness of the understanding, a "difference of education, and a nameless varie-"ty of circumstances, over which they have no "control, may lay obligations on some, which "extend not to others, and present truths to "those, with such light and evidence, as to "render the assent to them obligatory, of these "they may, very innocently, be ignorant, or, "misunderstanding their nature or their evi-"dence, may reject as errors. What seems to "be essential is, not that this or the other truth "be clearly understood and assented to, in a "certain form; but that in adopting the opin-"ions which are to make the sum of his faith, "he be a pious, humble, upright, and faithful "inquirer."—*Page 19.*

The Convention Sermon of 1819 was preached by Rev. Abiel Holmes of Cambridge, with whom Doctor Ware had been, for years, intimately associated, and with whom he stood, necessarily, in such close relations. The subsequent events of Doctor Holmes's experience, ejected by a Unitarian majority from his house of worship, invest his Convention Sermon of 1819, with a more than usual interest. He turns aside from doctrine to discipline; and finds relief, from the present, by looking to the past. Not a few of his Unitarian hearers could sympathize with much that he said: "It is necessary then to be "well-established in the truths of Christianity. "The right of free inquiry can neither be denied "to Christian Ministers, nor to private Chris-"tians, but does it follow, that it is of no im-"portance what the one preach or what the other "believe? This were to admit the principle, "that would effectually subvert the Gospel, and "'make the Word of God of none effect.' "Whatever liberty may be claimed in the inter-"pretation of Scripture, it is certain, that the "Apostle required soundness of faith in a Min-"ister of Christ."—*Page 18.*

"Moral lectures, such as Plato, or Seneca, or "any ethical philosopher might deliver, are

"incomparably beneath the standard of his "preaching. He teaches, indeed, the purest "morality, and often inculcates the moral "virtues; but it is Christian morality, drawn "from the Gospel and sanctioned by the exam- "ple and precepts of Christ. The great object "of his ministry is, to preach the peculiar "truths and to inculcate the peculiar duties of "the Gospel; particularly to show to men the "way of salvation; to teach them, 'how God "'is in Christ reconciling the world to himself;' "and to 'beseech them, in Christ's stead, to be "'reconciled to God.' He neither delivers his "own theories nor teaches for doctrine the "commandments of men. Considering himself "as a Minister of Christ, he 'preaches not him- "'self, but Christ Jesus the Lord.'"—*Pages 22, 23.*

"Fathers and brethren, remembering that we "are Pastors of Congregational Churches, let us "be faithful to our principles, that we may be "blameless in our own ministrations. Let us "guard these Churches from clerical encroach- "ments, on the one hand, and from popular "incursions, on the other. If, at any time, "it be thought necessary to 'set in order the "'things that are wanting;' or to improve, in "any respect, our system of church-polity, let it "be done, not by individual or local experi- "ments, but by the Churches, in general, repre- "sented in a Council or Synod. 'I beg,' said "President Oakes, and I ask leave to say it after "him, 'that we may keep on the King's highway, "'the way that Christ himself hath cast up for "'us and that our worthy predecessors have "'travelled in before us; the way that hath "'been stated, not in the private models of "'some fanciful and conceited men, but in the "'Platform of Church Discipline and in the "'writings of our ablest and most judicious "'Divines.'"—*Pages 31, 32*

"But, we trust, the descendants of the primi- "tive settlers of New England will never "withdraw their patronage from a Church "planted by their care, and watered by their "tears. It claims not the right, nor wishes for "the power, to impose a Minister on the Con- "gregation; but merely to have a distinct voice "in the election of a Pastor. 'It is not law- "'ful,' says our judicious Hooker, 'for the "'Churches to give away their power to others, "'nor lawful for others to take it away from "'them.' We perceive neither the necessity nor "the expediency, either of dissolving or "weakening the ties by which our Churches and "Parishes are united. The principles and the "conditions of the union are well understood. "The experiment has been successful. To this "union is the high improvement of the New "England States, in civil and literary, moral "and religious respects, to be greatly ascribed. "To this union, under God, do we owe much of "the stability of our institutions and of the "elevation of our character. Why should we, "Fathers and Brethren, make or encourage an "innovation that would, probably, impair the "health of the body-politic, and that would, "doubtless, lower the standard of the pastoral "character, and impoverish and degrade the "Churches of New England? Extreme cases "may occur; but we need not distrust the suffi- "ciency of those provisions, which have so long "been found adequate. To relinquish a prin- "ciple for a present relief, is always dangerous. "A spirit of mutual benevolence and condescen- "sion, in Churches and Societies, and a due "regard to the best interests of both, would "preclude the necessity of such expedients. If "we would be blameless, let us ever encourage "this spirit and this reciprocity, especially when "called to act in the pastoral character. While "careful to defend a most valuable right of the "Church (and who ought 'so naturally to care "'for her state,' as we?) let us use our utmost "influence to have it always exercised with "prudence and charity. Let us maintain the "duty, which has never been denied, 'That a "Church, in the exercise of their right, ought, "'in all possible ways, consistent with it, to "'consult the edification and satisfaction of "'their neighbors, especially of those on whose "'assistance, to carry on their affairs, they may "'have much dependence;' and 'so to manage "'their choice, that if the neighbors have any "'just dissatisfaction, all the respect required "'by Scripture, reason, and gratitude, may be "'paid to it.'"—*Pages 33, 34.*

We have already passed in review the period during which Unitarian theological necessities were first provided for. From its first inception, the Seminary, at Andover, was alienated from the sympathies of the Liberal party. We have seen in what a severe manner the *Anthology* had criticised its Constitution and Statutes. It was not to the credit of the Liberal party to sneer at the liberal efforts of the Orthodox to promote the cause of biblical scholarship, and yet do nothing themselves.

The conviction became general, among all the leading men of the Liberal party, ere the controversy between Channing and Worcester had reached its close, that immediate steps should be taken to promote the cause of theological learning. The result is told by Willard, in his *Memories*. As early as 1813, Henry Ware, Junior, had penned the following criticism of Cambridge students: "Our Cambridge "students; they study religion too much as a "science, too much as a business of mere gram- "mar and lexicon; they seem to regard it as a

"subject to be reasoned upon, to exercise their "ingenuity; and appear almost to forget that "it is something to be felt; while they sharpen "the wits and inform the head, they are not "careful to polish the heart and rectify the "affections."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Junior, 53.*

Willard says: "To President Kirkland, the "University and the public are indebted for "the first movement in the attempt to establish "the Divinity School. In December of the "year 1815, the Corporation addressed a Cir-"cular letter to such of the graduates of the "University as they thought would be most "disposed to take an interest in the undertak-"ing, and who possessed the means and the "moral and religious influence necessary to "further the design and to other gentlemen of "like character and influence, soliciting their "aid in the cause."—*Memories of S. Willard, ii., 290.*

"Very soon after the inauguration of Presi-"dent Kirkland, attention was turned to the "establishing of a theological school in the "University. The bequest to the University, in "the will of the Hon. Samuel Dexter, of five "thousand dollars, the object of which was the "promotion of a 'critical knowledge of the "'Holy Scriptures,' was announced to the Cor-"poration by Hon. Samuel Dexter, his son, "about five months before Doctor Kirkland's "accession to the Presidency. In May, 1811, "Trustees of the Dexter Fund were chosen; "and, in August of the same year, Joseph "Stevens Buckminster was chosen Dexter Lec-"turer on Bible Criticism. In February, 1813, "Samuel Parkman, a wealthy merchant of "Boston, offered, and, in the following year, "conveyed, a township of land in the District "of Maine, supposed to be very valuable, 'for "'the support of a Professor of Theology;' "and though nothing was realized from it, at "the time, the specific gift, in this instance, ten-"ded to show which way public opinion was "beginning to point. Nothing further occur-"red on the subject until the Circular letter "was addressed to the sons and friends of the "University, the result of which, as we have "seen, was the formation of the 'Society for "'the Promotion of Theological Education,' "etc. There was, however, in the year 1819, "a beginning of a Theological School—not in-"stituted under that name, but to which two "Professors in the University devoted a part "of their time, giving instruction to theologi-"cal students in their several departments. "The exercises began to be held under the di-"rection of the Hollis Professor of Divinity "and the Hancock Professor of Hebrew; and, "by them, the Classes were arranged and in-"structed. Mr. Norton was chosen Dexter "Professor, in the same year; Rev. William "Emery Channing, who was chosen after Mr. "Buckminster resigned, having also then resign-"ed. Professor Frisbie, also, Alford Professor, "lectured on Moral Philosophy, for a year or "two, until his long illness, preceding his death, "which occurred in the year 1822. The School, "therefore, was carried on wholly by Academi-"cal Professors, until Professor Norton, who "had given lectures on the Dexter foundation, "for several years, was elected Dexter Professor "of Sacred Literature. In a few years, however, "the government of the School was, apparently, "but not practically, changed to an institution "somewhat distinct from that of a branch of "the University. Directors were appointed, with "a view to make the Theological School an "object of more direct attention. It was from "this consideration that the Corporation joined "with the Society for promoting Theological "Education in the University, in the plan of a "new Board of Directors, to whom the chief "conducting of its affairs should be intrusted. "The Society, in consequence, obtained an Act "of Incorporation, and, under its additional "powers, acquired new energy, and made ample "provision for the residence of students in a "pleasant locality, and within a building well "planned in its apartments for their studies, "with a convenient chapel, serving for a lecture "room and library. It was completed in 1826. "The Society having thus accomplished its great "object, dissolved, leaving the management of "it to the authorities of the University."—*Memories of Willard, ii., 295–297.*

"Mr. Norton continued in his laborious work "—laborious, especially, because it required "intense study—until his resignation, in March, "1830; and, in September of this year, a new "organization took place, by which the Presi-"dent of the University and the Professors in "the School were constituted the Faculty of the "Divinity School. Rev. John G. Palfrey was "appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism and "Dean of the Faculty. He continued in office "nearly nine years, until his resignation in "April, 1839." —*Memories of Willard, ii., 301, 302.*

The attempt to effect an ecclesiastical organization of the Churches, in which Messrs. Morse and Lyman had engaged so zealously, provoked renewed opposition. This opposition came from two very diverse quarters. The Hopkinsians, generally, under the lead of Doctor Emmons, opposed it, doubtless through the apprehension that it might be brought to bear against themselves. Only recently, and under the pressure of the "Liberal" movement, had they been brought to co-operate with the old Calvinists, among whom Doctor Morse and Doc-

tor Pearson were leaders; and their conjunction in the establishment of Andover Seminary might still be regarded somewhat in the light of an experiment. The freedom of Hopkinsian speculation, moreover, might not harmonize with the severer system of Consociation which was but a step toward Presbyterianism; while this was abhorred and dreaded, as the earnest of Prelacy.

From this source, alone, the opposition offered to Consociation might have sufficed to defeat it. But the Liberal party also spared no pains to render it odious. In various publications, some of them anonymous, it was vigorously and, even violently, opposed. Doctor Channing, in his controversy with Doctor Worcester, had signalized his hostility to it; and, in 1816, "A Layman"—doubtless the same whose question *Are you a Christian or a Calvinist?* has been already considered—came forward with *An Inquiry into the Right to change the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* It was prefaced with an address to "the Rev. "Joseph Lyman, D.D., under the sanction of "whose name such a change has been proposed "to the people of this State." In this octavo pamphlet, of nearly ninety pages, the subject is discussed with earnestness and vigor. The writer says:

"The true motives of this change are to coun-
"teract those whom they please to call hereticks,
"that is, those who are as learned, as able, and as
"liberal as themselves. This, I presume, not an
"honest man of the Orthodox party will deny.
"He will not, to his conscience, whatever he
"may say to the world. The means of effecting
"their object, is to get possession of ecclesiastical
"power; to coerce, intimidate, and, finally,
"expel the minority; and thus to overawe, if not
"command, that citadel of learning and religion,
"our University, the best and highest object of
"reverence and affection in our country.

"If it be asked in what manner and by what
"course of proceedings these designs are to be
"accomplished, we answer, by the exercise of
"the powers granted to the proposed Consocia-
"tions, so often attempted to be established in
"the early periods of our history, but as often
"defeated by the prudence and proper jealousy
"of the lay part of the community.

"If any number of Churches can be persuaded
"to enter into these Consociations, they expect
"to fix them, forever, in a state of thraldom.
"Thus, suppose Doctor Morse's, or any other,
"Church, could be persuaded to join this new
"establishment, upon the Pastor's decease, no
"man can be permitted to preach in such
"Church, upon probation, unless approved by
"the Consociation. The people of the Parish
"are to have no vote, on that question, in the
"first instance. Nobody can be admitted int
"such a Church until approved by the Consoci
"tion.

"If any number of the parishioners shoul
"know of a respectable candidate, and shoul
"insist upon hearing him against the will of th
"Church, and should vote to settle him, th
"Consociation to which the Church has attache
"itself, may refuse him Ordination. The Pa
"ish will have no right to call in such Churche
"as they may prefer. They are to be boun
"down, forever, to the Consociation, as th
"superior tribunal. Such, we say, are th
"objects of this new plan. It is true, th
"Courts of Law can, and will, restrain them
"but this does not alter the nature of th
"project."—*Pages 66, 67.*

"Thus it would be in the power of a smal
"majority in the whole State, to control an
"displace the minority.

"It is hoped, also, that the authority an
"influence of these great Consociations will
"by degrees, so far overawe the Churche
"which may not join them, in the first instance
"as to give them an opportunity of filling u
"any vacancies with clergymen devoted to thei
"views.

"It is, in short, an organized, affiliated asso
"ciation for the purpose of rooting out all Min
"isters who will not subscribe to the creed o
"the authors of this plan."—*Page 68.*

It was impossible that the two parties in th Congregational Churches of Massachusett should continue, much longer, together, in th same connection, even though that connectio was of the loosest kind. But the separatio was not to be brought about by a new ecclesi astical organization, on the part of the Ortho dox. From the time when Doctor Codma declined to exchange, indiscriminately, wit the Ministers of the Boston Association, th Orthodox party began to be more cautious generally, in their pulpit exchanges. This wa one of the grievances of which Jacob Norto complained, in his pamphlets. The complain was echoed from many quarters. But Christia charity and memories of other years, whe Convention Sermons breathed the spirit o concession to differences of opinion, were, i vain, invoked to arrest the purpose of th Orthodox to vindicate themselves from a complicity with Unitarian error. The resul was increased and ever-increasing alienation.

This result was witnessed and became notice able in the divisions that took place in man Congregations. Usually, the Church was o one side and the Parish on the other. Th call which the one made to a Pastor was nega tived by the other; or the Pastor in which th one was united, was objectionable to an

dismissed by the other. In some cases, the Parish, by insisting on the settlement of the man of their choice, forced the Church, almost in a solid body, to withdraw, abandoning all interest in the property belonging to the Parish, in which they had shared, and building for themselves a new house of worship. Repeatedly, the claims to property insisted upon by the respective parties were adjudicated in the Civil Courts.

The first noted instance of this collision between Church and Parish, in which the appeal was made to the law of the land, occurred at Dedham, in 1819. This case is thus stated by a writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims:*

"It is generally known that the call, settlement, "and ordination of Mr. Lamson, in the First "Parish in Dedham, took place without the con- "sent of the Church in that Parish; and that, "after his Ordination, the Church no longer "associated in worship with the majority of the "Parish, in the house where they had been "accustomed to assemble, but erected another "house, near by, and settled a Pastor, according "to the order of the Gospel. At the time of "the settlement of Mr. Lamson, the Church "were possessed of property which had been "given them by pious and charitably-disposed "Christians, the income of which had, for some "time, been sufficient, or nearly so, for the sup "port of their Pastor. This property had been "under the control and management of the "Deacons, who, by the order of the Gospel, as "well as by the law of the land, have the "charge of all the property of the Church; "and the title of the Church to this property "was supposed to be as safe as the title of any "corporate body whatever to their corporate "property. But some few members of the "Church, who continued to worship with the "Parish, in the old meeting-house, claimed to "be the *whole Church;* and, coming voluntarily "together, without notice to any of those who "worshipped in the new meeting-house and who "were a majority of the Church, passed a vote "of removal against the Deacons, who were "with the majority, chose two new Deacons, "and made claim, through them, to all the "property belonging to the Church. This claim "was sanctioned by the Judges of the Supreme "Court, and final judgment entered, at the "October Term for Norfolk-county, 1820."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii, 130, 131.*

The decision in the Dedham case was severely criticised. A writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* says: "A Church has been known as a "body corporate, from the landing of our fore- "fathers, at Plymouth; was recognized and "confirmed, as such, by the earliest Statutes; "was, by the law of 1754, which the Court co- "piously quote, expressly empowered, among "other things, 'to call the Deacons to account, "'respecting their property, and, if need be, "'commence and prosecute any suits touching "'the same.' It is not shown that, at any time, "Churches have failed to hold property, nor that "the right has been doubted. Towns have uni- "formly been known as corporations, but totall- "ly distinct from Churches."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 327.*

To the assumption that, originally, the Parish and the Church were nearly identical, the Church embracing nearly all the members of the Parish, it was replied: "But all were "not members, and, in some places, not even a "majority were such. The company who com- "menced the Massachusetts settlement consisted "of three hundred and fifty persons. From "these, the First Church in the Colony was "gathered, after their landing, in Salem, and "numbered only *thirty communicants*, leaving "three hundred and twenty who were not of "the Church. The Church in Boston commenc- "ed with but *four members*. The Church in "Newtown, (now Cambridge) consisted, at the "first, of only *eight* members. Thomas Lech- "ford, 'a discontented Attorney,' who visited "this country in 1637, and returned, much dis- "satisfied with his reception and treatment, says, "'*Most of the persons at New-England are not* "'*admitted of their Church*, and, therefore, "'are not freemen.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 61.*

In this early period, the choice of the Pastor, it was asserted, belonged exclusively to the Church: "After the formation of the Church in "Salem, in 1629, the brethren 'chose Mr. Skel- "'ton their Pastor, Mr. Higginson their Teacher, "'and Mr. Houghton their Ruling Elder.' The "First Church in Boston, instituted in 1630, not "only exercised, from the first, the right of "*choosing its Pastor*, but, for almost an hun- "dred years, was alone concerned in fixing the "Minister's salary, and in making all pecuni- "ary appropriations. * * In the year 1632, "Mr. Thomas Wells was prevailed with, by the "importunity of the Roxbury Church, to accept "of a Pastor's office among them." * *

"After a Church had been formed at New- "town, in 1635, the members '*chose* Mr. Shep- "'ard for their Pastor.' In 1636, Mr. Samuel "Whiting 'removed unto Lynn, the *Church* "'*there inviting him to be their Pastor.*' In "1637, 'the *Church* at Concord *chose* Mr. "'Buckley Teacher, and Mr. Jones Pastor.' "In 1638, Rev. Ezekiel Rogers came into the "Colony with a Church, and settled at Rowley. "Here the brethren 'renewed their Church-cov- "'enant, and their *call of Mr. Rogers to the* "'*office of Pastor*, according to the *course of*

"'*other Churches.*' In 1639, the *Church* of "Dorchester, not contenting themselves with a "single officer in the ministry of their Church, "*invited one Mr. Burr*, and gave him a call to "office."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 67.*

The argument in behalf of the rights of the Church and its claim to hold property was illustrated by references to historic facts and to civil legislation. "As early as the year 1641, the "protection of the Churches became a subject "of legislation among the Colonists. By a law "of that year, the people of God were specially "authorized 'to gather themselves into a church "'estate, provided they could do it in a Christian "'way, with the observance of the rules of "'Christ, revealed in his word.' By the same "law, every Church was protected in the free "exercise of the Ordinances of the Gospel, in "the election and ordination of its officers, in "the admission and discipline of its members, "and in all the usual transactions of Congrega-"tional Churches. By a law of 1668, in order "to secure the Churches in a free and unbiassed "election of their officers, it was ordered and "declared that, 'by the Church is meant such "'as are in full communion only;' and all "others are prohibited from voting at their "elections. By a law of 1692, it is declared "that 'the Churches shall, at all times, here-"'after, use, exercise, and enjoy all their privil-"'eges and freedoms respecting divine worship, "'church-order, and discipline; and shall be "'encouraged in the peaceable and regular pro-"'fession and practice thereof.' Under these "laws, and until the year 1693, all the Ministers "were called and settled by the Churches. But, "in that year, a law was passed which agrees "with all subsequent usage in the Orthodox "Churches and Societies of the Commonwealth: "'Each respective gathered Church, in any "'town or place, that, at any time, shall be in "'want of a Minister, shall have power, accord-"'ing to the directions in the word of God, to "'choose its own Minister; and the major part "'of said inhabitants as do there usually attend "'the public worship of God, and are, by law, "'qualified for voting in town affairs, concur-"'ring with the Church's act, and the person "'thus elected and approved accepting thereof, "'and settling with them, shall be their Min-"'ister.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 132, 133.*

Again: "In 1671, a Mr. Charles Nicolet was "employed to assist the Rev. John Higginson, "Pastor of the Church, in Salem, in the work "of the ministry. After about two years, Mr. "Nicolet received an invitation from the *town*, to "become, in connection with Mr. Higginson, "their settled and permanent religious teacher. "In this invitation, the *Church refused to con-*

"*sent.* A majority of the town, "concluded to separate from the Chu "voted 'a piece of land' on which t "house of worship. In consequence "Mr. Higginson addressed a letter to t "'protesting against the people's pro "'and saying, amongst other things, th "'practice as calling a Minister by th "'without a prior vote or call by th "'had never been known in New "In the mean time, before the Court c "cognizance of the affair, the supp "Mr. Nicolet made an attempt to "Church among themselves; but "opposed by the Church in Salem and "of the neighboring Churches; and th "failed. In June, 1675, a Court's Co "consisting of the Governor, Lieutena "nor, and eight others, visited Salem, "into the whole proceeding, and, "Report say, 'We declare the course "'that hath been attended in the ca "'settling of Mr. Nicolet, as a preac "'*promiscuous vote of the town, is ver* "'*lar, and expressly contrary to t* "'*wholesome laws of this jurisdictio* "'*dangerous tendency and influence* "'*state and order of the Churches h* "'*lished.*"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii*

Legislation of a later date was cit effect: "In the year 1754, it was enact "'the Deacons of all the several "'Churches, not being Episcopal Chur "'the Church-wardens of the several "'Churches, are, and shall be deem "'bodies corporate, as to take in "'all grants and donations, whethe "'personal, made either to their severa "'es, the poor of their Churches, or "'and their successors, and to sue an "'in all actions touching the same; a "'ever the Ministers, Elders, or Vestry "'such original grants or donations, "'joined with such Deacons or Ch "'donees or grantees in succession, in s "'such officers and their successors, "'with the Deacons or Church-warden "'deemed the corporation for such pu "'aforesaid.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrim*

"In the year 1785, this law was re "in the same words above quoted."—

Yet, it is asked: "Is it not know "descriptions of persons, that this "Dedham have diverted the donations "tion from the original design of the "Orthodox benefactors? And have "Parishes done the same? And does "body know that the Corporation of "University have done the same, in r

'the Professorship of Divinity, to the outrage 'of all principle, justice, or gratitude?"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 138.*

Time-honored usage was also appealed to: 'The usage of Congregationalists, granting the 'Church the privilege of taking the lead in the 'settlement of a Minister, and giving to the 'Parish merely the power of concurring or non-'concurring, has been recognized in legal de-'cisions. 'The Parish, when the ministerial '' office is vacant, from an ancient and respecta-'' ble usage, wait until the Church have made '' choice of a Minister and have requested the '' concurrence of the Parish; and, if the Parish '' do not concur, the election of the Church is '' a nullity; and if the Parish do concur, then '' a contract of settlement is made wholly be-'' tween the Parish and Minister, and is obliga-'' tory on them only.'—*Massachusetts Reports '—Burr vs. The Inhabitants of First Parish 'in Sandwich—vol. ix., p. 277."—Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 285.*

On this point, the elder Buckminster, familiar with the usages of New England, in the eighteenth century, and holding views of the relations of Church and Parish far different from those of the Court, in the Dedham case, had said, long previous: "The Church should lead 'in calling a Minister, and the Parish concur; 'for Parishes are not known in the Gospel, nor 'in ecclesiastical Councils. I know not whether 'this distinction is observed in Boston and its 'vicinity."—*Life of the Buckminsters, 199.*

The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* repeatedly presented strictures upon the decision which deprived the Dedham Church of its property. It charged that decision to sectarian influences. Its objections are stated at much length: "We 'object to the views expressed in the Dedham 'case, that they are too evidently of a *sectarian* 'character. We do not complain on the 'ground, merely, that this case was decided in 'favor of Unitarians. But we do complain, 'that the highest judicial officer in the State, 'while seated on the bench of justice, should 'allow himself to go into a discussion of theo-'logical questions, and make them a ground 'of his decision, in a way to favor one relig-'ious denomination and to prejudice others. "The Constitution wisely provides, that 'no "'subordination of any one sect or denomina-"'tion of Christians to another, shall ever be "'established by law.' We would enquire, "then, whether it can be constitutional for an "officer of the Government, whose decisions "are to have the force of law, to attempt "determining points of theology which are "at issue between different denominations of "Christians. What would be thought if such "points were brought before the Legislature, to "be decided by literal enactments? But they "might as well be decided there, for aught we "see, as on the Bench, since the decisions of "the Bench, until reversed, are much the same "as laws. Why, then, did Chief-justice Park-"er, in the decision to which we have referred, "take it upon him to say, that 'the practice of "'the Episcopal Churches,' in regard to the "Sacrament, 'is more conformable to the prac-"'tice of the primitive Christian Churches, "'than that of most who dissent from their "'form of worship?' And why did he decide, "in exact conformity to the religious views of "Unitarians and in as exact opposition to "those of the Orthodox, that 'there were no "'distinction, in primitive Christian times, be-"'tween the Church and the Congregation, but "'all the assembly were considered the Church, "'and all were invited, without distinction, to "'come to the communion-table, and receive "'the sacrament.' The learned Judge will "pardon us, if we think these subjects a little "out of his professional sphere. To be sure, as "a man, he has the same right as any other "man to form his opinions and to express "them, on all religious subjects; but, as the "highest judicial officer in the Commonwealth, "sitting on the bench of justice, and acting the "part, not only of a Judge, but, in some sense, "also of a Legislator, we really think he may "better leave *disputed points in theology* to be "determined in their proper place.

"The late decisions of which we complain, "are inconsistent with other and previous de-"cisions. * * *

"Chief-justice Parker tells us, that 'the only "'circumstance which gives a Church any legal "'character is its connection with some regu-"'larly constituted Society, and, indeed, that "'a Church *cannot subsist* without some such "'Society to which it is attached.' But Chief-"justice Parsons decides 'upon the nature and "'powers of a Congregational Church, as *dis-*"'*tinct* from a Parish,' and tells us that 'a "'Church and Parish are bodies with *different* "'*powers.*'"

"Chief-justice Parker tells us, once and "again, that the Church is a mere Trustee for "the Parish, and holds its property for the use "of the Parish. But Chief-justice Parsons "says, 'The Deacons are made a corporation to "'hold property *for the use of the Church*, and "'they are accountable to the members.'"

"Chief-justice Parker tells us, (what every "Clergyman in the State knows to be incorrect) "that those 'who withdraw from a Society, "'*cease to be members of that particular Church*' "with which the Society is connected. But "Chief-justice Parsons says, 'The members of "'a Church are generally inhabitants of the

"'Parish; but *this inhabitancy is not a neces-*
"'*sary qualification for a church-member.*'

"Chief-justice Parker insists that the prop-
"erty of the Church in Dedham was *designed*
"to be appropriated for the support of a Min-
"ister; and, as such, is rightfully entrusted to
"the care of the Deacons, to be held by them
"for the benefit of the Parish. But it was
"decided by Judge Sedgwick, in the Case of
"Boutill and others, vs. Cowdin, that the Dea-
"cons of a Congregational Church '*are not a*
"'*corporation for the receiving and managing a*
"'*fund for the support of a Minister!*' We
"pretend not to determine which of these de-
"cisions is nearest the truth; but, really, we do
"not see how they can be reconciled, the one
"with the other.

"The doctrine that a Church can have no
"'legal character,' and, indeed, '*cannot subsist*,'
"unless 'in connection with some regularly con-
"'stituted Society,' is calculated to introduce
"the utmost confusion and uncertainty into the
"ecclesiastical concerns of the Commonwealth.
"A legitimate inference from the doctrine is
"this, that when a Parish, for any cause, ceases
"to exist, the Church must go out of existence
"with it. Certainly, if 'a Church *cannot sub-*
"'*sist*,' but in connexion with some religious
"Society, then it can subsist no longer than
"such Society; and, when the Society is dis-
"solved, both must die together. Now, in the
"progress of things, in this changing world,
"how very often have Societies and Parishes
"gone out of existence? How often, in this
"Commonwealth, have they found it expedient,
"with a change of circumstanees or a change
"of laws, to shift their form of organization,
"i. e. to *dissolve*, and *organize anew?* Here is a
"*town*, which, for many years, has sustained a
"parochial character, and has had a Church
"associated and connected with it. But, at
"length, the town drops this character; ceases
"to act as a Parish; and a religious Society is
"organized to take its place. In this change
"of affairs, what becomes of the Church? If
"it dies, in the dissolution of the parochial
"character of the town, then how can it revive,
"and become united with the new Society, but
"by a new organization? But, in the progress
"of things, it is found that the new Society is
"not established in the most desirable way.
"It is, therefore, dissolved and another is estab-
"lished. Again, we ask, What becomes of the
"Church? Dying, as it must, in the dissolu-
"tion of the first Society, how does it revive,
"and become united with the second?"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 131–133.*

No doubt, multitudes would have accepted, without question, the statements of a writer who says: "I know something of the immense "load which hung upon the Court who deci
"ed the Dedham case:—Boston feeling—Ca
"bridge feeling—the expectations of men
"power—and, above all, their own total settl
"inclination, *the stronger for being sincere*—
"were a trial of the Court, severe and conflic
"ing. While I observe this, I do not forg
"that I have my feelings, and that others ha
"their feelings of the opposite tendency. Ar
"there I leave the Dedham case."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 176.*

Not content with such representations d
signed to invalidate the authority of judici
decisions, the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* adduce
the elaborate representation of the rights of th
Churches that had appeared, years before th
present controversy had been anticipated, in th
pages of the *Anthology*. This was, in substane
as follows: "To constitute a body corporat
"it is not neeessary that there should be
"formal act of incorporation. For if any bod
"of men are, by the supreme authority of th
"State, recognized as such, it will be a virtua
"Act of Incorporation. In the early settlemen
"of this Commonwealth, so unrefined were th
"inhabitants, in their legal notions, that dis
"tricts were constituted and invested wit
"municipal rights by a single order of th
"Governor and Assistants of the Colony, tha
"they should be called by certain names
"There is no other Act of Incorporation fo
"the towns of Boston, Salem, Ipswich, an
"most others in the Commonwealth. In con
"sidering the rights of the Churches, in Boston
"we shall have occasion to notice the abov
'principle, as none of them have, until ver
"lately, been incorporated into distinct relig
"ious communities, by special Acts of th
"Government.

* * * * * *

"In the choice of the Ministers, the Churc
"were originally the sole electors; but, fo
"more than a century past, it has been a
"established rule, in the town of Boston an
"in the other towns of the Commonwealth
"that all who contribute to their support shal
"have a voice in their election. By a la
"passed in the 4 and 5 of W. and M., it is de
"clared that, whenever a Church is destitute o
"a Minister, such Church is invested with pow
"er to choose one. If the major part of suc
"of the inhabitants as usually attend publi
"worship, and are qualified by law to vote i
"town affairs, with whom, likewise, the mem
"bers of the Church may vote, shall concu
"with the Act of the Church, and the perso
"elected shall aceept thereof, he becomes th
"Minister, to whose support all the inhabitant
"and rateable estates are obliged to eontribute
"In case of a disagreement between the Churc

"and the inhabitants, the former may call in "the help of a Council, consisting of the Elders "and Messengers of three or five neighboring "Churches. This Council is empowered to "hear, examine, and consider the exceptions "and allegations made against the election of "the Churches. If they should approve of the "choice, and the person elected should declare "his acceptance, he becomes the Minister of the "Society, to all intents, and entitled to be sup-"ported by the Parish."

* * * * * *

"Therefore, the rights of the Churches, to "lead in the election of Ministers and of other "officers and to maintain order and discipline, "where they have been accustomed to exercise "and enjoy those rights, still remain in them." —*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 502*, quoted from the *Anthology, 1806*.

The Dedham case was but one of many of a similar character. Instances analagous to it were continually recurring, from 1819 till the new Constitution was adopted, fifteen years later. Rev. Dr. Joseph S. Clark stated in a note appended to his *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference, in 1855*, that: "Among the collec-"tions of the *Congregational Library Associ-"tion*, is a manuscript Report on 'the condition "'of those Churches which have been driven "'from their houses of worship, by town or "'Parish votes, or by measures equivalent to "'such votes,' made to the General Association "of Massachusetts, in 1836, by a Committee of "one from each of the district Associations— "twenty-three in number—in accordance with a "vote of that body, passed in 1833. The "document, comprising fifty-two closely written "pages of large letter-paper, is the result of a "thorough research, and possesses great value, "as illustrating one of the most important "periods in our ecclesiastical history. It enum-"erates EIGHTY-ONE 'exiled Churches,' giving a "detailed account of their sufferings and self-"denial for the cause of evangelical religion; "and supposes that 'some others of the same "'class may have been overlooked in this enum-"'eration.' A very laudable desire not to "uncover the dying embers of former strife is "understood to have been the reason why this "Report was not published at the time."— *Clark's Discourse before Barnstable Conference, 1855, 27, Note.*

The Report here referred to, is, doubtless, the same which has since appeared under the title of *The Exiled Churches of Massachusetts*, in the *Congregational Quarterly* for July, 1863. It is defective in not giving the names of the Churches; but the most noteworthy of these may be supplied from contemporary documents. Several of them have a place in the record of litigation. Well might it be so, if the estimate given by Dr. Clark (*Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, 271*)) is correct, that the 'exiled Churches' were stripped of property to the amount of something like half a million of dollars.

A case of "exile" even earlier than that of Dedham, and in which the decision of the civil Courts deprived them of their claim to property, was that of Sandwich, of which Rev. Mr. Burr was Pastor. The *Panoplist* for 1817, Page 274, states that: "Mr. Burr, for a considerable "number of years after his settlement in the "ministry, did not believe, and, of course, did "not preach, those doctrines of the Gospel, "which are commonly called the doctrines of "grace, and which he now receives and preaches "as the truth of God. Some time after the "change in his sentiments had become manifest, "a part of his parishioners became disaffected to "him, being highly displeased with his preach-"ing. As Mr. Burr felt it to be his duty to "obey God rather than men, he continued to "preach the offensive doctrines. God was "pleased to smile upon his labors. There was a "very pleasing revival of religion, and many "were hopefully converted. It was at this "period, and when a large number, we think "about seventy persons, were about entering the "Church, that the opposition became more and "more active. Not long after, it was increased "still more, by the proposal, on the part of Mr. "Burr and his friends, to introduce into the "Church some new rules for the preservation of "Gospel order and discipline. These rules, "however, were subsequently dispensed with by "the Church, for the express purpose of satisfy-"ing the disaffected members. Not long after, "a majority of the Parish (eighty-three to eighty) "voted, that the connection between Mr. Burr "and the Parish was dissolved. This took "place in the year 1811. They not only passed "the vote, but appointed a Committee to keep "Mr. Burr, by force, from entering the pulpit on "the Lord's-day, which was effectually done.

"In this controversy, about one-sixth part of "the male members of the Church joined in the "opposition to their Pastor. The rest finally "adhered to him, and procured another place of "worship. Since that time, a new house for "public worship has been erected by Mr. Burr's "friends, and an Act incorporating them as a "Parish has been obtained.

"The members of the Church who withdrew "from Mr. Burr and from the communion of "their brethren were regularly dealt with, as "offenders, and excluded from the Church. "These excluded members afterwards formed "themselves, with others, into a new Church, "and claimed to be the First Church, or the "original Church of Christ, in Sandwich."

This claim of the few who remained with the Parish was admitted and confirmed by the Supreme Court; and, in consequence of its decision, the Communion furniture and the sums of money which had come into the Deacon's hands, amounting, in all, to several hundred dollars, were surrendered to the Parish claimants. —*Clark's Congregational Churches, 245.*

"In Dennis, Mr. Haven preached ten years, "with much fidelity and success, after he received "the doctrines of grace; and yet, when impair- "ed health compelled him to take a dismission, "in 1826, the *Society* brought in a Unitarian "successor. This was done without the con- "currence of the Church; a majority of which "withdrew; reorganized; settled an evangeli- "cal Pastor; and, after sustaining separate "worship for about twenty years, yielded to the "force of circumstances, and were absorbed in "other evangelical Churches around them."— *Clark's Discourse, 1855, 29.*

Perhaps no case of Church exile which had previously occurred excited more sympathy than that of Abiel Holmes, the venerable Pastor of the Church at Cambridge. At the present day, it excites surprise to learn on what grounds the Parish justified their opposition and their measures to force him away, while his Church, as a body, was unfalteringly attached to him. Voluminous pamphlets were issued on both sides; and the result of the action of the Parish, leading to the establishment of a new Society, in connection with the old Church, has become historically memorable.

The Brookfield case is thus stated in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims, v., 402:* "The facts in the case "before us are briefly these: In April, 1827, the "contract existing between the Rev. Michael "Stone and the South Parish in Brookfield was, "by mutual consent, dissolved. During the "Summer following, Unitarian Ministers were "invited to preach in the meeting-house of the "Parish; and, in August, a call was given to "Mr. George R. Noyes, a Unitarian, to settle "there, in the work of the ministry. Upon this, "a minority of the Parish, including all the "male members of the Church except two, "withdrew, and formed themselves into a new "religious Society, under the Statutes of 1811 "and 1823. In November of the same year, "the Church, as a body, voted to unite with "this new Society in the support of public wor- "ship; and Mr. Stone, whose relation to the "Church had not been dissolved, was invited to "act as Minister of the new Society. In this "change of relation, on the part of the Church, "from one Society to the other, the Deacons "took with them, as might have been expected, "the sacramental furniture.

"After the secession of the Church from the "Parish, the two male members who continued "behind affected to consider themselves the "Church, holding meetings, admitting mem- "bers, attending on the communion, etc. Of "this branch of the Church, (if branch it can be "called,) the Plaintiff in this action was elected "sole Deacon, and an action was brought against "the Deacons of the Church, for the recovery of "the sacramental furniture. The facts, as in "substance above stated, were agreed at the "October Term, 1829; and the case having been "argued, in writing, by S. Hoar, Junior, for "the Plaintiff, and L. Strong for the Defendant, "and continued *nisi*, judgment was given for "the Plaintiff, at the Term of the Court holden "at Worcester, October, 1831."

Here, ground was taken that the Church could not exist independent of the Parish; and thus, at a stroke, the very life of the Church, to say nothing of rights, was made to depend on the majority of the Parish which might be composed largely of men who joined the Society merely to oppress the Church. On this the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* remarks: "It could not "have been the doctrine of Unitarian Ministers "and Delegates, so late as the ordination of Mr. "Lamson, at Dedham, in 1818; for the Council "convened on that occasion say, that, 'while they "'esteem the concurrence of the Church and "'Parish in the settlement of a Minister as very "'desirable, they believe that *each of these bodies* "'*has a right to elect a Pastor for itself*, when "'it shall be satisfied that its own welfare and "'the general interests of religion require the "'measure; this right being secured to the "'Church by the essential principles of Congre- "'gational polity, and to the Parish by the "'Constitution and Laws of the Common- "'wealth.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims. v. 420.*

The case of Josiah Stearns, at Bedford, attracted considerable attention; and was one of the last which occurred. It is thus stated by his son, in his *Sketch of Mr. Stearns's Life. (Sprague's Annals, i., 580)*: "He was ordained "as Minister of the town of Bedford, April 27, "1795; and continued his ministrations among "that people, in singular harmony and fidelity, "for nearly thirty-five years. As the town in- "creased, and many of the new settlers held a "different religious system from that which he "had been accustomed to preach, a disaffection "arose; and, on the fourteenth of November, "1831, a vote was passed, in town-meeting, to "occupy the pulpit for a certain number of "Sabbaths, during the ensuing Winter, with "preachers of the Unitarian denomination. The "result of the whole procedure was, that the "Church and a large portion of the people who "were in the habit of attending public worship "withdrew, and erected, for themselves, a new

"church-edifice. My father was constituted "Minister of the new Society, under the name "of the "Trinitarian Congregational Society," "June 5, 1833, which connection was continued "till the close of his life, December 26, 1834."

In his *Semi-Centennial Discourse at Ipswich*, the Rev. D. T. Kimball thus referred to the case of the Rev. Mr. Giles of Milton. After paying a high tribute to his worth, he says: "But, not-"withstanding his superior talents and excellence "of character, he was excluded from his house "of worship by a majority of the Parish, and "dismissed from them by an *ex parte* Council, "whose authority in so doing he never acknowl-"edged, nor could acknowledge, as he had "never unreasonably refused a mutual Council, "which unreasonable refusal is necessary, accord-"ing to the decision of the Massachusetts Judi-"ciary, to make the result of an *ex parte* Council "valid."—*Kimball's Discourse at Ipswich, 1857, 14.*

The case of the Church at Groton, of which Daniel Chaplin was Pastor, occurred in 1826, and was, in some respects, more noteworthy than any other. The Parish, against the wishes of the Pastor, who had asked a colleague, supplied the pulpit with Unitarian Ministers, and would allow him to invite no assistants but such as they or their Committee should approve. The result was the withdrawal of the Pastor and of the Church, as a body. An Ecclesiastical Council was called to consider the case; and the result was a Report vindicating "The Rights of the Congregational "Churches of Massachusetts." This *Result of an Ecclesiastical Council Convened at Groton* was published in an octavo pamphlet of sixty-three pages, and was regarded by the Orthodox, generally, as a complete and satisfactory vindication of the imperiled rights of the Churches.

It is unnecessary to produce extracts from this elaborate document, as the main arguments embodied in it have, already, been presented, from the pages of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*. Lest it should be supposed that, in a case where property was concerned, the Church should appear to demand rights inconsistent with those of the Parish, it was distinctly said: "When Church and Parish dis-"agree in their choice of a religious teacher, an "officer common to both, and neither body is "disposed to yield, and the house of worship "is the property of the Parish, we cannot con-"sistently complain, and we do not, that the "Church should be compelled to withdraw, and "institute worship by itself. But this, surely, "is all the sacrifice which the Church, in such "case, should be required to make."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 73.*

The Result of the Groton Council could not be quietly accepted by Unitarians. It was reviewed in the fourth volume of the *Christian Examiner;* and the review was afterwards printed as a pamphlet. The title of this was, *The Rights of the Congregational Parishes of Massachusetts;* and its argument was in avowed refutation of the *Result of the Groton Council.* Several historical errors embodied in the latter were corrected; and the "Rights of Parishes" were ingeniously and ably vindicated. So able a document, one also upon which Unitarians rested their case, deserves more than a passing notice.

It began with saying: "Perhaps there was "never a more palpable *misnomer* than is to be "found in the title of this extraordinary pamph-"let. Instead of the 'Rights,' it should have "been entitled the 'Usurpations,' of the early "Churches of Massachusetts over their Christian "brethren; over those, who—professing them-"selves the disciples of Jesus Christ; admitting "his divine authority; receiving his doctrines "and precepts as the revelation of God; and "contributing to the maintenance of public "Christian worship,—feel and know that they "enjoy, and are entitled to hold and possess, an "entire equality of privileges with those who "call themselves, by way of eminence, the "members of Christ's Church. But to no priv-"ilege do they think their title clearer than to "that of an equal voice in the selection of their "Teachers and Pastors, upon whose ministry "they attend, and for whose support they pay "in proportion to their property.

"But we are utterly unable to perceive why "there should be an equality in civil concerns, "and a perpetual and odious aristocracy, a never "dying House of Lords and Bishops in the "Church. We cannot perceive how it is possi-"ble that one-fifth part of a whole Society "should possess, *de jure*, not only a negative, a "*veto* on the doings of the other four-fifths, but "that, having exerted this power, they should "have a right to vote again in the lower body, "'the world,' as it is contemptuously called."—*Page 4.*

It was consequently argued that Parishes had, by law, the right to elect their own teachers.

It was freely admitted that, in 1641, the right of church-members to elect the Pastor was vested in them, by Statute; but it was insisted that this did not prove it right, or scriptural, or irrevocable. "By the third Article of the Bill of "Rights in the Constitution of Massachusetts, it "is declared, in the simplest and clearest words, "that Towns, Parishes, Precincts, and other "bodies politic, or religious Societies, shall have "the right of electing their own teachers. "These descriptions are perfectly technical. "They are as well known to our laws as any

"terms whatever. * * * The effect and op-
"eration of this Clause, all the members of re-
"ligious Societies came under the consideration
"of our Supreme Judicial Court, about twelve
"or fifteen years since, and was settled in favor
"of religious liberty and natural right, in con-
"formity with the clear import of the Clause in
"the Bill of Rights, by Judges Parsons, Sedg-
"wick, Sewall, Thacher, and Parker, in the
"cases of Avery *v.* Tyringham and Burr *v.*
"Sandwich."—*Page 5.*

A somewhat extended statement of the case itself is given: "Dr. Chaplin, a venerable and "excellent Pastor, having, we regret to say it, "become unable to perform his parochial duties, "proposed to his people the settlement of a "colleague. The Doctor and his Church, or a "majority of them, believed that they had an "exclusive right to invite candidates. 'Provi-"'dentially,' they say—and it was a very favor-"able providence—there was a Mr. Todd, from "Andover, 'present.' It was evidently one of "those *prepared* providences which so often "occur in human affairs; or, to speak frankly, "for we are indignant at such a profanation of "the name of the Almighty, the Orthodox ma-"jority of the Church had *foreseen* this event; "had prepared headquarters; and Mr. Todd "*providentially*, as we are told, found himself "on the spot, at the most pressing moment of "Dr. Chaplin's need. Mr. Todd accordingly "preached and was, some time after, engaged "by Dr. Chaplin for eight Sabbaths. The "Church, consisting, we believe, of between "twenty-five and thirty male members, in a "Parish in which there were about three hun-"dred voters, finally, by a vote of seventeen to "eight, gave Mr. Todd a call. The Parish, it "would seem, from the result, thought this "measure of the Church rather too strong. "After full trial, they found that they did not "like Mr. Todd; for, on the twenty-fifth of "November, they voted to appoint a Committee "to supply the pulpit, treating as it deserved, "the usurpation of the Church over rights so "completely secured to them by the Constitu-"tion and the solemn decisions of the Supreme "Court thereon.

"Dr. Chaplin, although he knew that the "Church had given Mr. Todd a call, agreed, "when the Parish Committee called upon him, "that they might fill the pulpit for four Sab-"baths. The vote of the Parish was to fill it "for four months. Their Committee, except "for the first Sunday, when there was no preach-"ing, actually supplied it from the date of their "appointment; and the only objection on the "part of the Church, which we can perceive, "was, that it was filled by Unitarian clergymen; "though we admit that there hardly could be "supposed a more important objection in the "minds of those, who deny the Christian char-"acter to Unitarians. Dr. Chaplin's patience "becoming at length exhausted, the following "note was addressed to the Parish Committee; "and the Council seem to consider it a very "proper one.

"'GENTLEMEN,—After mature reflection, I "'have thought it my duty to remonstrate, once "'more, against your thrusting a man into my "'pulpit against my wishes and, as I believe, "'against the wishes of a majority of this peo-"'ple.

"'Yours &c

"'DANIEL CHAPLIN.

"'January 7th, 1827.'"

"What a strange aspect does the subject as-"sume to us now? The *concurrent* right of the "election is admitted, explicitly and repeatedly, "by the Council; but it is contended that the "right to select the candidates is vested *ex-"clusively* in the *disabled* incumbent and his "Church! In the present case, the Church ac-"tually proceeded to an election, without giving "the majority the opportunity of hearing a "preacher of their own choice, even for a single "Sabbath. This, we trust, is not a specimen of "Orthodox justice and apprehension of right.

"The Parish Committee were calm and re-"solved. They knew that the Constitution had "guaranteed to them the right of election and, "of necessity, the depending right of selecting "candidates. Dr. Chaplin speaks of '*thrust-"'ing a man into his pulpit against his wishes.*' "Is this correct? In May preceding, he had "expressed to his people a wish to have a col-"league. They had, therefore, a legal right to "choose one. The right to choose includes the "right to select candidates. Dr. Chaplin had "parted with his right to exclude those whom "he did not like, by inviting the Parish to pro-"vide a colleague. Surely no man will be so "absurd as to contend that the Parish, even if "they had but a *concurrent* vote, had no right "to select their candidate. Jesuitical mockery "it would, indeed, be, if the Church could say "to the Parish, 'You may choose as you please. "'You have entire freedom of election; but "'you shall never hear a preacher on probation, "'who has not been graduated at Andover; "'who does not bear the genuine stamp, so as "'to render it sure that he is not counterfeit.'" —*Pages 8–10.*

The view taken in the *Result of the Groton Council*, to the effect that the rights of Churches had been freely and uniformly conceded, in the early history of Masschusetts, was thus controverted: "The true history of the case is this. "In 1641, when the legislators, were all church-"members, they made a law to perpetuate their

"own power. This is not an anomalous case. "Men are always ready to relieve others of the "labor of making laws, and to assume it themselves. But discontents of the most violent "nature arose against the usurpation. This is "expressly and repeatedly admitted by the Groton Council, themselves. The dispute was a "sharp and angry one. The rights of the great "body of Christians prevailed; and, in 1692, "the whole power of election was given to the "*people.* The Church made great efforts, and "regained a portion of its power, in 1693. The "law then enacted gave a concurrent choice to "the Church and people. But the usurpers were "dissatisfied with an equal division of power; "and, by aiming at too much, they have finally "lost all; an issue not by any means unusual "to those who aim at unlawful power.

"In 1695, the Church had influence enough to "procure a law which virtually gave the exclusive right of election to them, by bringing to "their aid an Ecclesiastical Council. But why "are these gentlemen so disingenuous as to "speak of the Act of 1695, as an *operative* one? "They must know that it was so odious that it "was *never enforced in a single case*, from that "day to the present. The communicants acquired a power, by that Act, which they never "dared to exercise. Why, too, do they so often "refer to the Act of 1693, giving the concurrent power to the Church, when they know "that it was repealed by the Act of 1695? "These omissions, or misstatements, or mistakes, "have no tendency to gain our confidence."—*Page 18.*

The argument for the existence of Churches independent of Parishes was thus met: "They "appear to think the Church to be an ambulatory "body, capable of locomotion, and separable "from all other human society. But if they "had perused, with care, the Act of 1800, "which they quote, they would have seen that "the privileges and liberties therein secured to "the several Churches were thus confirmed *only* "*to 'such Churches as are connected and associ-*"*ated in public worship* with the several Towns, "'Parishes, Precincts, Districts, bodies-politic, "'being religious Societies, established accord-"'ing to law, within this Commonwealth.' Our "laws recognize and sustain no others. Ours "are, and always, *de facto* and *de jure*, have "been, thus associated. If a Church should "remove out of a Parish, or cease to worship "with the Parish, their legal existence would "cease. They could not take the Pastor with "them. His contract is with the Parish. He "could not recover his salary, either of the "Parish or the Church. The Church, thus separated, could no longer vote on Parish affairs."—*Page 24.*

Later legal provisions are thus noticed: "By "the first Section of the Act of 1800, no privileges are given to Churches except such as are "*connected* and *associated* with existing bodies-politic. By the second Section, all the Towns, "Parishes, Precincts, bodies-politic, or *religious* "*Societies* are held to be constantly provided "with a public teacher of piety, religion, and "morality, under certain penalties to be recovered "by indictment. Surely it will not even be pretended that both the religious Societies and the "Parishes, and also the Churches attached to "them, are liable to these fines! If this should "be the case, there would be a double set of "fines; a fine on the Parish, as a corporation, "and an equal fine on the *included* corporation, "as the Council consider it, the Church."—*Pages 27, 28.*

The case is, toward the conclusion of the pamphlet, thus summed up. After intimating that the argument for the rights of "the Church," drawn from New Testament authority, is worse than impertinent, it proceeds: "But we forbear "an examination of this question, now immaterial, and refer our readers to a discussion of "it in a review of the Dedham case, in the "*Christian Disciple*, for July and August, 1820. "They will there find it maintained, that, in "the early ages of Christianity, the Church was "the society of Christians worshipping in one "place; that, in this, the usual, acceptation of "the word, the Church was divided into two "classes only, clergy and laity—not into three, "clergy, church-members, and ordinary worshippers;—that Church and Parish were, in "the language of those times, 'convertible "'terms;'—that the *choice of Bishops, or Pres-*"*byters*—one and the same thing—that is, *Pas-*"*tors, was made in a meeting of all the people;*"—that even if it could be proved, that no persons were, in the first centuries, admitted to "the Church without entering into a special "covenant, it would, by no means follow, that "such a course is necessary in the present age, "which is of a very different character; nay, "that Hooker himself, one of this Council's "favorite authorities, maintains that the children "of confederate parents are, *ipso facto*, '*true* "'members according to the rule of the Gospel, "'by the profession of their *father's covenant*, "'THOUGH they *should not make any personal* "'*and vocal expression of their engagement*, as "'their fathers did;'—that, instead of a constant "succession of Churches, in the sense in which "that word is used by Congregationalists, *the* "*Church, in our technical sense*, never had an "existence, till the separation of the Independents from the Presbyterians, in the seventeenth "century; and that the high pretensions of "Churches, in regard to the election of Pastors,

"are so far from being supported by an uninter-
"rupted usage, even for the last two centuries,
"that they have never been fully recognized, for
"a single hour. But, if it had been otherwise,
"we maintain that no length of time, however
"great, can give a prescriptive right to usurpa-
"tion. The reformation proceeded wholly on
"this principle. Equality in the Christian
"Church is one of its fundamental principles.
"It is, to be sure, one which has been more often
"violated than any other. There has been an
"unceasing effort to lord it over God's her-
"itage; and, this result is but one of the latest
"of the million of efforts to this effect. But it
"comes in an unauspicious age for the spirit of
"domination. Popes and Jesuits may be re-
"stored in name, but not to their dangerous
"power. The glory has departed from them.
"The human mind is free; and men will no
"longer, except in distracted Spain, hail their
"despots as benefactors, and insist upon the
"restoration of their chains,"—*Pages 30, 31.*

Such arguments as these, adduced to vindicate the "Rights of Parishes," were sufficiently plausible with those whose sympathies or interests predisposed them in their favor; but the members of the "exiled Churches," who, in their poverty, saw themselves stripped, not merely of their claims to a share in the parish-property, but of that which had been given exclusively to the Church and had been held by its officers, were not likely to be convinced of the justice of the treatment to which they were subjected, whether by the decisions of the Judges, or the pleas made by Unitarian advocates in their behalf. The earnestness, not to say bitterness, of the controversy was greatly aggravated by this sense of personal wrong, on the part of the membership of the 'exiled' Churches. The truth was, that they were the victims of a system of legislation that had grown out of the union of Church and State—a system in which the Church originally had had everything its own way, but with which subsequent legislation, shaped by the growing influence and claims of Parishes, had come in collision. There was no peace: there could be no proper basis for it, until some change, modifying existing legislation, could be effected; and this was only secured by the introduction of the new Constitution of the State, fourteen or fifteen years after the Dedham case occurred.

In 1819, Doctor Channing preached a Sermon, at Baltimore, at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks, which called forth some severe strictures, from different quarters. In this Sermon, he vindicated the use of reason, in religion; and stated his objections to Trinitarian theology. In the course of his remarks, he portrayed the system in an odious light. He said: "We object, particularly on this ground,
"to that system which arrogates to itself the
"name of Orthodoxy, and which is now most
"industriously propagated through our country.
"This system teaches that God brings us into
"existence wholly depraved, so that, under the
"innocent features of our childhood is hidden
"a nature adverse to all good and propense to
"all evil; and it teaches that God regards us
"with displeasure before we have acquired
"power to understand our duties or reflect upon
"our actions.

"This system, also, teaches, that God selects
"from the corrupt mass of men a number to be
"saved, and that they are plucked, by an irre-
"sistable agency, from the common ruin, whilst
"the rest are commanded, under penalty of
"aggravated woe, to make a change in their
"characters, which their natural corruption
"places beyond their power, and are also prom-
"ised pardon on conditions which necessarily
"avail them nothing, unless they are favored
"with a special operation of God's grace, which
"he is pre-determined to withhold."—*Page 17.*

"This system teaches, that man having sinned
"against an infinite being, is infinitely guilty;
"and some even say that a single transgression,
"though committed in our early and inconsider-
"ate years, merits the eternal pains of hell.
"Thus, an infinite penalty is due from every
"human being; and God's justice insists that it
"shall be borne either by the offender or a sub-
"stitute."—*Page 19.*

This discourse called out an answer by Professor Stuart of Andover. His *Letters to the Rev. Wm. E. Channing, containing Remarks on his Sermon recently preached and published at Baltimore*, passed through several editions; and as those whose views it represented denied, several years subsequent, that it ever had been answered, or ever could be, it demands special attention.

Professor Stuart admitted much that was said by Doctor Channing in regard to the use of reason in matters of religion. To his rules for interpretation, he took but partial exception. But, on the subject of the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity, he not only wrote at length, but carefully went over all the prominent proof-texts that could be cited on either side. At the outset, he proposes to define the sense in which he uses the word *person*: "We profess
"to use the word *person*, merely from the pov-
"erty of language; merely to designate our
"belief of a real distinction in the Godhead;
"and not to describe independent, conscious
"beings, possessing *separate* and equal *essences*
"and *perfections*. Why should we be obliged
"so often to explain ourselves on this point? Is

"there any more difficulty, here, or anything "more obnoxious, than when you say, 'God is "'angry with the wicked, every day?' You "defend yourself in the use of such an expres- "sion, by saying, that it is only the language of "*approximation;* i.e., that it is intended to "describe that, in the mind of the Deity, or in "his actions, which corresponds, in some meas- "ure, or in some respect, to anger in men; not "that he is really affected with the passion of "anger. You will permit me, then, to add, "that we speak of *person* in the Godhead, to "express that which, in some respect or other, "corresponds to *persons* as applied to men, i.e., "*some distinction; not* that we attach to it the "meaning of three beings, with a separate con- "sciousness, will, omnipotence, omniscience, "etc. Where then is our inconsistency in this, "or the absurdity of our language, provided "there is a real foundation in the Scriptures, on "which may rest the *fact* of a distinction that "we believe to exist?"—*Stuart's Letters to Channing, 1819, 34.*

"One of your rules of exegesis, to which I "have with all my heart assented, demands that "'*every* word . . . should be modified and "'explained according to the *subject* which is "'discussed, according to the PURPOSES, feel- "'ings, *circumstances*, and principles of the "'writer.' Do us the justice to apply this law "of interpretation to our language; and the "dispute between us about the meaning of the "word *person* is forever at an end.

"What, then, you will doubtless ask, is that "distinction in the Godhead, which the word "*person* is meant to designate? I answer, with- "out hesitation, that I do not know. The *fact* "that a distinction exists, is what we aver; the "definition of that distinction is what I shall "by no means attempt. By what shall I, or can "I, define it? What simile, drawn from created "objects, which are necessarily derived and "dependent, can illustrate the mode of existence "in that Being, who is underived, independent, "unchangeable, infinite, eternal? I confess "myself unable to advance a single step here, in "explaining what the distinction is. *I receive "the* FACT *that it exists, simply because I believe "that the Scriptures reveal the* FACT."—*Ibid 35, 36.*

"I do not admit, therefore, that we are ex- "posed, justly, to be taxed with mysticism and "absurdity, when we aver that there is a dis- "tinction in the Godhead, which we are utterly "unable to define. I am aware, indeed, that a "writer, some time since, composed and pub- "lished, in a periodical work then edited at "Cambridge, a piece in which he labored, with "no small degree of acuteness, to show that no "man can believe a proposition, the terms of "which are unintelligible or which he does not "understand. His object in doing this, appears "to have been, to fix upon a belief in the doc- "trine of the Trinity the charge of absurdity. "But, it seems to me, the whole argument of "that piece is founded on a confusion of two "things, which are in themselves very diverse; "viz., *terms* which are *unintelligible*, and "*things* which are *undefinable*. You believe in "the *fact* that the divine existence is without "cause: you understand the *fact* that God exists "uncaused; but, you cannot define underived "existence. I believe, on the authority of the "Scriptures, that there is a real distinction in "the Godhead; but I cannot define it. Still "the proposition that there is *a real distinction* "is just as intelligible as the one that God is "self-existent."—*Ibid, 37, 38.*

"After all, I am unable to conceive of any "definite meaning, in the phrase, '*eternal gen-* "'*eration.*' *Generation*, or production, like "*creation*, necessarily implies, in itself, *begin-* "*ning*, and, of course, contradicts the idea of "absolute eternity. In so far as Christ is divine, "consubstantial with the Father, he must, for "aught that I can see, be necessarily regarded "as self-existent, independent, and eternal. A "being to whom these attributes do not be- "long, can never be regarded as God, except he "be called so by a figurative use of the term. "The *generation* or *production* of the Son of "God, *as divine*, as *really and truly God*, seems "to be out of question, therefore, unless it be "an express doctrine of revelation, which is so "far from being the case, that I conceive the "contrary is plainly taught. If the phrase "'*eternal generation*,' then, is to be vindicated, "it is only on the ground that it is figuratively "used to describe an undefinable connexion and "discrimination between Father and Son, which "is from everlasting. It is not well-chosen, "however, for this purpose, because it necessari- "ly, even in its figurative use, carries along with "it an idea which is at variance with the self- "existence and independence of Christ, as divine; "and, of course, in so far as it does this, it "seems to detract from his real divinity."—*Ibid, 41, 42.*

"When Unitarians, therefore, inquire what "that distinction in the Godhead is, in which we "believe, we answer, that we do not profess to "understand *what* it is, affirmatively. We can "approximate to a definition of it, only by "negatives. We deny that the Father is, in *all* "respects, the same as the Son; and that the "Holy Spirit is, in *all* respects, the same as either "the Father or the Son. We rest the *fact*, that "a distinction exists, solely upon the basis of "Revelation."—*Ibid, 46.*

"My sole business, these ten years past, has

"been the study of the Bible; and the study of "it, in the daily use of those principles of exe- "gesis, which you have, for the most part, so "briefly and so happily described. I began "this study, as I believed, with a desire to know "what the Bible has taught. I have pursued it "with increased desire, with unabated ardour. "I have limited my studies to no one class of "writers; but have solicitously endeavored to "seek for truth, and to receive it, thankfully, "from whatever quarter it might come. In "particular, at least three-quarters of my time "have been spent among writers of the Unitarian "class, from whom I have received, with grati- "tude, much instruction relative to the philology, "the exegesis, and the literary history of the "Scriptures. I am accustomed to reject any ex- "planation of the Scriptures that is not founded "upon the general principles of exegesis, which "you have developed. Whether an *orthodox* or "*heteradox* use can be made of any interpreta- "tion is what I habitually endeavor to lay out of "view, when I interpret the Scriptures. The "simple question which I desire to place before "me, is, 'What has God said? What has "'Christ taught?' I aim at being guided by "the fundamental principles of explanation in "all writings, when I pursue these inquiries in "the Scriptures. And when I come to a satis- "factory answer, I regard this as of divine "authority; as *real orthodoxy*, in the highest "and best sense of the word."—*Ibid, 108.*

"I will now acknowledge that I was induced "to undertake the above examination in conse- "quence of the challenge which you make, [*p. 9*] "in the following words: 'We challenge our "'opponents to adduce *one* passage in the New "'Testament, where the word *God* . . . unless "'turned from its usual sense by the connexion, "'does not mean the Father.' I have accepted "this challenge, not, I hope, in the spirit of "contest, but with the desire of contributing, "so far as lies in my power, to develope what "the New Testament does teach. I have labor- "ed to show that the very reason, above all "other reasons, why I believe Christ to be truly "divine, is *because the connexion, when he is "called God, ascribes to him such attributes and "works as leave me no room to doubt that the "New Testament writers meant to assert his "proper divinity.*"—*Pages 109, 110.*

"These latter passages" [*cited*] "we do not hesi- "tate to modify, and restrain, and turn from the "most obvious sense, because this sense is opposed "to the known properties of the beings to whom "they relate; and we maintain that we adhere "to the same principle, and use no greater lati- "tude, in explaining, as we do, the passages "which are thought to support the Godhead of "Christ."—*Ibid, 134.*

"I am well satisfied, that the course of rea- "soning in which you have embarked, and the "principle, now in question, by which you "explain away the divinity of the Saviour, "must lead most men who approve of them, "eventually, to the conclusion that the Bible is "not of divine origin, and does not oblige us to "belief or obedience."—*Ibid, 141.*

"For myself, I must say, it is my conviction "that the sooner matters come to this issue the "better. Not that natural religion is better in "itself than Unitarianism. No. I believe "Christianity, under any form, is better than "Deism. But the contest which is now carried "on, here, will be more speedily terminated by "such an issue. The parties will then under- "stand each other; and the public will under- "stand the subject of dispute."—*Ibid, 152.*

In 1820, the Rev. Doctor Miller of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, preached a Sermon at Baltimore, at the ordination and institution of Rev. William Nevins. It was natural that, after the discourse of Doctor Channing, in the same city, the previous year, his remarks should be directed, to some extent, toward the system with which his own stood in avowed antagonism. The *Unitarian Miscellany* of Baltimore took exception to the course which he had seen fit to pursue; and thus challenged a reply from Doctor Miller. This appeared, in 1821, in *A Letter to the Editor of the* Unitarian Miscellany, *in reply to an attack on the Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Nevins.* This invited new criticism; and Doctor Miller again replied in *Letters on Unitarianism; addressed to the members of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of Baltimore.* In these letters, which made an octavo volume of over three hundred pages, Doctor Miller complained that the Unitarians of Baltimore had deemed it proper to make him an object of repeated attack, and his sermon a subject of protracted and tedious discussion. "I have seldom been more "surprised," he says, "than to find that a few "plain sentences which were delivered under the "impression that they contained nothing more "than what was universally understood to be the "sentiments of the Orthodox, should give such "deep offence, and lead to so much waste of ink "and paper. Nor can I yet account for the "fact, but by supposing that the Unitarians in "the United States are determined to make the "experiment whether they can write themselves "into notice and importance, and, in prosecuting "this experiment, resolve to let nothing, however "trivial, escape their animadversion. If this be "their plan, I make no complaint of its opera- "tion on me."

Doctor Miller first examined the objections and prejudices against Orthodoxy. He passed in re-

view the sentiments on the subject contained in the writings of the Christian Fathers; showed the evidence afforded by early controversies and writers of the Reformation period; and then pointed out what he regarded as Unitarian deficiencies. He dwelt, especially, upon the mischief that attended the application of Unitarian principles to the exposition of Scripture, and the unfavorable influence of Unitarianism upon vital piety and the missionary spirit.

Professor Stuart, in his *Letters to Channing*, had said of the phrase "Eternal generation," as applied to the Son of God, that he could not conceive of it as possessed of any definite meaning, nor could he regard it in any other light than as a palpable contradiction of language. On the other hand, Doctor Miller, in his third letter had remarked, "I know that "the doctrine of the *Eternal Generation* of "the Son of God is regarded, by many, as "implying a contradiction in terms." After a brief indication of the propriety of the expression, he remarks: "I am aware that some who main- "tain, with great zeal, the Divinity and atone- "ment of Christ, reject his *eternal Sonship*, or "generation, as being neither consistent with rea- "son nor taught in Scripture. It does not accord "either with my plan or my inclination, to spend "much time in animadverting on this aberration, "for such I must deem it, from the system of "Gospel truth. I will only say that, to me, the "doctrine of the eternal Sonship of the Savior "appears to be plainly taught in the word of God, "and to be a doctrine of great importance in "the economy of salvation. Of course, I view "those who reject it not merely as in error, but "in very serious error; an error which, though "actually connected with ardent piety and gener- "al orthodoxy, in many who embrace it, has, "nevertheless, a very unhappy tendency, and "cannot fail, I fear, to draw in its train many "mischievous consequences. In short, my be- "lief is, that the doctrine of the eternal genera- "tion of the Son, is so closely connected with "the doctrine of the Trinity and the Divine "character of the Savior, that where the former "is generally abandoned, neither of the two "latter will be long retained. I must there- "fore warn you against the error of rejecting "this doctrine, even though it come from *the* "*house of a friend*. It is a mystery, but a "precious mystery, which seems to be essentially "interwoven with the whole substance, as well "as language, of the blessed economy of mercy."

In these circumstances, Professor Stuart felt that it did not become him to be silent. He took notice of Doctor Miller's views, and discussed the question on which the two theological Professors were at variance, in an octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-six pages. In this he said: "During all my theological life, I had never "once heard the doctrine of eternal generation "seriously avowed and defended. Nearly all "the Ministers in New England, since I have "been upon the stage, have, so far as I know "their sentiments, united in rejecting it or, at "least, in regarding it as unimportant. Our "most distinguished theologians, for forty years "past, have openly declared against it. Multi- "tudes of Ministers, among us, of distinguish- "ed talents and theological knowledge, men of "eminent piety, and whose labors have been "blessed with such revivals of religion as have "scarcely appeared in any country; men whom "the Church will honor, long after they are "dead, as some of her brightest ornaments, as "diadems in her crown of glory; men who are "not only orthodox, but distinguished champ- "ions of orthodoxy; reject, as I have done, the "doctrine of eternal generation. Many who are "fallen asleep in Jesus, and have gone to be re- "warded by that Savior whom they loved and "honored, were of the same sentiments and "character.

"If you add to this, the consideration, that "all my convictions, springing from former ex- "aminations of the subject, were, at the time "I wrote, really and truly what my lan- "guage imports, you will not be surprised, "perhaps, that I expressed myself as I have "done. But I had no individual, nor any par- "ticular class of men in our country, in view, "when I thus wrote. Of designed rudeness, "then, or disrespect to any particular man, or "body of men, I feel myself in no measure "conscious. Yet, as some of my Christian "brethren appear to have been offended by the "strength of my expression on the subject in "question, it is matter of regret to me, that I "did not make use of terms less adapted to "wound the feelings of those who may differ "from me."

He then proceeded to examine, *seriatim*, the writings of the Christian Fathers, and to show on what frail authority the doctrine of the *eternal generation* rested.

In 1823, Doctor Miller replied to Professor Stuart, in his *Letters on the Eternal Sonship of Christ*, addressed to him, personally. In these, he went over the ground traversed by Professor Stuart; and essayed to controvert his positions.

Here, this phase of the controversy ended. Very little notice was taken of it, in New England. Substantially the same view which was taken by Professor Stuart, had been previously held by others, as he himself intimates. It had been implied in a volume published by Rev. Ethan Smith, of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, at Boston, in 1814. This volume—a duodecimo of two hundred and thirty-four pages—bore the

title of *A Treatise on the Character of Jesus Christ, and of the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead, with quotations from the primitive Fathers.* It had been provoked, doubtless, by Noah Worcester's *Bible News;* and it directly controverted his view of a propagated or derived divinity of Jesus Christ. It bore with it the prefatory commendation of Doctors Emmons, Griffin, and Morse; and provoked very little opposition, or even notice, except from Unitarian writers like Jacob Norton. There were some, doubtless, who dissented from his positions. The Rev. Samuel Whitman, who, in his *Key to the Bible Doctrine of Atonement and Justification*, Boston, 1814, had argued, strenuously, for the divinity of Christ, seemed to think that, if Professor Stuart's views were sound and the doctrine of *Eternal Generation* were given up, one might as well, go over, at once, to Unitarianism. Few, however, in all probability, sympathized with him.

But, during this Baltimore episode of the main controversy, things had not remained quiet in New England. The two men who might be accounted representative leaders of the two parties came into open and repeated conflict with one another. Doctor Woods, of Andover Theological Seminary, represented the Orthodox, and Doctor Ware, of Harvard-college, represented the Unitarians. The former published, in 1820, his *Letters to Unitarians.* This was soon followed by *Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists*, from the pen of Doctor Ware. In September, 1821, Doctor Woods published his *Reply to Doctor Ware's Letters;* and, in May, 1822, Doctor Ware published his *Answer to the Reply.* This was followed, in September of the same year, by a pamphlet, entitled *Remarks on Doctor Ware's Answer*, from the pen of Doctor Woods.

The controversy turned mainly upon such topics of doctrine as human depravity and the atonement, and not upon the Trinity, which had been so amply discussed by Doctor Woods's colleague, Professor Stuart. It was conducted, on both sides, in a calm tone and in a decorous manner. In his closing pamphlet, Dr. Woods paid a high compliment to the fairness, candor, and sincerity of his opponent; and, undoubtedly, Doctor Ware would have been fully prepared, had the controversy continued, to reciprocate the compliment

In 1820, the First Unitarian Church was established in the City of New York. Its corporate name was "The First Congregational Church "of New York." The address, at the laying of the corner stone, was by Henry Ware, Junior, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1820. "On the even- "ing of the succeeding day, he attended a "service at the Reformed Presbyterian Church, "and heard, there, a Sermon from its Pastor, "the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, the text of which was "the disputed verse, *1 John, v., 7*, of the three "heavenly witnesses. This was claimed by the "preacher as genuine, and was made the occasion "of severe animadversion upon the Unitarian "belief. On the coming of the next Sabbath, "Mr. Ware was naturally led to attend again, at "the same church. Dr. M'Leod took for his "text a passage of Scripture which had been "inscribed on the plate deposited on the corner "stone of the new church—'This is life eternal, "'to know thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ "'whom thou hast sent;'—and proceeded to "remark, again, on the opinions held by Uni- "tarians, with especial reference to the ceremony "of the preceding week. The attack, in these "Sermons, was so direct, and seemed so likely "to increase the unjust prejudices against this "class of Christians, that Mr. Ware felt himself "called upon to make some reply. Accordingly, "on the spur of the moment, and without any "full opportunity of consulting books or "weighing the subject, deliberately, he wrote "and published two Letters, addressed to the "preacher; the first containing a general sketch "of the argument in relation to the disputed "text, and the second, some remarks in reply to "the statements in the second Sermon. This "pamphlet was published on the eleventh of "May, only four days after the delivery of the "second sermon."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Junior, 119.*

At this juncture, it is interesting to note the views of leading Unitarians on some points connected with their distinctive Creed. Henry Ware, Junior, in a letter of about this date, (March 29, 1822,) says: "As to the matter of "pre-existence, it were best to leave it alone. "It is of small consequence; and I am not sure, "for one, that it is not the truth. There is a "good deal of the language of our Lord and "the Apostles which I cannot find satisfactorily "explained on any other supposition. But this "is a subject on which I acknowledge myself "profoundly ignorant, and willing to remain "ignorant, till I reach a world where I shall "be more sure of knowing the truth."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Jr., 145.*

As to Channing we are told: "In Jesus Christ, "he reverently acknowledged a sublime being, "who, by his coming upon earth, had brought "about a crisis in the condition of humanity; "had touched, with healing power, the vital "springs of goodness in our race; and had open- "ed the heavens through which ever more flow "in, full influxes of spiritual life. With no im- "patience to invent satisfactory answers to mys- "teries which he saw to be involved, and espec- "ially anxious not to divert men's regards from "the goodness of God's beloved Son, by specu-

"lations upon his rank in the scale of being, "he yet, for himself, was inclined to believe in "Christ's pre-existence and his continued power "over human affairs. In a word, he was then" [*1821*] "an Arian"—*Memoir of Channing, ii., 93.*

The views of Mr. Andrews Norton were not obscurely intimated by his editorial note in connection with the republication of a work, by Le Clerc, in 1820. While deprecating, in the *Repository*, the inferences that might be drawn from Stuart's Letters (1819) as to Unitarian views of Inspiration, he expressed a general approval and commendation of the position taken by Le Clerc. A writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, (ii., 554) remarks: "But omitting evidence which might "be gathered from the *Repository*, we shall briefly "remark upon the *Letters of Le Clerc on Inspir-"ation*, republished and recommended by the "gentleman who edited that periodical. In "1820, he issued a little volume, containing "Locke's *Essay for the understanding of St. "Paul's Epistles*, and Le Clerc on *Inspiration*, "accompanied with a short but pregnant preface, "and a note of some length and much import-"ance."

In connection with the statement that Le Clerc is substantially endorsed by the Editor, his views on Inspiration are quoted, and the remark is subjoined: "But we submit it to an enlight-"ened and discriminating public to decide wheth-"er the quotations we have made from Le Clerc, "approved as they were by the Editor, and from "the *Christian Examiner*, do not bear us out "in the strong ground we have taken, that *the "Reviewer of Stuart and other leading Unitar-"ians have actually, for years, rejected the com-"monly received views of the inspiration and in-"fallibility of the Holy Scriptures.*"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims. ii., 558.*

Up to this time, the prospects of the spread of Unitarianism were favorable. It had planted new Churches in New-York and Baltimore, and, in vigorous controversy, had met all assaults. Something of the confidence felt by many in its continued progress is expressed in the following letter, which is valuable also for its historical statement as to the origin of Unitarian views, in certain quarters It was addressed to Mr. Belsham, by W. Wells, Esq., of Boston, in 1823: * * "I hope, my dear Sir, you will live many "years, if it seem good to the Supreme Arbiter, "to witness the spread of those views of Chris-"tianity which you justly consider so consonant "to the doctrines of the New Testament and so "favorable to the happiness of mankind. In "this country, not only do they rapidly extend, "but they seem, also, to approve themselves to "men of intelligence and worth. Our ex-Pres-"ident, Adams, now eighty-six, and in the full "possession of his understanding, you know, "has been, for many years, a decided and zeal-"ous Unitarian. I saw, lately, a correspond-"ence between our estimable fellow-citizen, "Colonel Pickering, (now eighty,) and Mr. "Jefferson, upon this subject; and, I assure "you, read it with no small surprise." * * * "Jefferson replies with great good sense and "good feeling, and, as it appeared to me, "(scanning his words, you may assure yourself, "with suspicious keenness) in a manner open "and explicit. He professes his belief in the "divine mission of Christ; his regret that the "corruptions of Christianity have so long ob-"scured its glories and prevented its reception; "and his joy that these corruptions are now "passing away, and that the doctrine of the "Divine Unity and just views of the Divine "character are making a progress so rapid and "extensive. When I speak of Mr. Pickering, "I speak of a man of great intelligence and of "a character which more resembles that of "Cato than of any other man. His opinions "were changed, many years ago, by the reading "of Doctor Price's Sermons; and he has since "been a zealous Unitarian. These, also, are the "opinions of General Brooks, Doctor Osgood's "parishioner, whose steady liberality of senti-"ment had an effect the most beneficial upon "the good Doctor's character and ministra-"tions. He, also, has had a distinguished mil-"itary career, and commanded a Regiment at "the capture of Burgoyne, with great eclat. "At the Peace, he resumed the medical profes-"sion, and continued in it, with great reputa-"tion, for thirty years, and, indeed, to the "present time, to his immediate friends and "neighbors. He has been, for seven or eight "years, Governor of this State, with great es-"teem and with so much moderation, that even "the Democrats had almost given up their "opposition to his annual re-election. This "office he resigned, two months ago, to the "regret of all. We have just lost an admira-"ble man, Mr. George Cabot, of this town, a "direct descendant, I believe, of Sebastian "Cabot. He told me that, more than forty "years ago, he met, with one or two merchants, "in a little counting-room, which he pointed "out, to devise the means of publishing some "liberal tracts, especially Dr. Priestley's little "*Appeal* and *History of Corruptions.* When "the Doctor was at Philadelphia, Mr. Cabot "was a Senator in Congress, and his constant "hearer and great admirer. Doctor Kirkland "preached his funeral Sermon, last Sunday; "and I hope to bring you acquainted with the "character of this pure, able, judicious, and "most amiable man. He was a Unitarian, who "laid great stress upon the value of these prin-

"ciples, and, at one of the last conversations I "had with him, he expressed, in terms similar "to those in which you are wont to clothe the "strength of your belief, that those principles "of which we were speaking, would, in no long "time, become those of the intelligent and vir- "tuous throughout the United States."—*Letter of W. Wells, May 3, 1823*—BELSHAM, *744–747*.

The necessity now seemed to be imposed upon Unitarians to make provision for maintaining themselves and extending and vindicating their views. Repudiating still, as they had ever done, all ecclesiastical organizations distinct from, or superior to, the individual church, it only remained for them to act upon the voluntary principle. In the *Life of H. Ware, Jr.*, we are told: "In the 'anniversary week,' in "May of this year, 1825, was formed the 'Amer- "'ican Unitarian Association;'" * * Mr. Ware says: "the officers are, E. S. Gannett, "Secretary, (and his soul in it,) Lewis Tappan, "Treasurer, (and his soul the same,) A. Norton, "J. Sparks, and J. Walker, Directors. The ob- "jects of it, cheap doctrinal tracts, missionary "preachers, and a bond of union to all of the "name, throughout America. We have a Vice- "President in every section of the country, all "laymen."—*Page 165*.

As a matter of expediency, it was none too early for Unitarians to take the alarm, and combine in united action. The state of affairs had greatly changed, within the period of three or four years. In 1821, Doctor Beecher, anxious to extend the patronage of the *Christian Spectator*, at New Haven, had written to his friend, Rev. E. Cornelius: "Should the work "now fail, I fear it may be the last attempt to "sustain a work of this kind, in my day; and "we shall be given over to *Christian Examin- "ers* and *North American Reviews*—a calamity "which, if we do permit, the blood of souls "will be required at our hands. The Unitar- "ians have now three periodical publications, "through which they pour out their floods of "heresy upon the community, while we have "but one, of limited circulation and doubtful "continuance. The enemy, driven from the "field by the immortal Edwards, have returned "to the charge; and now the battle is to be "fought over again, to retain the ground which "was freely given to us.

"It is concluded that the time has at length "fully come to take hold of the Unitarian con- "troversy by the horns. A review of Chan- "ning, Stuart, and the *Christian Examiner* is "in a state of forward preparation, and will be, "if I do not mistake, eminently able and satis- "factory. It will be followed by a review of "Doctors Woods and Ware; and when we have "settled up our arrearages, we propose to pay "orders at sight.

"We feel the danger of allowing the Unitar- "ian heresy too much popular headway, les "the stream, like Toleration, once running "should defy obstruction and sweep founda- "tions and superstructures in promiscuous ruin "An early and decided check, followed up, wil "turn back this flood, and save the land fron "inundation. But, to accomplish this, as Vol "taire said to the Abbé, 'We *must* be read,'"— *Autobiography, i., 439*.

The reply of Doctor Cornelius, (Salem, Feb 5, 1821,) concedes the correctness of Docto Beecher's views: "I am as certain as that I "breathe, that Unitarianism has been on th "steady advance ever since the controversy o "1815.

"This is not the fault of Doctor Worceste "and his brethren, who made such a noble onse "upon them, and threw their ranks into confus "ion. But, Sir, they found themselves stripped "of their disguise, by that effort, and wer "obliged to take the open field.

"From that time, collecting and concentrat "ing their forces, proud of the ascendency the "know they have gained in the metropolis, and "prouder still of the University, which was al "on their side, * * * they have been con "stantly rising, and acquiring more and mor "confidence."—*Ibid, i., 440, 441*.

In response, Doctor Beecher says (Feb. 27 1821): "You are right in thinking the Unitar "ians are gaining. Their power of corrupting "the youth of the Commonwealth, by means o "Cambridge, is silently putting sentine's in al "the Churches, legislators in the hall, and "Judges on the Bench, and scattering, ever "where, physicians, lawyers, and merchants.

"It is also true that their concentration and "monied resources give them great advantages "which we can balance only by arousing and "concentrating the energies of the Orthodox "Churches. *This, this* must be our *first, second* "and *third* work, for when it is fairly done th "victory is won.

"The Unitarians cannot be killed by the pen "for they do not live by the pen. They depend "upon *action;* and by action alone can they b "effectually met. Hitherto, they have had eas "work while mingled with the Orthodox, coax "ing some, threatening others, and hampering "all.

"They have sowed tares while men slept, and "grafted heretical Churches on Orthodox stumps "and this is still their favorite plan. Every "where, when the Minister dies, some Society "Committee will be cut and dried, ready to cal "in a Cambridge student, split the Church, ge

"a majority of the Society, and take house, "funds, and all.

"And there is no remedy while the Orthodox "sleep and Socinians are allowed to lodge in "the same fold with us. You are right in say- "ing that the apathy of the Orthodox is more "ominous than the activity of the Unitarians. "It is time, high time, to awake out of sleep, "and to call things by their right names."—*Ibid, i., 449.*

In the Spring of 1823, Doctor Beecher visited Boston, at the request of Rev. S. E. Dwight, Pastor of one of the Orthodox Churches, in order to assist him in revival labors. After laboring there, for a short time, Doctor Beecher writes in a very different tone from that in which he had previously expressed his fears. He says: "There is, unquestionably, a great and auspic- "ious change going on, in Boston, in respect to "evangelical doctrine and piety. The Orthodox "have, for years, been delving in their Sabbath- "schools and other evangelical efforts; and their "zeal, and strength, and momentum, as to pre- "paring the way for a revival, are noble, and "they are reaping their reward."

He adds: "The late election has broken, and "will, in its consequences, break, forever, their "power as a Unitarian political party to prose- "lyte, and annoy, and defend, by perverted "legislative and judicial influence. This, at "least, is the opinion here. They feel their "downfall.

"To a great extent, the Unitarian population "begin to be apprehensive about the soundness "of their foundation. They are moved, evi- "dently, and shaken; not universally, but many "are. The facts to confirm this opinion are "such as these: A Mr. O., member of Mr. "Parkman's Church, comes once a week to Mr. "Wisner, for counsel.

"He has published the account of the revival, "in Whitfield's day, here; has written and pub- "lished an able defence of Conference-meetings "and charitable associations; and is at the head "of a number of young men who meet, once a "week, to sing Orthodox hymns and pray, and "who, as he told Mr. Wisner, think no better of "Unitarianism than he does.

"Besides this, numbers attend neighborhood- "meetings and other religious associations of "the Orthodox; and there is, with the more "sober part of Unitarian congregations, dissatis- "faction and continual leaving of persons of "wealth and consequence. * * *

"Besides this, the revival is *up*, so much so, "among Unitarians, that the Ministers, even those "who had opened against it and night meetings, "have been obliged to strike, and come under its "lee or into its wake, pretending to like it, if "properly conducted, and have set up meetings; "but Aaron's rod swallows them up. They can- "not talk to the conscience and make people "feel."—*Ibid, i., 518.*

To the Rev. Doctor Taylor at New Haven, Doctor Beecher writes, May 1, 1823: "The fact "is that the Unitarian people, with the excep- "tion of a few *veterans*, are no more Unitarians "than any uninformed people, who know noth- "ing except that they do not believe in Calvin- "ism, as caricatured *in terrorem*. And when "the truth, divested of obnoxious terms, is "mildly, and kindly, and luminously, explained "and earnestly applied, they have no shield, and "are easily impressed and awakened, and even "easier than some of our hardened and Ortho- "dox hearers."—*Ibid. i., 542.*

A new kind of tactics had, doubtless, something to do with the change that was taking place. This change was so great that Doctor Beecher, in January, 1825, could write to Doctor Wisner: "I rejoice to perceive unequivocal evidence that "Orthodoxy, in Massachusetts, is becoming a "phalanx, 'terrible as an army with banners;' "and that our adversaries shall no more be able "to frame iniquity by law, and draw sin as with "a cart-rope."

It is not a little singular that the suggestion of the new tactics, or of the new phase which the controversy should be made to assume, should come from one who, within two or three years, was to be known as one of the most prominent Old-School leaders in New England theology. It was on April 2, 1824, that Doctor Nettleton wrote to Doctor Beecher: "I believe it be a "matter of fact that you and I are *really* a dif- "ferent kind of Calvinists from what Unitarians "have imagined or been accustomed to manage. "Probably, the writer" [*of an article, in the* Christian Examiner, *reviewing Doctor Beecher's sermon at Worcester, in 1823*] "thinks that you "are, in sentiment, at war with the Orthodox, at "the present day; but he is grandly mistaken, "so far as Connecticut is concerned. And I do "suppose that we do preach moral obligation "and dependence different from many of our "old Divines—that, in some things, the Calvin- "ism of Connecticut or New England has un- "dergone an important change."

On this point, no man, perhaps, in Connecticut, was better qualified to bear testimony than Doctor Nettleton. We shall see the bearing of his remarks when we notice the ground taken, subsequently, by Doctor Beecher, in his controversy with the *Christian Examiner*. Doctor Nettleton adds: "Why not take this ground "with Unitarians? We feel no concern for old "Calvinism. Let them dispute it as much as "they please; we feel bound to make no de- "fence. Come home to the *evangelical system* "now taught in New England. Meet us, if at

"all, on our own *avowed* principles, or we shall "have nothing to say to you."—*Ibid, I., 552.*

It was evident that, henceforth, Boston Unitarianism had a new kind of antagonism to meet. It was no longer the "Old Calvinism" that had rusted in its own orthodoxy, and had helped, perhaps, to generate Unitarianism; but it was a living, active theology that accorded with the awakened revival spirit of the time. The Unitarian Association found enough work on its hands, the moment it was organized. It made free use of the press, throwing off cheap tracts and treatises on the leading doctrines of Unitarianism, and in opposition to Calvinistic tenets. The ablest pens in the denomination were employed; and liberal writers of an earlier period were re-printed by private enterprise. Rev. Jared Sparks republished *Writings of latitudinarian authors connected with the English Church, accompanied by editorial comments.* The series was continued until it consisted of five or six volumes of rare and valuable selections, some of them very difficult to be procured or consulted in any other shape.

But the efforts of Unitarians, by means of the press, to mould the religious sentiments of the community, did not answer their anticipations or hopes. In 1826, Doctor Beecher, himself, who had taken so deep an interest in the cause of Orthodoxy, in Massachusetts, was called to the pastorate of the Hanover-street Church, in Boston. He accepted the call and commenced his labors. Their influence was soon felt and confessed by his opponents. He says, himself: "When I first set up evening meetings, not a "bell tinkled; but, after a few weeks, not a "bell that didn't tinkle. The Unitarians, at "first, scouted evening meetings; but Ware "found his people going, and set up a meeting. "I used to laugh to hear the bells going all "around."—*Autobiography, ii., 76.*

There was no exaggeration in this picture. Henry Ware, Junior, then Pastor of the Second Church, Boston, confirms it in his letters. A few months after Doctor Beecher commenced his Boston pastorate, October 18, Mr. Ware writes: "I wish I could tell you, exactly, what our con- "dition is, here; but, in truth, I do not know "myself. Dr. B. has drawn away some from "our Societies; and I suspect that Orthodoxy "rather gains ground. Many of our Ministers, "and more of our laymen, think no exertions "should be made: and their sloth, by the side "of Orthodox zeal, produces very unfavorable "impressions. Some are awake and active, and "will prevent the cause from sinking, if they do "not promote it. Our greatest evil is want of "Ministers; openings appear, every where, but "we cannot make use of them. Our Theolog- "ical School is so poor, that it almost languish- "es; three applicants went away becau "no support for them."—*Life of H. W 190.*

Several months later, he admits fully cess of the Orthodox in their efforts "Orthodox interest is full of energy "assault is making on us, which it "be easy to repel. Every voice and e "is needed here; and I can say to yo "could not say, elsewhere, that there ar "measures to be taken, of essential and "portance, which, I think, will not "unless I am here. Now, unless this "things changes, I cannot quit my "would be treason."—*Life of H. W 196.*

This change in the tide of popula had not been effected without a strugg struggle, at first, seemed hopeless. T dox, in 1809, had barely saved the onl which they could call their own, in Bo is said that the scale was so evenly bala it was turned by a single vote. Already after Church had been added to their l in Hanover-street Church, Doctor Beec pied a position and exerted an influen were more commanding than any of his ventured to ascribe to Doctor Channin worth while to note his estimate of the his opponents, and the resources which at their command: "The Unitarians, "their principles of toleration, were as "persecuting power, while they had th "ency, as ever existed. Wives and c "were forbidden to attend our meeti "the whole weight of political, liter "social influence was turned against "the lash of ridicule laid on, without *Autobiography, ii., 77.*

This is, indeed, the language of an o but of a man who never spoke what h believe or feel.

His estimate of the resources of Uni is given as follows: "All the literary "Massachusetts were Unitarians. All t "tees and Professors of Harvard-coll "Unitarians. All the *elite* of wealth "ion crowded Unitarian Churches. Th "on the Bench were Unitarians, giving "by which the peculiar features of Ch "ganization, so carefully ordained by "grim fathers, had been nullified. The "as consisting, according to their beli "generate people, had been ignored, an "power had passed into the hands of "gregation. This power had been use "majorities, to settle Ministers of the "ble and reigning type, in many of t "of Eastern Massachusetts. The domin "entered, at once, into possession of

and Church-property, leaving the Orthodox ministry to go out into school-houses or town-halls, and build their Churches as best they could. Old foundations, established by the Pilgrim fathers for the perpetuation and teaching of their own views, in theology, were seized upon and appropriated to the support of opposing views. A fund given for preaching an annual lecture on the Trinity was employed for preaching an annual attack upon it; and the Hollis professorship of Divinity, at Cambridge, was employed for the furnishing of a class of Ministers whose sole distinctive idea was declared warfare with the ideas and intentions of the donor."—*Autobiography, ii., 10.*

Certain weaknesses of Unitarianism were confessed by its adherents, in the pages of the *Christian Examiner*.* They had not the zeal or self-denial of the opposite party. In Foreign Missions, especially, they were backward; and men who could not comprehend a chain of logical reasoning could perceive, at a glance, that if Unitarianism chills and deadens the sensibilities of those who receive it, to the miseries and wants of those, among our fellow-men, who are unblessed with revelation, this is, indeed, as strong against our opinions, even as our opponents represent it to be."—*Christian Examiner, i., 194.* Yet when the project of Foreign Missions was urged, it was proposed to increase, largely, the standard of remuneration. Let them be made masters of Natural Philosophy, in all its branches. Let them be thoroughly acquainted with the science of Metaphysics. Let them be deeply read in History. Let them be, at the same time, what are called "practical men: men who know the world and human nature. And let them be Christians, without any of the narrowness of bigotry. Let these men be sent to be companions, and friends, and teachers, among *enlightened* Mohammedans and Heathens."

Such was the language addressed to a Boston audience by the successor of John Cotton, in 1824. But little came of it. Unitarian Foreign Missions languished till the task of apology was painful. The Orthodox, on the other hand, manifested life and energy. Their donations were liberal. They were seen to be behind hand in no work of charity. Their religion was more strict, and their religious character was of a higher tone. They sustained prayer-meetings and Sabbath-schools, without weariness. They abounded in religious exercises. They exulted in revivals. Indeed, the advent of Doctor Beecher introduced into Boston—what it had not known, before, to any considerable extent, for generations—an age of revivals. Even Unitarians crowded to hear him; and many began to ask the secret of his success.

All this was confessed, by the more candid of the Liberal party. Some of them were more disposed than heretofore to read *both* sides of the controversy. The first Treasurer of the Unitarian Association was one of these. He had been Associate Editor of the *Christian Register;* and Doctor Channing had called him his right-hand man, in his Church. He heard Doctor Beecher; and then, with his team, took loads from the neighboring villages, to hear his evening lectures. His friends began to fear they should lose him. Henry Ware, Junior, called upon him for an explanation. He wrote it out at length. It dilated upon the contrast, in practical godliness, between Unitarians and the Orthodox. It came under the eyes of individuals who were anxious to print it. Without the author's name, it was issued as a tract, and went through successive editions. It was answered in a counter publication, by Henry Ware, Junior, which took its place on the list of Unitarian tracts. Such was the origin of a *Letter from a Gentlemen in Boston to a Unitarian Clergyman of that City*, the fourth edition of which appeared in 1828; and such was the origin of the *Answer to the Letter, by a Unitarian Clergyman.*

It was, while these events were taking place, that another phase of the controversy commanded general attention, in which the *Christian Examiner* represented the Unitarians, and Doctor Beecher, over his own signature, represented the Orthodox. The occasion of the first collision between them was a discourse on *The Faith now delivered to the Saints*, preached by Doctor Beecher at the Ordination of Rev. L. I. Hoadley, at Worcester, on the fifteenth of Oc-

* "A writer in the *Christian Examiner* (the principal Unitarian periodical published in this country) for March and April, 1826, says of Unitarians, as a body, that their country Societies, in general, are almost entirely destitute of zeal,' and their Ministers are 'surrounded by' so much 'timidity' among their people, that they 'often grow timid themselves, keep to one style of preaching and one round of subjects, and neither excite nor are excited to inquiry, decision, and exertion. Much of this,' he adds, 'is also true of the Unitarian Societies in Boston.' 'The people, though satisfied with Ministers of the Unitarian persuasion, and resolved to have no other, are generally unwilling to hear Unitarianism explained or defended, and are, therefore, not interested in it, nor well versed in its principles.' 'They are *called* Unitarians, and that is enough.' And, when a purpose strictly Unitarian is to be accomplished, 'they, into whose hands it is committed, know full well that the interest in Unitarianism, as such, is small indeed, and that its resources are soon exhausted.' But of the Orthodox, a writer in the same magazine—the author of the Review of Dr. Beecher's Sermon at Worcester, says, (p. 34): 'It is a pleasure to us, now and always, to acknowledge the good qualities which recommend our opponents—their unquestionable sincerity, as a body; their laudable zeal in promoting many of the benevolent undertakings that distinguish this age; their endeavors to excite a spirit of greater seriousness and consideration among the people; and to stem the torrent of vice that is forever setting in upon a thoughtless world.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, i., 179.

tober, 1823. A review of this appeared in the *Christian Examiner* for January, 1824. It maintained that the faith "delivered to the "saints," taking Doctor Beecher's representation of it, was decidedly *anti-Calvinistic*. Doctor Beecher replied to the review in a Letter, addressed to the Editor of the *Christian Examiner*, for which work it was designed, but which appeared in the *Christian Spectator*, for 1825. He admitted that he was called to an unexpected task, to prove that his doctrines were Calvinistic. He argued that they were so, from the fact that he had preached them for twenty years; had never been called to account for them; had never received from Unitarians those tokens of complacency which they were wont to bestow upon apostates from Orthodoxy; etc. He insisted that Calvinism had been misrepresented; that the odious charges made against it were false; and that, among these, was the doctrine of *Infant damnation*.

Here the matter rested till after Doctor Beecher's removal to Boston. In 1827, a seventh edition of his Sermon was published, to which was appended a note to the effect that, in a ministry of nearly thirty years, he had never met, among the many Ministers of his acquaintance, one who held the doctrine of infant damnation, nor had he seen the book in which it was taught. He asserted, therefore, that Calvinists were as far from teaching the obnoxious doctrine, as those who charged them with holding it.

To this, the *Christian Examiner* for September and October, 1827, took exception, quoting Calvin, Twisse, Gale, Gill, Boston, and Bellamy, to prove that Doctor Beecher was not sustained in his assertion by approved Calvinistic writers. To this, Doctor Beecher replied, in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*—a periodical which commenced with January, 1828, just in time to be the organ of the Orthodox side of the controversy. In three successive numbers, he presented his argument; and to these, the *Christian Examiner* replied, in its numbers for May and June of the same year.

To some extent, certainly, Doctor Beecher had acted in accordance with the suggestion of Doctor Nettleton. He was not disposed to put himself forward as the champion of those who were known as "Calvinists," of a previous age. He defended only the Calvinism of the then prevalent New England Theology. Thus he admitted, by implication, the truth of a portion of the charges brought by the *Christian Examiner* against the older Calvinists. Yet he would not, altogether, part company with the past. This is seen in the following paragraph: "Our Puritan fathers adhered to the doctrine "of Original Sin, as consisting in the imputa- "tion of Adam's sin and in a hereditary c "pravity; and this continued to be the receiv "doctrine of the Churches of New Engla "until after the time of Edwards. He adopt "the views of the Reformers, on the subject "Original Sin, as consisting in the imputati "of Adam's sin and a depraved nature trai "mitted by descent. But, after him, this mo "of stating the subject was gradually change "until, long since, the prevailing doctrine "New England has been, that men are n "guilty of Adam's sin, and that depravity "not of the substance of the soul, nor an i "herent or physical quality, but is wholly v "untary, and consists in the transgression "law, in such circumstances as constitutes a "countability and desert of punishment. Tl "change was not accomplished without discu "sion. It was resisted by those who chose "be denominated 'Old Calvinists,' and adv "cated by those who were called 'Hopkin "'ans,' and 'New Divinity men,' until, f "many years, these views of Original Sin ha "been the predominant doctrine of the Min "ters and Churches now denominated 'Eva "'gelical.' These, while they disclaim t "language held by Calvin and Edwards, on t "subject of imputation, do, in accordance wi "the Bible and the Reformers, hold, that the "is a connexion, of some kind, between the s "of Adam and the universal, voluntary, ar "entire depravity of his posterity, so that it "in consequence of Adam's sin that all ma "kind do sin, voluntarily, as early as they a "capable of accountability and moral action.

"The pamphlets and treatises on this subje "were written, and the subject settled, chief "before my recollection. But I have rea "them, and have searched the Scriptures, ar "have, from the beginning, accommodated n "phraseology to opinions which had be "adopted as the result of an investigati "which commenced more than seventy yea "ago, and has been settled more than fif "years; and which is now, with some varie "of modification, received, substantially, as "apprehend, by two-thirds, if not by thre "quarters, of the Evangelical Divines in th "United States.

"The mode, therefore, of stating and e "plaining the doctrine of Original Sin an "other kindred doctrines, which I have adop "ed, and which some affect to consider as ne "and an approximation to Unitarianism, wit "out sense enough on my part to perceive "or honesty enough to avow it, is a mode "explaining and vindicating the doctrines "the Reformation which was adopted in Ne "England more than seventy years ago. Som "of the most approved writers on this subje

"are Hopkins, the younger Edwards, West, "Smalley, Spring, Strong, Dwight, and, in "England, Andrew Fuller, one of the greatest "and best of men."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 158, 159.*

Not much, perhaps, was gained on either side by the controversy; but, certainly, the general result was not to the prejudice of Orthodoxy. Doctor Beecher welcomed it when he felt that it was necessary; and his position in Boston was not affected for the worse by his controversial notoriety. He, at least, could bear blows better than his antagonists.

So they seem to have thought. On their part, a desire for peace and an aversion to controversy found public expression. The *Christian Examiner* gave signs of having had enough of it. A writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims, (ii., 199, for 1829,)* says: It was observed in our "last, that 'Unitarians are becoming, of late, "'much opposed to controversy.' This feeling "continues to exhibit itself, more and more. "The *Christian Examiner*, after thundering for "several years in war, when it shall have com- "pleted the volume for 1828, (if ever it does,) "we are informed, is to cease, or to be trans- "formed into something of a more pacific char- "acter. And the *Christian Register* promises, "in future, to 'exclude bitter and personal "'controversy from its columns,' and begins, "already, to compliment Professor Stuart and "'the gentlemen at Andover,' and to 'hail them "'as fellow laborers.'"

Again, it is asked: "What, in this region, "would have been the state of Orthodoxy, "which we believe to be the truth, had it not "been for controversy, and had not its cham- "pions come out, armed and ready for defence "or attack, as occasion might demand? Why, "a few years ago, it was nearly as feeble as a "child; and now!—Let its opponents say what "it is now."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 208.*

While the main interest of the controversy centred at Boston, it was, at the same time, going on in other quarters. The *Discourse at the dedication of the Second Congregational Unitarian Church of New York*, was preached by Doctor Channing, on the seventh of December, 1826. In this, he went beyond the limits which he assigned himself, in his Baltimore Sermon of 1819. He portrayed Orthodoxy in a more odious light; and presented it in stronger contrast with Unitarianism. Of the Orthodox system, he said: "Its leading feature "is, the doctrine of a God clothed with a body, "and acting and speaking through a material "frame—of the Infinite Divinity dying on a "cross—a doctrine, which, in earthliness, re- "minds us of the mythology of the rudest "pagans; and which a pious Jew, in the twi- "light of the Mosaic religion, would have "shrunk from with horror. It seems to me no "small objection to the Trinity that it supposes "God to take a body in the later and more im- "proved ages of the world, when it is plain "that such a manifestation, if needed at all, "was peculiarly required in the infancy of the "race."—*Page 17.*

And again: "The doctrine of an infinite "substitute suffering the penalty of sin, to "manifest God's wrath against sin, and thus to "support his government, is, I fear, so familiar "to us all, that its monstrous character is over- "looked. Let me, then, set it before you in new "terms, and by a new illustration; and if, in so "doing, I may wound the feelings of some who "hear me, I beg them to believe that I do it "with pain, and from no impulse but a desire "to serve the cause of truth. Suppose, then, "that a teacher should come among you, and "should tell you that the Creator, in order to "pardon his own children, had erected a gal- "lows in the centre of the universe, and had "publicly executed upon it, in room of the "offenders, an Infinite Being, the partaker of "his own Supreme Divinity; suppose him to "declare that this execution was appointed, as "a most conspicuous and terrible manifestation "of God's justice and wrath, and of the infinite "woe denounced by his law; and suppose him "to add, that all beings in heaven and earth "are required to fix their eyes on this fearful "sight, as the most powerful enforcement of "obedience and virtue. Would you not tell "him that he calumniated his Maker? Would "you not say to him, that this central gallows "threw gloom over the universe; that the spirit "of a government, whose very acts of pardon "were written in such blood, was terror, not "paternal love; and that the obedience which "needed to be upheld by this horrid spectacle, "was nothing worth? Would you not say to "him, that even you, in this infancy and im- "perfection of your being, were capable of "being wrought upon by nobler motives, and "of hating sin through more generous views; "and that much more the angels, those pure "flames of love, need not the gallows and an "executed God, to confirm their loyalty? You "would all so feel, at such teaching as I have "supposed; and yet how does this differ from "the popular doctrine of atonement?—*Pages 44, 45.*

In 1824, the Independent Congregational Church in Barton-square, Salem, Massachusetts, was opened for worship. The discourse, on that occasion, December 7, was preached by the Pastor, Rev. Henry Colman, and was recognized as Unitarian by the neighboring Ministers. The subject of discourse was the *Proper Character of*

Religious Institutions. This, it was contended, had little to do with doctrinal truth, but should be shaped to promote "what is sometimes pecu-"liarly denominated common honesty and plain "every-day morality." To this end, religious institutions and ordinances must be intelligent, charitable, and liberal, serious and affectionate.

The Sermon was reviewed, anonymously—doubtless by the Rev. Mr. Cornelius, the Pastor of an Orthodox Church, in Salem—and its defects severely criticised. It was charged with being inconsistent and unscriptural, exhibiting many examples of unfairness and unsoundness, and, sometimes, of misrepresentation. It was, moreover, "in a high degree, uncharitable and illiber-"al." Objection was taken to its latitudinarian view of Christian Ordinances, for each person of mature years was to judge for himself as to qualifications.

Mr. Colman, in a second edition of his Sermon, appended Notes, vindicating it from the charges brought against it in the review. To these, the author of the review replied in a pamphlet of nearly the same size. A few months later, Doctor Cornelius published his *Sermon on the Doctrine of the Trinity. Second edition, 1826.*

The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* was commenced, as has been already mentioned, with the year 1828, and was issued monthly. Its first volumes were very largely devoted to an exposure of the Unitarian system and sketches of its history and measures. It was designed to meet and refute the statements put forth by the *Christian Examiner*, and to vindicate the *Spirit*, if not all the doctrines, *of the Pilgrims.* Boldly and fearlessly it performed its work. It showed no disposition to conciliate the forces and authorities that were arrayed against it; and it frequently acted more on the aggressive than the defensive, although it might be pleaded that this was made a necessity from the circumstances of its position.

In its columns, controversial questions were freely discussed. The rights of the Churches, sacrificed, as was thought, by the Courts, to the unwarranted claims of Parishes, were earnestly vindicated. It traced the progressive doctrinal degeneracy of Unitarianism as follows: "Pre-"vious to 1815, as we have already said, no "Congregational Minister or Church, in Massa-"chusetts, was professedly Unitarian. And, "subsequently to that period, the system has "been unfolded and exhibited, slowly, gradual-"ly, and with the greatest caution. First, the "Trinity is professedly given up; then the "Atonement; then the kindred doctrines of "Grace. Next, we are told that there is no "devil, and no eternal punishment for the wick-"ed. Some deny that there is any soul separate "from the body; and some that there will "be any day of judgment or resurrection from "the dead. Recently, the binding authority of "the fourth commandment is set aside; and the "New Testament is declared not to be a revela-"tion from God. In this way, there have been "continual changes—an increasing departure "from the truth—a relinquishment of one point "of doctrine after another, either in reality, in "manifestation, or in both—from the first ap-"pearance of Unitarianism in this country, to "the present hour."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 570.*

It kept, moreover, a sharp eye upon the language and views of the *Christian Examiner;* and an article of the volume for 1829, quotes from it, as follows: "The canonical books of "the New Testament are not the revelation "which God made by Christ. The character "which belongs to the latter is not to be trans-"ferred to the former. Neither the teaching of "our Saviour nor the influences of God's Spirit, "in enlightening the minds of the Apostles, "preserved them from all the errors of their "age, from the influence of all human preju-"dices and feelings, from all inconclusive "reasoning, or from all ambiguity, impropriety, "and insufficiency in the use of language."

It then remarks: "There it is—out at last. "The skeleton is, at length, disclosed in its own "shrunken, fleshless hideousness. July, 1829, "will form an epoch in American Unitarianism "not soon to be forgotten. The very writer "who, in 1819, pronounced it 'extremely pre-"'sumptuous' in any of his opponents to charge "Unitarians with a disposition or tendency to "reject the Scriptures, is, himself, the man in "1829 to do the deed. Hazael was not the only "self-ignorant man who has lived upon our "globe."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii. 543.*

Something of the tone and spirit which it frequently evinced, may be gathered from the following paragraph of indignant appeal against the continued perversion of funds, by Harvard-college: "Have the people of Massachusetts, of "all denominations, thus munificently endowed "this ancient institution to make it the 'bul-"'wark,' 'the pure and uncorrupted fountain-"'head of Unitarianism?' Have all parties "combined, thus liberally, to pour out the "treasures of the State for the exclusive use and "behoof of a sect composing but a portion of "the Commonwealth? Citizens of Massachu-"setts! have you known and reflected that your "donations and the benefactions of the pious "dead have been, and are still, employed, to "support men and advance principles that go to "an entire subversion of the Word of God? "Are you ready to renounce Revelation, and "take, in its stead, the evanescent phantom of "Rationalism? Have you given up your confi-

"dence in God's word? If not, can you trust "your sons to the guidance and bestow your "wealth to the support of those who declare "that 'the Scriptures are not a revelation?' "Spirits of the sainted dead, Hopkins, and "Hollis, and Henchman! gave ye of your "treasures, offered ye your prayers, to advance "the cause of infidelity and to raise up enemies "to the Word and the Son of God? We call "upon the Overseers and the Corporation of "Harvard University, in the name of the State, "whose most cherished institution is intrusted to "their care, and we ask them if it is by their "consent, their sanction, and their authority, "that the Scriptures are rejected as God's revela- "tion? We ask them if they will continue "in office a man who openly rejects the Scrip- "tures, and teaches professedly religious teach- "ers 'that the Scriptures are not a revelation?'" —*Spirit of the Pilgrims, ii., 558, 559.*

The trust-deed of Hanover-church property had incited the strictures of leading Unitarians. "A Layman" had again made his voice heard on what he regarded as a triumph of bigotry in the attempt to secure the property of the Church against future perversion by the introduction of doctrinal errors. Indeed, whether accounted a triumph of bigotry or not, it was, by implication, a severe reflection upon the assumed perversion of funds by Harvard-college. The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* retorted by pointing to what Unitarians had done. It exclaimed, quoting their own language: "'A PERPETUAL *Uni-* "'*tarian* Mission!!' The fund attempted to "be raised during the last Winter, for the benefit "of the Unitarian Society, in Brooklyn, Connect- "icut, was 'pledged for the support of Unitar- "ian preaching in Brooklyn, FOREVER!!'"— *Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 346.*

When the question of Ministerial exchanges was claiming a large measure of public attention, it published a letter from a Presbyterian Clergyman (Doctor Miller to Doctor Codman) urging the importance of the course pursued by the Orthodox. The writer of the letter was represented as saying: "Let every Orthodox "Minister, then, in your region, form the pur- "pose, and let him adhere to it, with unalterable "firmness, not to exchange pulpits with Unitari- "ans. Let neither the frowns or smiles, the "threats or persuasions, of opponents move "him. I know that it is a trying thing to reject "the wishes of those whom we respect, and who "respect us. But, in this case, it really appears "to me that the cause of truth and righteous- "ness, for generations to come, is involved. "And, in *such a cause*, a Minister ought to be "willing to make *any sacrifice*, rather than turn "to the right hand or the left. It would afflict "me more than I can express, to hear that my "friend had become an Arian or Socinian. But, "believe me, it would be little less distressing "to hear that you had consented to exchange "with the advocates of fundamental error. I "should consider you, in one sense, as having "delivered your sword to the enemy. I am "more and more convinced, that the friends of "evangelical truth, in Boston and its neighbor- "hood, must consent, at least for a time, to be a "*little and comparatively despised flock.* They "must form a little world of their own, and "patiently bear all the contempt and ridicule of "their proud and wealthy foes."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, i., 145.*

The remarkable fact that so large a proportion of the posts of honor, power, and influence, within the State, were occupied by Unitarians, incited the strictures of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*. Public attention had been called to it, in a *Discourse by the Rev. Parsons Cooke preached on occasion of the Annual Fast, April 3, 1828.* In this, the author represented "Unitarianism, "an Exclusive System, or the Bondage of the "Churches that were planted by the Puritans." The statements of the Sermon provoked a reply from a writer in the *Christian Examiner* for July and August, 1828. In this reply, Mr. Cooke was charged with "bold denunciation of "all the constituted authorities of the State." He was complained of, for asserting that the policy of the Governor and Council had been to exclude from office all who did not "give proof "of their hostility to the religion of their "fathers."

To these charges, Mr. Cooke replied, citing facts in evidence of the truth of his statements. He referred to the opposition made to the Charter of Amherst-college, until a provision was made in it, by which it might eventually come under Unitarian control. He recalled the proceedings of the Board of Overseers of Harvard-college, in questioning Doctor Griffin's right to a seat as a member, and the legislative aid that was invoked to make the Board self-elective, so that it might perpetuate its own Unitarian ascendancy. He quoted the language of the *Repository*, in 1813, in which an adherence to catholic (Liberal) views was recommended, as the best passport to office. A variety of other facts were adduced, designed to show the art and manœuvering that had been employed to establish and extend Unitarian influence, in posts of civil authority.

The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* confirmed the view taken by Mr. Cooke, remarking: "A similar "statement was made in the Legislature, during "the last Winter, by Representatives from differ- "ent parts of the State.

"'For my own part,' said Mr. Freeman of "New Bedford, who styled himself a *Nothing-* "*arian* as to religious profession, 'I believe the

"'Orthodox rather neglectful of secular things, "'so intent are they in attending to the things "'which belong not to this world. How else is "'it that they have so small a share of the hon- "'ors and emoluments of office—that the Gov- "'ernor, the Council, the Judges, and so large a "'portion of the Senators and Representatives "'are against them. I could point out many "'gentlemen in this House who represent Ortho- "'dox communities, although opposed to them "'in religious sentiments.'

"'In the County of Berkshire,' said Mr. Per- "kins of Becket, 'where, I suppose, there is not "'one Society that the gentleman would call "'Liberal,' and where the great body of the "'people may be termed Orthodox, there is no "'exclusion on account of religious sentiment, "'as the history of their elections shows. In "'the town I have the honor to represent, nearly "'all are of the denomination which is so ter- "'rific to the gentleman; perhaps I (their Rep- "'resentative) am in a single minority.'"—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, iii., 343.*

After the lines of division between the two parties were drawn, there was less disposition than before to concede to the Unitarians the alternate right to preach the Election Sermon. Yet the fund for the families of disabled Ministers, which had long existed and for which contributions were annually taken in connection with the Convention Sermon, belonged to both parties; and it was, therefore, no more than proper that Unitarians should be allowed a proper share in the list of those appointed to preach the Sermon. Accordingly, one of their number, now and then, received the appointment. This was the case in 1827, when the Rev. Doctor Abiel Abbot, of Beverly, in the midst of the controversy, and when it was nearly at its height, was designated as preacher. His topic—like that of so many discourses, from the same quarter—counselled charity and forbearance. Its title was *Ecclesiastical Peace Recommended*. But its counsels were of little effect; and the Unitarians did not fail to complain of their exclusion from the privilege of alternation in the preaching of the Annual Sermon. They seemed to regard this as a denial of their right. In answer to this complaint, the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* remarked, in 1830: "From the commencement of the present divi- "sions, until 1827, the preachers have been vari- "ously selected, the Unitarians claiming and "receiving nearly one-half. But, as Unitarian- "ism continued to unfold itself, disclosing more "of its offensive features, and showing more "clearly its repugnance to the Gospel, the "majority then felt that it was time for them to "pause. As a Unitarian preacher could not be "chosen without their concurrence, directly or "indirectly—without either their voting for him, "or their declining to vote against him—it "became a very serious question whether they "should again be accessory, in any sense, to the "choice of one to preach to the assembled "Clergy of Massachusetts, who, they had too "much reason to fear, would not preach the "Gospel of the New Testament. They could, "without violating their consciences, retain "Unitarians in some of the other offices of the "Convention, and they were willing to do so; "but could they consistently appoint, or be "instrumental in appointing, a Unitarian to "*preach?* The decision of this question was "such as might have been expected; and, from "that time to the present, an Orthodox preacher "has been annually chosen."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, iii., 251.*

A letter of Henry Ware, Junior, gives us a view of the state of things, in Boston, in 1829. He said: "I do not know that our religious "affairs have anything worth communicating. "Boston is more tranquil than for a few years "past. Controversy continues, and, in some "instances, with a most deplorable disregard to "decency and truth. The worst features of "party spirit has become canonized and holy. "The violence, however, is seeming to work its "own cure; a moderate party is beginning to "show itself; and, I trust, will do something to "heal the disgraceful divisions, or at least put "down the shameless and unchristian doings, "which now characterize too much the sectarian- "ism of the day. *The Christian Examiner* is "to be withdrawn, in part, from this dreadful "trade, I trust, as it is undergoing a change of "place."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Junior, 251.*

For several years previous to 1830, the relation of the Divinity School to Harvard-college had been a subject of discussion and difference of opinion among its friends. The fact that it leaned upon the College, in part, for its support, and that the funds of the State—one hundred thousand dollars granted in 1814—as well as those given by Hollis, were employed for the purpose of teaching a theology with which not one in four of the citizens of the State was in sympathy, occasioned popular dissatisfaction; and, in the proposal of new measures, in the Board of Overseers, with reference to it, a somewhat memorable speech, representing the views and feelings of the Orthodox, was made by the Rev. Doctor Codman. In a review of the publications bearing upon the subject, including a pamphlet by Mr. Gray and what had appeared in the *Christian Examiner*, the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, in 1831, made the following statement of the case: "The history of this school is as "follows: In 1815, the late President of Har- "vard-college, 'in behalf of the Corporation, "and with the assent of the Board of Overseers,

"'addressed a Circular Letter to a large number "'of the sons and friends of the College, asking "'their assistance in providing additional means "'for theological education in Harvard Univer-"'sity.' In consequence of this letter, sub-"scriptions to a considerable amount were re-"ceived. The subscribers held a meeting, July, "1813, and formed themselves into a 'Society "'for the promotion of Theological Education "'in Harvard University.' The Trustees of the "Society, in conjunction with the Corporation "of the College, soon after, laid the foundation "of the Theological School and undertook the "charge of it, by a joint superintendence. In "1819, a Theological Faculty was instituted, and "a system of rules adopted for its regulation. "Uneasiness, however, existed in the minds of "many Unitarians, on account of the connexion "of the School with the University. 'One "'respectable Committee,' to whom the subject "was referred, recommended, (in 1824,) that the "School and the University be entirely separat-"ed; but their Report was rejected. Another "Committee, instead of proposing to withdraw "the School entirely from the University, re-"commended that the superintendence of it be "committed to *the Directors of the Society*, "subject only to the assent of the Corporation. "This Report was accepted; and the Society, by "its Directors, took charge of the School. It "was under the supervision of these Directors, "that the building for the accommodation of "theological students was erected. During the "last year, the Directors and the Society by "which they were constituted resigned all their "power and authority over the School into the "hands of the corporation of the College; so "that the Society has no longer any connexion "with the School or its funds. The Corporation "having accepted the trust committed to them, "and taken the School into their own hands, "new Statutes were required for the regulation "of it. These Statutes were submitted to the "Overseers during the last Winter and it was on "the subject of their adoption that the speech "of Doctor Codman was delivered."—*Spirit of the Pilgrims, iv., 390.*

In 1830, a volume by Doctor Channing, entitled *Discourses, Reviews and Miscellanies*, was published; and, at about the same time, appeared his Election Sermon, recently delivered before the Legislature of the State. Various passages, both in the volume and in the Sermon, contained charges against the Orthodox. The "es-"pionage of bigotry" was denounced. "We "say," he remarks, "we have no Inquisition. "But a sect, skillfully organized, trained to utter "one cry, combined to cover with reproach "whoever may differ from themselves, to drown "the free expression of opinion by denunciation "of heresy, and to strike terror into the multi-"tude, by joint and perpetual menace—such a "sect is as perilous and palsying to the intellect "as the Inquisition."

There could be no doubt to whom this and several other kindred passages were intended to apply. It seemed as if Doctor Channing had borrowed from the Orthodox their complaints against Unitarians, and turned them against themselves. Professing a deep sense of the injustice of the charges and implications, Professor Stuart published (1830) his *Letter to W. E. Channing, D.D., on the subject of Religious Liberty.* He claimed for every man the right to his own religious opinions, honestly formed; the right to propagate them, and to defend them when assailed; and also to expose the errors of those by whom they were assailed. This the Orthodox had done, and this constituted their crime. Unitarians might deluge the community with *Improved Versions*, the works of Fellowes, Belsham, Priestley and Cappe; they might distribute hundreds of thousands of Unitarian tracts, openly assailing the sentiments of the Orthodox; and all this and much more is accounted commendable. But, when the Orthodox pursue an analagous course, in accordance with their conclusions, they have neither modesty nor humility. If they associate to strengthen one another's hands or encourage one another to walk in the way of their forefathers, they are plotting to enclose the community in the toils of the Inquisition. "Not a "movement can they make, but they are suspect-"ed of forging manacles for the Liberalist, or, "at least, of looking up the iron to make them "with."

Professor Stuart confessed that he did not approve of all that the Orthodox had said and done. Yet he says, "I know of nothing in any "recent Orthodox publications, which can well "compare with the reiterated charges against us "by Unitarians, from the pulpit and the press, "of bigotry; of gloomy superstition; of dark "and fraudulent designs on the religious liber-"ties of our country; of worshiping a God "who is a tyrant; of propagating horrible and "blasphemous ideas of the Divinity; of worship-"ping a God who is no better than the devil; of "an intention to renew the horrors of the Inquis-"ition; of being gloomy, unsocial, illiterate mis-"anthropes, enthusiasts, hypocrites, deceivers, "and other things of the like nature. It were "easy to substantiate this charge by abundance "of evidence; and this, too, from publications "which you, yourself, patronize by your pen, "your purse, and your approbation."—*Page 23.*

Again he says: "We do not complain that our "sentiments are opposed; but we complain that "they are opposed in this way, and at the sacri-"fice of rights that we hold dear and deem

"sacred. We do not complain that Unitarians "build up Seminaries for themselves, in order to "educate young men to spread abroad and de- "fend their own sentiments; they have an entire "right to build up schools, Colleges, or Theolog- "ical Seminaries of this kind, and to confine "their privileges to their own body. The Bill "of Rights assures them of this privilege. But "they should remember that it assures us of "the same. What we complain of is, that an "Institution which belongs, in common, to the "whole State—which was founded, to a large ex- "tent, by Orthodox men, and consecrated to "maintaining their faith—should now be made "exclusively a party Seminary, so that, from the "President down to the Janitor, no man of "*known* Orthodox sentiments can find access "there, as an instructor"—*Pages 25, 26.*

As to the charges themselves, he emphatically denies their truth, and calls on Doctor Channing to prove or retract them. "I know that what I "have said is incapable of being contradicted, "on any ground of evidence. *I do know that* "*the accusations which you stand pledged to sup-* "*port are* NOT TRUE. *I aver that* THEY ARE NOT "before heaven and earth. That they are accus- "ations of a hurtful tendency, need not be "said. They go to destroy all respect for us, "all confidence in us, all prospects of our use- "fulness, in society or in the Church, just so far "as you are believed; and to render us the ob- "jects of suspicion, of scorn, and of hatred. "As injured men, as injured in a manner that is "highly unjust and cruel, we call on you either "for reparation, or else to support your charges. "These charges are *allegations as to matter of* "FACT. They are not matters of opinion merely, "or the deductions which may be drawn from o- "pinions. As *matters of fact*, you are bound to "support them."—*Pages 37, 38.*

The entire letter is written in a manly and earnest tone, and glows with the eloquence of conscious and outraged innocence. Doctor Channing, however, did not choose to reply to it. But, while he was silent, the Rev. Bernard Whitman came forward as his substitute. In December, 1830, he sent forth to the public, *Two Letters to the Rev. Moses Stuart on the subject of Religious Liberty.* In these letters, extending to one hundred and sixty-five octavo pages, he gathered up all the materials which he could obtain, by personal effort or correspondence, to substantiate the charges made by Doctor Channing. He passed in review the subject of Ministerial intercourse and the course in regard to it pursued by the Orthodox. He presented, anew, the cases of Sherman and Abbot, in Connecticut. He cited the course pursued by ecclesiastical tribunals, and the attempt to establish these, in Massachusetts. He introduced numerous instances of hardship occasioned by the action of Orthodox Churches and Associations. He cited the language employed in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* and by Orthodox writers, to set forth their estimate of Unitarian doctrine, calling it "Another Gospel," &c. Indeed, the more noticeable occasions of controversy, for the preceding fifteen years, were passed in review; and specific facts were introduced to substantiate the charges of Doctor Channing.

The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* devoted an entire number, March, 1831, to a *Review of Whitman's Letters*, noting his "misrepresentations," "ig- "norance," and "inconsistencies." It drew up a carefully-enumerated list of one hundred and fifteen misrepresentations or errors, which, in many instances, effectually set aside their pertinence or gave them a bearing quite the reverse of that which Mr. Whitman intended them to have.

Eliphalet Pearson, of Waltham, also took public notice of the letters, in a publication which appeared, in 1831, with the title, *A Letter to the Candid: occasioned by the publications of Rev. Bernard Whitman.* The object of the author, as stated in his Introduction, was as follows: "I shall not attempt to notice the num- "erous imputations and aspersions scattered "through Mr. W.'s pamphlets, but only such "facts as I have a personal knowledge of, and "can therefore speak with perfect confidence of "truth. I have resided in Waltham longer "than Mr. Whitman; have been a member of "the Second Church in this town, from the "time of its formation, in 1820; and have been "present at its meetings and known all its do- "ings, from the beginning. I have also been "present at many meetings of the Second Re- "ligious Society; and have surely been placed "in circumstances more favorable to a knowl- "edge of the history of its affairs, in Waltham, "for twelve years past, than Mr. W."

This publication received the hearty endorsement of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* as the production of one who spoke from personal knowledge, and whose reputation, for integrity and candor, Mr. Whitman would vainly attempt to injure.

On the fourth of July, 1833, an *Address at a Religious Celebration, at Salem*, was delivered by the Rev. George B. Cheever, Pastor of the Harvard-street Church of that City. In this discourse, he essayed to present "some of the "principles according to which this world is "managed, contrasted with the Government of "God and the principles exhibited for man's "guidance, in the Bible."

In the course of his remarks, he adverted to Unitarianism. He said, "Examine this system, "and you find there are no PRINCIPLES in it;

"it is a system of negations in regard to the "most momentous truths and principles ever "revealed to man's expectant soul." He quoted Robert Hall, on "the bitterness and poverty of "the Socinian system"—a system which he described as "contracting and imprisoning the "soul." "There is more deep thought," he said, "in one of John Howe's Sermons, than in "all Doctors Priestly's, Belsham's, and Chan-"ning's works put together." He dilated on the "central gallows," the caricature, by Doctor Channing, of the Cross of the Redeemer. His notes to the discourse, also, had reference to Unitarian questions.

The *Christian Examiner* briefly but sharply adverted to "Cheever's Vituperations." It held them up to popular indignation and odium. But Doctor Cheever was not disposed to acquiesce in such a disposal of the matter. He replied, in *A Letter to the Conductors of the* Christian Examiner, *on the Course and System of the Unitarians plainly and solemnly surveyed.* Perhaps no single publication in the whole course of the controversy exhibited more intense earnestness or a more lavish display of intellectual vigor. Its tone was that of Edmund Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings. He confronted the Unitarian system with the charge of being "Another Gospel;" pointing out its defects; and setting forth, in no enviable light, the course and language of the conductors of the *Christian Examiner* themselves.

A single extract from his "Vituperations" must suffice. Specifying certain Orthodox doctrines, he said: "All these doctrines, in suc-"cession, you do deliberately reject. In your "*Examiner* for May, 1830, you declare, explic-"itly, as follows: 'The Liberal and Unitarian "'system is very serious in rejecting these irra-"'tional doctrines which have, so long, been "'popular, and have, so long, assumed to them-"'selves the titles of peculiar, essential, Ortho-"'dox, and Evangelical. We take *our Heaven-*"'*inspired reason, the gift and light of the Lord,*"'and, holding it up before the record of his "'Word, we behold *no such doctrines, there, as*"'*those which have been called Evangelical. We,*"'therefore, *renounce them as not Christian, as*"'*not rational, as not beneficial.*' This is plain; "you leave no room for mistake; and your "rejection of each particular doctrine of the "Gospel, in succession, corresponds to this your "general denial of them all.

"Your system, we repeat it, sets aside a "Saviour. On your theory, Jesus Christ was "no more the Saviour of mankind than Paul "was. With a dreadful consistency, one of its "adherents asks, 'Why do we, Unitarians, not "'believing in the common notion concerning "'it, call Jesus Christ our *Saviour?* Our "'*teacher*, divinely inspired, he certainly was; "'but DOES NOT SAVIOUR IMPLY SOMETHING "'MORE? And is not our using the term, as "'we do, implying an acquiescence IN THE "'ABOMINABLE DOCTRINE OF A SACRIFICE FOR "'OUR SINS?' *This is truly and fearfully con-*"*sistent.* And why, we may ask, do you not "magnify Paul and celebrate his death? Was "he not a man sent from God? Was he not "divinely commissioned to teach the way of "eternal life? Was he not a man of unequal-"led benevolence? Was not his life a record "of sufferings for the good of his fellow-be-"ings? Did he not die for his fellow-beings, a "martyr to the truth and the cause of God?" —*Spirit of the Pilgrims, vi., 708, 709.*

This was the last publication of any note, before the controversy virtually ceased. With the adoption of the new Constitution of Massachusetts, which sundered that qualified union of Church and State which had been, really, the occasion for the complaints of persecution on the part of the Orthodox, the zeal and warmth of the controversy came to an end. Doctor Cheever's reply to the *Christian Examiner* closed the last volume of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, and might have been construed as a parting salute given as the combatants separated, each to pursue their own way. The storm had spent itself. Other questions already engaged the attention of the Orthodox; and others, also, were soon to engage the attention of Unitarians. New Haven theology divided the former, filling up, in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, the space that had been devoted to the Unitarian controversy; while the latter were soon to find, within their own body, elements as inharmonious as those from the communion of which they had been repelled. In Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and others who sympathized with them, the new denomination was to find enough to occupy its attention; so that the interest of its real history is transferred from its external to its internal relations. In 1835, Henry Ware, Junior, said: "This, then, is the present aspect of our religious "affairs. We have discussed, with our differing "brethren, the doctrines respecting which we "differed; and the questions are at rest. *The* "*result is, we are a community by ourselves.* "When we began the debate, we were members "of the general Congregational body; commu-"nicants at the same tables; and sheep under "the same shepherds. (I speak in general "terms.) Now, a separation has taken place. "We have our own Congregations, our own "Ministers, our own institutions and instruments "of religious improvement. It is a crisis of "unspeakable interest to us. We are deeply "concerned to know what is the character and "power of those institutions; what the nature

"and operation of our distinctive faith; and "how far we are faithful representatives, advo- "cates, stewards, of that pure and glorious "Gospel, on whose behalf we have been allowed "to contend."—*Memoir of H. Ware, Junior, 378.*

It is instructive, also, to note the views and comments of Doctor Channing, in 1839. He said: "*September 18, 1839.* I would that I "could look to Unitarianism with more hope. "But this system was, at its recent revival, a "protest of the understanding against absurd "dogmas, rather than the work of deep religi- "ous principle, and was early paralyzed by the "mixture of material philosophy, and fell too "much into the hands of scholars and political "reformers; and the consequence is, a want of "vitality and force which gives us little hope of "its accomplishing much under its present "auspices or in its present form. When I tell "you that no sect in this country has taken less "interest in the slavery question, or is more "inclined to conservatism, than our body, you "will judge what may be expected from it. "Whence is salvation to come? This is the "question which springs up, in my mind, contin- "ually. Is the world to receive new impulse "from individual reformers, or from new organi- "zations? Or is the work to go on by a more "silent, unorganized action of thought and "great principles in the mass? Or are great "convulsions, breaking up the present order of "things, as in the fall of the Roman Empire, "needed to the introduction of a reform worthy "of the name? Sometimes I fear the last, so "rooted seem the corruptions of the Church and "society. But I live in hope of milder pro- "cesses."—*Memoir of Channing. ii., 395.*

Two years later, speaking of Unitarianism, he remarks: "Its history is singular. It began as "a protest against the rejection of reason,— "against mental slavery. It pledged itself to "progress, as its life and end; but it has gradu- "ually grown stationary, and now we have a "*Unitarian Orthodoxy.* Perhaps, this is not to "be wondered at or deplored, for all reforming "bodies seemed doomed to stop, in order to "keep the ground, much or little, which they "have gained. They become conservative; and, "out of them, must spring new reformers, to be "persecuted generally by the old."—*Channing's Memoirs, ii., 399.*

Meanwhile Orthodoxy has been steadily regaining the ground it had lost. Unitarian strength has remained nearly stationary, and, relatively, has lost ground. For many years, it has scarcely added more than one or two to its list of Churches, in Massachusetts. Of the state of the Orthodox Churches, their own statistics testify. As long ago as 1855, Doctor Joseph S. Clark, in a historical discourse, referring to the Churches in the vicinity of Plymouth, said: "At the open- "ing of the present century, nearly all the "Churches and a large proportion of the Minis- "ters within the bounds of the Pilgrim Confer- "ence, were more or less tinctured with these "Arminian views, mixed, also, with Arian and "Socinian notions concerning the character of "Christ. Some of the Churches have since "been recovered, wholly. From others, the "evangelical members have seceded, not as col- "onies, but as exiles, to be gathered into the "nearest evangelical Churches, in the vicinity, "or reorganized by themselves. While in others "still, the old Puritan faith suffered such a com- "plete paralysis, that no signs of returning life "have yet appeared, and *Unitarianism* now "takes its place."—*Clark's Discourse at Plymouth, 1855, 20.*

"And here it may be stated that those five "Churches which represented the evangelical "interest on this ground, forty years ago, were "of the feeblest class, numbering less than "four hundred members in the aggregate, and "without a dollar of Parish funds on which to "rely in paying their Minister's scanty support, "which, by the by, was not quite four hundred "dollars per annum, on the average. *Now,* "the fourteen evangelical Churches among us, "though a large proportion of them are in a "state of infancy, number nearly one thousand "members; and, after having built twelve meet- "ing-houses, during this time, are paying an "average salary of six hundred dollars. Let it "be considered, too, that just one-half of these "Churches have actually been recovered, either "with or without the loss of meeting-houses "and Parish funds, from a lapsed condition—a "much more difficult achievement than simply "to colonize in a new place."—*Clark's Discourse at Plymouth, 26.*

And, in another discourse, he remarks: "Thus it appears that within the bounds of the "Barnstable Conference, where, fifty years ago, "out of twenty Congregational Churches plant- "ed by Puritan hands, only two or three adher- "ed to the doctrines of grace on which they "were founded, there are now thirty to hold "them forth; while, on the other hand, of all "that fell away, only two or three now remain "to be recovered."—*Clark's Discourse before the Barnstaple Conference, 1855, 32.*

Before the death of Channing, the original force of the Unitarian movement had spent itself. The party zeal that had been inflamed by the collision of Church and Parish, in so many quarters, ceased, when, in 1834, the new Constitution of Massachusetts went into operation. Controversy, to the extent which it had been carried, had become distasteful. A new genera-

tion had come upon the stage, to whom the questions that, twenty years before, had been so fiercely agitated, seemed obsolete and out of date. Unitarianism and Orthodox Congregationalism were organically distinct; and each was left to work out, for itself, the problem of its future. Time had chilled the enthusiasm and abated the hope of those who, once, anticipated that the millenial era of rational Christianity had dawned, and that, in its new light, old sectarian lines and doctrinal distinctions must fade away. They found it no easy task to maintain their own position; and absolutely impossible to keep pace, relatively, with other denominations, in their steady and vigorous growth.

This, alone, would, naturally, have a prejudicial effect upon denominational enthusiasm. But other causes co-operated with it. A body subjected to assault, is often compacted by external pressure. This was the case with Unitarianism, in its early growth. But the time came when the pressure was removed. Internal discords and incongruities of sentiment, that had all along existed, now found expression. As long as it was attacked from without, Unitarianism might face opposition by its own negations; and its negative ground was strongest and most tenable. Men who could agree in scarcely anything else, were agreed in rejecting what they regarded as absurd. They might differ on the Atonement, on the person of Christ, on numberless points, indeed, but they were one in their rejection of what they classed with mediæval traditions or superstitions.

But the time of peace came, or, at least, of comparative repose. Unitarians could look one another in the face, and discuss their common or differing opinions. The occasion for doing so, soon came. Ralph Waldo Emerson startled his clerical brethren by the religious radicalism to which he gave expression (1837) in addressing the theological students at Cambridge. Radical as they had been, they now saw themselves so far outdone, that many of them discerned more to apprehend from sedition or divergent doctrines, in their own camp, than from assailants outside their own denominational lines.

Their mingled surprise and indignation had scarcely had time to subside, before new occasion of offence was given by a Discourse on *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, preached at the Ordination of Mr. Charles C. Shackford, Boston, on the nineteenth of May, 1841, by Theodore Parker, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury. In a tone at once bold and eloquent, he asserted, for himself, an independence of thought and a freedom in the interpretation of long-accepted doctrines, which he could plausibly represent as sanctioned by the original principles of the Unitarian movement. Conservative Unitarians were eager to disown him. He was a scandal to their orthodoxy. His real genius could not atone for his grievous offence. The cold shoulder was turned upon him; but it only served to render him more defiant. He was strong enough to maintain his own ground, with hardly a single clerical ally. Friends rallied around him. Music Hall, in Boston, was crowded to hear him. No Unitarian Clergyman, since Channing was in his zenith, had secured such enthusiastic admirers and followers. Young clergymen might be found eager to rival his heterodoxy, when they could not his genius.

The denomination was doctrinally demoralized. Theodore Parker would have laughed to scorn the attempt to impose upon him a Unitarian Creed. He planted his foot on the Absolute Religion; and standing on the rock, hurled his contempt at weak-minded adherents to the old traditions.

For twenty years, nearly, he worked with resolute will and giant energy. But he did not work to build up, to organize, or to combine. He sowed the seed of dissension, broadcast; and it was not lost. When he died, Unitarianism suggested to the world far other ideas than in its earlier days. The strangest elements were sheltered under the name. There was a right wing and a left wing—the one touching Orthodoxy and sanctioning or sheltering it, in such clergymen as Coolidge, Huntington and Gage; the other favoring the baldest rationalism, or beating applause, when men like C. C. Burleigh declared, publicly, in a representative Unitarian body, that our *Lord* Jesus Christ meant simply *Mister*.

In 1865, the attempt was made to organize the Unitarian body as a denomination. Annual Conventions have since been held, at which large delegations, from East and West, have been present, and earnest discussions have taken place. It is impossible, as yet, to predict the fate of the new policy. Unitarianism has made, and is still making, an actual advance; but it is questionable—judging from its present aspects—whether it will ever recover the relative position that it held in the days of Channing. Its hope for the future is in the disintegration of other bodies, that may help to swell its ranks.

The literature of this extended controversy is as worthy of attention, however, as its history. Many of the works which were produced by it have been noticed, and some of them have been employed. in the preceding historical sketch; but there were many others which have not been referred to. The following list of titles, is an

attempt to notice those which have fallen under our own eye. It might have been greatly extended, by including in it works not directly controversial, although produced in connection with the Unitarian Controversy. Quite a number of others have been omitted from the fact that their exact titles could not readily be obtained. It is believed, however, that few of any great importance have been omitted, although some must have escaped our notice.

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THE

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I.—BOTTLE-HILL (OR MADISON, N. J.,) DURING THE REVOLUTION.—Concluded, from Page 212.

By the late Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, of Madison, New Jersey.

While the Army was encamped here, a Company of armed sentinels was stationed on the crown of Short-hills, at a point about four rods South of the main road, and nearly in front of the residence of the late Bishop Hobart. This point commanded a view of the entire country East of the mountain, including New York Bay, Staten-island, Newark Bay, Newark, Elizabeth-town, Springfield, and, in fact, the entire sea-board in the vicinity of New York, so that the slightest movement of the enemy, in all that wide region, could, without difficulty, be detected. It also commanded a view of the entire region, West of the mountain, to the crown of the hills which lie back of Morristown, and extending to Basking-ridge, Pluckamin, and the hills in the vicinity of Middle-brook, on the South, and over to Whippany, Montville, Pompton, Ringwood, and, across the State-line, among the mountains of Orange-county, New York, on the North. On that commanding elevation, which could, itself, be seen on both sides of the Short-hills, over all this wide extent of territory, the means were kept for alarming the inhabitants of the interior, in case of any threatening movements of the enemy, in any direction. A cannon—an eighteen-pounder, called in those times, "The Old Sow"—fired every half-hour, answered this object during the day-time and in very stormy and dark nights; while an immense fire, or beacon-light, answered the end, at all other times. A log-house or two, it is believed, with fire-places and accommodations for sleeping, were erected there, for the use of the sentinels, who, by relieving one another, at definite intervals, kept careful watch, both by day and night—their eyes continually sweeping over all the vast extent of country that lay stretched out, like a map, before them. The beacon-light was constructed of dry rails, laid up, in a crib-fashion, around a high-pole. This was filled with various combustible materials; while a tar-barrel was placed upon the top of the pole. When the sentinels discovered any movement of the enemy, of a threatening character, either the alarm-gun was fired or this mass of combustibles was set in a blaze, so that tidings were spread, almost instantaneously, over the whole region. There are several persons still living, in this place, who remember to have heard that dismal alarm-gun booming, and to have seen those beacons sending out their baleful and terrific light, from that high point of observation; and who remember, also, to have seen the inhabitants, armed with their muskets, making all possible haste to Chatham-bridge and the Short-hills, the places of rendezvous, in such cases, to prevent the enemy from crossing over into this valley. Every ear was open, at all hours of day and night, to catch the first note of warning from that old field-piece, whose sound was known by all; and there were but few moments, during the watches of the night, in which there were not anxious eyes peering through the darkness, towards the East, to see whether or not that beacon-fire was burning.

During the whole of the Winter in which the Army was encamped in this vicinity, the community here was kept in a state of continual excitement and solicitude. The alarm-gun was firing; or the beacon-light was burning; or the sounds of the fife and drum were heard; or Companies of soldiers were passing and repassing; or the Minute-men of this County and vicinity were hurrying, back and forth; or the Commander-in-chief and his suite and Life-guards were going from, or returning to, their Head-quarters; or some General Parade was taking place, on the camp-ground; or some Tory spies were seen prowling about the vicinity; or some company of the enemy's troops, under the conduct of Tory guides, was committing depredations, in various parts of the country; or some other thing of a similar character was continually occurring to keep those who resided here in a state of excitement and fear. On the Sabbath, the officers who were quartered in the village and some of the soldiers who were billetted in this immediate neighborhood were often seen in

the old sanctuary that then stood upon the hill; and it was no unusual thing to see General Washington and his accomplished lady, mounted on bay horses and accompanied by their faithful mulatto, "Bill," and fifty or sixty mounted Life-guards, passing through our village, on their way either to or from their quarters, in Morristown; and, at such times, "the star-spangled banner" was sure to float from our village liberty-pole, while our ancestors congregated along the highway where he was to pass and around our village inn (where he generally called) to do honor to the man to whose fidelity and martial skill all eyes were turned for the salvation of our country.

While the Army was encamped in Lowantica, a considerable number of the enemy, both officers and soldiers, were held, in this vicinity, as prisoners of war. Some of these were Hessians, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Trenton, and others were Englishmen who had been taken at the battle of Princeton. Some of them were kept under armed guards, at private houses, near the camp: others were kept in cabins, erected for the purpose, in the camp itself. One of them, a hard-faced British officer, as I have been told by Mr. Halsey Munson, was quartered in the house of his father, where Mr. David M. Force now resides. This officer had a mortal antipathy against our Army and our countrymen, in general; and was the occasion, at times, of a great deal of trouble. He was a man of the the most violent passions; and, in instances not a few, he is said to have roared and raged like a wild bull in a net. He never ate a meal, while there, without first wiping his plate with the skirt of his coat, saying that he was continually afraid that these rebel Americans would poison him. On one occasion, having been allowed to go to Morristown, in company with an armed attendant, he became grossly intoxicated and sought to make his escape; but he was taken again and severely flogged. This, of course, called forth his fiercest displeasure; and, after dealing out curses upon the Americans, of the bitterest character, he declared "as to the flogging part of "it, he did not mind that; but to be put "through the operation by these *rebels*" (and these he preceded by a hard qualifying word) "*that* was more than flesh and blood could "bear!"

During the same Winter, while our Army was quartered here, several of the soldiers deserted the camp and fled to their homes; and, in order to deter others from doing so, some of these were taken, and returned to Spring-valley, and punished with great severity. We have the authority of Mr. Silas Brookfield—who formerly resided on the opposite side of the valley from the camp; who died a few years since, at an advanced age; and who was himself a witness of the scene—for saying, that one of these deserters was hung, on the top of the hill, nearly opposite the spot now occupied by the residence of Joseph E. Muchmore; and that he was buried there, also, at the foot of the gallows. Mr. Brookfield, not long before his death, designated the place where this occurred; and it is not a little remarkable that, while the workmen were engaged, a few weeks since, in excavating a cellar, on that very site, for a new house which Doctor William Kitchell is now erecting, they struck upon what was evidently the grave of some human being who had been interred there, many years ago. The name of this deserter was Springer, as it is stated by Mrs. Silas Lindsley; and this is generally believed to be the place of his burial.

During the same Winter, as we learn from the Brookfield family and others, there was one instance of "running the gauntlet," on the Lowantica encampment; and that, also, was the case of a deserter. The place where it was done, was not far from the spot where the other one was hung; that is, on the level ground, on the hills, between the camp and the old road to Morristown, on which the residence of Joseph E. Muchmore now stands. The whole Battalion to which the deserter belonged, consisting of from five hundred to eight hundred men, was formed into two lines, about four feet distant from each other. Every man was provided with a stout whip, cut from the woods; the officers were placed behind the lines, on either side, to see that the soldiers faithfully performed their duty; and, when thus arranged, the poor criminal, stripped of every thing, save his pantaloons, was obliged to run through the open ranks, while the soldiers, on either side, applied their whips to his bare back as he made his way between them. This man was sentenced to go through the lines, in this way, three times. The first time, he flew through with such rapidity as to miss almost every blow that was aimed at him. The next time, having lost, in a measure, his freshness, he ran less rapidly, and received more of the lashes of his comrades; while, in passing through the last line, he became very much exhausted; fell down, frequently; and received a blow from nearly every soldier in the lines; while the blood ran down in streams from his lacerated back. Supposing the men to have been ranged in the ranks at the distance of about four feet from each other, so as to allow them the free use of those whips, the gauntlet must, have been, in this case, from a thousand to fifteen hundred feet in length—a serious race for a man to run for his life, not once, merely, but thrice! The unhappy deserter, in this case, survived this painful ordeal, and became one of

the most orderly and efficient soldiers in the Army.

Mr. Ichabod Bruen, who is living in this place, at the age of eighty years, remembers that, when he was in his sixth year, a soldier who was quartered at his father's house took him up, one day, to the Lowantica encampment, before breakfast. It was on the occasion of a General Parade, when all the soldiers who were billetted in private houses, as well as those in the camp, were required to be present and to be drilled and reviewed by their officers. While he was there, the soldiers were taking their breakfast. In the hut where he happened to be, the wife of one of the soldiers attended to the cooking; and the meal consisted of beef-steak and coffee, the latter of which was taken from small wooden bowls. In most cases, what was called a "mess" lodged in a single cabin; and each man having drawn his rations from the Commissary's office, they usually took turns in preparing their food for the table.

A number of men, Mr. Bruen stated, were employed to do the butchering for the Army; and, at the time above referred to, he saw them slaughter and dress an ox.

Among those who acted as Suttlers in the camp, were Jonathan Bruen, Thomas Coyle, Daniel Thompson, and Jonathan Nicholas, all of them residents of Bottle-hill.

Very many of the soldiers were very profane and very corrupt; and as there was comparatively little to occupy their time, during their encampment, here, they did much to destroy and corrupt one another. From the *Life of Doctor Ashbel Green*, we have lamentable proof of the almost universal prevalence of gambling, not only in the camp but also in private houses, where the soldiers were billetted; and, in this way, the presence of the Army was attended with the most disastrous influence upon the morals of all classes of the people. After this manner did that memorable Winter pass away. Many were the hardships which were endured, both by the inhabitants of this region and by the Army; and many, too, were the incidents of interest which occurred in this vicinity, at that time. Many a poor soldier closed his life here, without the ministrations of mother, or wife, or sister, under the power of that dire disease of which we have spoken; and the remains of many such, doubtless, were deposited in many places, not only in Lowantica-valley but also in other parts of this County, to await the morning of the resurrection.

At length, after having been encamped in Lowantica-valley and billetted, as above described, in private houses, here, for about five months, the encampment was broken up and the Army returned in the same way that it came—to wit, by the way of New Vernon, Basking-ridge, and Pluckamin—to Middle-brook, near Somerville, where they were met by other detachments; and, from thence, they went forth to encounter the anxieties and evils of another Campaign. The effect of this long encampment here was, in many respects, very disastrous to those who resided in this vicinity. Many valuable lives were lost, in consequence, and the entire community was greatly impoverished; and yet, as their historian, I am happy and proud to be able to say, that they never, for one moment, wavered in reference to the sacred cause in which they had embarked; and they never refused, under any circumstances, to do all that was in their power to bring that cause to a successful issue.

During the Fall succeeding the breaking up of the encampment in Lowantica-valley—to wit, on the seventeenth of October, 1777—the whole country was filled with rejoicing with the intelligence of the capture and surrender of Burgoyne, at the North. When the tidings first reached Bottle-hill, it is impossible to describe the joy awakened among all classes of the community. This event was spoken of, with devout gratitude, in the old Meeting-house, on the hill; and there is one, at least, still living among us—Mrs. Sarah Richards—at that time, a little girl of about eight years of age, who remembers seeing the houses illuminated, on the occasion, while the flag floated from the village liberty-pole, guns were fired, tar-barrels burned in the open plat, by the inn—near the site of the Presbyterian Lecture-room—and young men, in considerable numbers, mounted on horseback, rode, back and forth, from the village, in every direction, exclaiming as they went: "Glorious news! Gates "is victorious! Burgoyne has surrendered! "Burgoyne has surrendered! Huzza for Wash-"ington! Huzza for Independence!" while the occupants of the houses which they passed, of all ages and conditions, flew to the road side, as they dashed by, and gave them their hearty cheers and congratulations.

And from all that I can learn, I may here state that it was no uncommon thing for the inhabitants of Bottle-hill to hail events of this character, in the manner which has just been described. Residing, as they did, in a part of the country where they were obliged to experience much more than the usual share of the inconveniences and burdens incident to the War, they would naturally feel a much more than ordinary degree of joy at each new success which attended our Army. It is a fact that does honor to our ancestors, dwelling in Bottle-hill and its vicinity, that, while they were doing so much to promote the welfare of the country, by opening their doors and their granaries to the American forces, all of them who were able to

bear arms were engaged, in one way or another, in actively opposing the movements of the enemy. A large number of our most valuable citizens enlisted in the Army, at the very commencement of the War, and continued with it, through all its various stages, to its close. Others suffered themselves to be registered as "Minute-men," whose business it was, at a moment's warning, to fly to arms upon the announcement of danger. Among those who were either regularly enlisted or who rendered service as "Minute-men," from this place, were the following, whose names I am happy to be able to record in this history: Lieutenant Silas Hand, John Miller, Samuel Denman, John Cook, George Minthorn, Jabez Tichenor, Lieutenant Noadiak Wade, Surgeon Peter Smith, Captain Benjamin Carter, Lieutenant John Roberts, Luke Miller, Josiah Burnet, Jeremiah Carter, Cornelius Genung, Captain Thompson of the New Jersey Artillery (who had both legs shot off, at the battle of Springfield; and who died, urging his Company never to give up to the enemy), Captain Eliakim Little—also of the New Jersey Artillery (whose Company, by desperate fighting, held the enemy at bay for two hours, until they were relieved and the enemy routed) Samuel, Paul, and John Bonnel, Robert Pollard, (who was shot through the body at the battle of Connecticut Farms, and yet survived many years, after the War was concluded) Epraim Sayre, (who acted, for a considerable time, in the Commissary Department of the Army,) James Brookfield, Samuel Day, Ellis Cook, Caleb Horton, (son of the first Pastor of this village,) Joseph Bruen, Benjamin Harris, Captain William Day, Benjamin Bonnel, (who assisted in carting the guns which were captured, by our troops, in a British sloop which was grounded in the Elizabethtown-creek, to the armory, at Morristown,) Lieutenant Stephen Day, Captain John Howell, Colonel Seely, and others. Of the famous Company of Life-guards which accompanied Washington through all his movements, during the War, four, at least, have been known to be residents of Bottle-hill, their names being Samuel Pierson, Benjamin Bonnel, Nathaniel Crane, and Daniel Vreeland, all of whom lived several years after the War, in this vicinity.

One of these men, Samuel Pierson, is said to have been a very athletic and courageous man and an expert horseman. On one occasion, while the Americans and British were about joining in battle—it is believed that it was the battle of Chadd's Ford—Washington entrusted him with some very important dispatches, directing him, at the same time, to ride to the bank of a certain river, which was named, and wait there until a person who was described, should cross over from the opposite side, in a boat, to meet him. He accordingly put spurs to his horse and reached the appointed place; but, seeing no one, on the opposite bank, or in a boat, in the act of crossing, he plunged into the river with his horse and swam over, but just as he was approaching the shore, the person whom he was expecting emerged from the bushes and entered a boat for the purpose of going over to meet him. Guiding his horse up to the boat, he threw the dispatches into the hands of this person and swam his horse back, from whence he came; and flew thence back to Head-quarters. It happened that the missives fell into the right hands. But the next day, five soldiers proceeded to Pierson's tent and marched him down to Washington's marquee, very much to his astonishment. When he was brought before the Commander-in-chief, said he to him: "Pierson! "you have disobeyed orders." "In what "respect," inquired Pierson, and added, "I "have risked my life to carry out your direc- "tions." "I told you," said Washington, "to "wait on the bank of the river, until the dis- "patches should be called for, by a certain per- "son, whom I described; and you plunged "into the river, bearing the dispatches over "yourself, and, by this means, you exposed our "Army to imminent jeopardy." Dropping upon one knee, in an instant, said the impulsive soldier, "I see it. I beg your Honor's pardon. I will "do the like never again." "Rise, then," said the forbearing and magnanimous Washington. "I forgive you this offence, Pierson; but re- "member that a repetition will cost you more "dearly than this has done. My orders, to the "letter, must be obeyed."

On another occasion, while the famous battle of Monmouth was at its height, he was again entrusted with dispatches by the Commander-in-chief, to one of the other officers who was commanding in a remote part of the scene of the engagement, while his only way of reaching that point lay directly across the fire of the enemy. Nothing daunted, however, he dashed into the very storm of bullets which were falling like hail around him. His horse was soon struck by a cannon-ball and instantly killed. "Dispatches from the Commander-in-chief," he exclaimed, when another horse was instantly at his disposal; and he was again flying on his fearful errand, through showers of lead. This horse was also shot; and, in making his death-plunge, he fell upon his leg and severely injured him; but, upon being extricated, he was placed upon a third horse, and, in this way, was able to reach the place of his destination and hand over the missives of Washington. Upon seeing him, shortly afterwards, the Commander-in-chief said to him, "Pierson! did you deliver those dis- "patches?" "I did, Sir," said the brave man.

"I feared," said Washington, "when you set "out with them I should never see you again. "Were you injured any?" "O, no, General," replied he, "I had two horses killed under me "one of which, in falling, injured me a little; "and on the third I got safely through and now, "thank God, I am here at your service again, "Sir." "Well done, Pierson," said Washington, "your fidelity and courage have merited "and secured your commander's warm admira-"tion!"

While these patriotic and self-sacrificing men were, away from their homes, exposed to all the hardships and perils of the Army, their no less patriotic and self-sacrificing mothers, and wives, and sisters were engaged in cultivating the fields, and in providing, as best they could, for the wants of their respective households.

Mrs. Sarah Richards informs us that, during almost the entire period of the War, an aunt of hers, with the aid of a little son and a female relative, performed nearly all the labor required on the farm, which her husband had left in her care while he was engaged in the Army; that she ploughed and harrowed the fields; that she cut the grain and the grass, and gathered them into the barn; that she thrashed the grain, and carried it to the mill; that she cut wood in the forest, and drew it to her door; and that she did all the other labor required of the other sex, in order to make her children and herself comfortable. The same things are stated, also, respecting Mrs. James Brookfield, of Lowantica-valley, whose name has already been mentioned, in another connection. And these were only two of scores of instances which actually occurred, in this community—in some cases, large families being dependent entirely upon the labors of these noble women.

Sometime during the Spring and Summer of 1777, as we learn from affidavits made by revolutionary soldiers applying for pensions, through the Hon. Silas Condit of Morristown, a party of eighty Hessians, attended by ten or twelve Tory guides—all of them on horseback, and on their way over Short-hills—were captured by two or three Companies of our Militia, and taken prisoners at Connecticut Farms. Some of them were killed, and some fearfully wounded; and the whole company was marched, under strong guards, through this place, to Morristown, where they were confined. Their march through our village created great excitement, and called forth long and loud cheering.

During the Winter succeeding the encampment in this place, the Army went into Winter-quarters at Middle-brook, on the Raritan, near the present site of Somerville and about ten miles North-west of New Brunswick. A considerable number of both officers and privates, however, were billetted, at the same time, in Bottle-hill and its vicinity; and these, we have the authority of the late Azariah Carter for saying, were, for the most part, from New England. It is probable that a few of the cabins which were yet standing in Lowantica-valley were occupied in this way; but the majority of those who were quartered in this neighborhood was lodged in private houses—the best rooms being given up, as before, for their accommodation. Several of the leading officers of the Army made their Head-quarters here; and, in various ways, our citizens were almost as much burdened with the support of the forces as they were during the preceding Winter. Many of them, also, were engaged, during the season, in carting provisions, etc., to the encampment on the Raritan.

It was during that Winter, it is believed, when the inhabitants of this region were thrown into a great excitement by the intelligence that a large body of the enemy, under Lord Cornwallis, had landed at Elizabethtown point and were advancing towards Short-hills, with a view of seizing upon and pillaging the County of Morris. The intelligence proved to be correct. A large body of Militia, under General Lord Stirling of Basking-ridge, rushed down to meet them; and, after a slight skirmish, the British forces thought it best to withdraw.* This, of course, was a great relief to this section of the country, as very many of those living on the principal thoroughfares, here, fearing the worst, had placed their most valuable goods upon their wagons and harnessed their horses, ready to bear them off, with their households, at a moment's warning, further into the interior.

Rev. Aaron Richards, from Rahway, preached here, for a year and a half, about this time.

On the twenty-eighth of the following June, 1778, was fought the famous battle of Monmouth. A considerable number of the leading inhabitants of Bottle-hill was present and took part in that sanguinary engagement, among whom was Deacon Ephraim Sayre, who was acting, at the time, as an officer in the Commissary Department. The intelligence of that battle was received here with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. A Classical School was kept, at that time, by Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, on the spot now occupied by our village dépôt. When these tidings reached here, the young men in that institution, together with others in the vicinity, by the burning of tar-barrels and gunpowder, by illuminations, and in various other ways, did all in their power to do honor to the event.

Very soon after the enemy first entered Elizabethtown, in the Fall of 1776, Mr. Shepherd

* *Life of Lord Stirling*, 163.

Kollock, Editor and Proprietor of the *New Jersey Journal*, which was published at that place, regarding it unsafe to continue his labors there, removed his printing implements to this vicinity. At first, he appears to have occupied a room or two in the West end of the old tavern-house, now occupied by Mr. Samuel Condit, a little East of the Passaic-river, opposite the village of Chatham. In the garden, West of that house, Mr. Condit tells me that he has, very frequently, picked up types during the last forty years, since he has been there, which had doubtless been swept out of the office, by the apprentices, during that period. From all that I can ascertain, this paper must have been issued there for nearly three years. At length, when the Rev. Mr. Bradford retired from this place, Mr. Kollock purchased the building which he had occupied, previously, for a school; removed it to Chatham-village; converted it into a printing-office; and, there, he continued to issue that patriotic paper until the close of the War—a period of between four and five years. Not a few influences, we doubt not, were set on foot in that building, in connection with that staunch old Whig paper, which contributed largely to bring the Revolution to a successful issue; and the fact that it was prepared and sent forth from this place into all parts of the country, did a great deal to make the names of Chatham and Bottle-hill familiar as household words, among all classes of American people. The edifice to which reference has been made is still standing, directly opposite the store of Mr. Minton, and is now occupied as a dwelling-house. I have been told by Mr. Enos Bonnel, an aged man now living near Chatham, that the first Methodist Episcopal service that was ever held in this township, was held in that building, just after it had been vacated by Mr. Kollock, as a printing-office, and a little after the proclamation of Peace with Great Britain. The clergymen who officiated were the Rev. Messrs. Haggerty and Lynch.

On the evening of the thirteenth of December, 1779, the report came to Bottle-hill that the American forces had been routed by the enemy, and were retreating over Short-hills, while the enemy were in full pursuit. This, of course, filled the whole community with consternation; and preparations began, at once, to be made, to carry their most valuable goods and their families back farther into the country. It proved, however, a false rumor. A large detachment of our Army came up, through Chatham, to our village; but they were simply passing through, on their way to Kimball's-hill, five miles South-west of this place, for the purpose of going into Winter-quarters. Mrs. Sarah Richards, who has put me in possession of this fact, says that they entered the village just as it began to grow dark; and that they pitched their tents here, and spent the night. She stated, also, that the tents, which were spread on each side of the road, as near together as they could stand, reached from the old Meeting-house, on the hill, to the place now occupied by Mr. Seaman; and that, as the sun rose, on the next morning, she remembers seeing the smoke curling up from the camp-fires which had been kept along the lines, during the night, and which they were then using for the purpose of cooking their morning meal. A large number of the officers took breakfast at her father's house—the table being spread at least six or seven different times. This accomplished, at a very early hour, they struck their tents and proceeded to Morristown and thence to the place selected for their Winter-quarters, where they were to be joined by the main body of the Army, from the North, which was coming down, at the same time, through Pompton, Parsippany, and Whippany, for the same purpose. Mrs. Silas Lindsley, who is still living in this vicinity, was, at that time, about six years old, living with her father, in the house next East of the Ford mansion, where Washington established his Head-quarters, in Morristown, and remembers to have seen our troops coming up from Bottle-hill and from Whippany, on their way to Kimball's-hill, as above stated. Both bodies passed during the same week, but on different days—the Northern forces, which came through Pompton and Whippany occupied an entire day in passing her father's house.

From her account, the scene must have been a very exciting one. Companies of armed pioneers, with their axes and other implements for preparing the way for the Army, squads of officers, on horseback, Companies and Battalions of soldiers, on foot, pieces of artillery, drawn by horses; and long trains of baggage-wagons, drawn by horses and oxen, were passing, promiscuously, through the day; while the drums were beating, the flags flying, and the earth, at times, shaking under the heavy roll of the artillery, and baggage-wagons, and the tramp of horses. Passing over the old Morristown Green, they took the Basking-ridge-road, under the mountain; and then, at length, reached their Winter-quarters, in what Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, calls "a wilderness about three "miles from Morristown."

While the main body of the Army was quartered there, several of the officers took up their quarters, for the Winter, in this place. Many soldiers, likewise, were billetted at private houses, as at former times. General Washington, whose Head-quarters, as has already been intimated, were in the Ford mansion, at Morristown; and other leading officers of the Army are known to have been frequent visitors in Bottle-hill,

during that Winter. It was his practice, also, quite often, to pass through this place, attended by his mounted Life-guards, on his way to the Short-hills, where, with his spy-glass, he was accustomed to spend hours in making observations. Mr. Azariah Carter told me, a few days before his death, that he remembered seeing Washington and his suite passing through the village, on one of these excursions; and Doctor Ashbel Green, in his *Autobiography*, mentions seeing him, also, on one occasion, passing in the same direction, accompanied, among others, by the Marquis de La Fayette.

The alarm-gun and the beacon-lights were kept in a state of readiness for announcing any threatening movement of the enemy, below the mountain; and the bridge over the Passaic, at Chatham-village, was placed under a strong guard, who kept a vigilant eye on all who attempted to cross it, both by day and by night, throughout the Winter. The cannon which was used on Short-hills, I have been informed, remained there until after the War of 1812, when it was taken away, probably by order of the Government. The land where it was placed belonged to Benjamin Bonnel, but is now the property of Mr. Samuel Brent.

In reference to the guarding of the bridge, at Chatham, during the whole period of the Revolution, it is evident that the greatest pains were taken. Sometimes considerable companies were stationed there; while, at other times, only a few picked men were required to keep an eye to the character and designs of those who were continually passing and repassing, during those troubious times. In the pension documents of the Hon. Silas Condit, it is stated that Lieutenant Timothy Tuttle, of Whippany, at the head of his Company, kept guard at this point, for a time, under the order of Benoni Hathaway, of Morristown; and Doctor Ashbel Green says that, when he was only fifteen years old, he acted, for a little time, as a sentinel at that point; and that he arrested one man whose appearance excited his suspicions that he was a Tory or a spy, and who was not able to give him the countersign when it was demanded of him. In the pension documents, already referred to, it is stated that while Jacob and John Garrigus were acting as sentinels at the Chatham-bridge, one Breese Williams came up to them, while in a state of intoxication, and sought to pass over. Upon their refusing to allow him to go over the bridge, he insulted and abused them, and, at length, taking hold of the musket of one of them, he sought to wrest it from his hands, probably for the purpose of committing violence upon him, when he was summarily shot down by the other sentinel, who was witness of the whole proceedings.

It was while the Army encamped on Kimball-hill and Washington was quartered in the Ford mansion, in Morristown, that a body of British cavalry (*Historical Collections of New Jersey*) formed the design of forcing their way to the Head-quarters of Washington, and of carrying him off a prisoner. Landing at Elizabeth-town-point, during the night, they succeeded in getting by the sentinels on Short-hills and at the Chatham-bridge, and, in reaching this place; when the snow and hail-storm, which had been raging through the night, increased to such an extent, the snow becoming covered with a heavy crust, which cut their horses feet so badly that they turned about, and made their way, as rapidly as possible, back again to their own quarters. Standing in fear of their guide, who was an American, they enclosed him in a hollow square and thus, with drawn swords, rode, with the utmost dispatch, back to the Point, before their plot was discovered. When it was discovered, it created a great sensation, not only in the Army but throughout this entire region.

On the fourteenth of January, 1780, while the Army was lying at Kimball-hill, the old *New Jersey Gazette* states that Lord Stirling, with a detachment of troops, left the encampment on hastily-constructed sleds, with several field-pieces of light artillery, in order to surprise the British troops which were quartered, at that time, on Staten-island. Coming down, probably, through New Vernon and Green-village, they passed through this place, late in the afternoon; crossed over, from Elizabethtown-point, to the island, during the night; and, before the enemy was aware of his danger, they were upon them. The consequence was that he broke up and fled to the East side of the island, while our troops, having secured several prisoners, some valuable horses, a number of tents, and other valuable effects, re-crossed to the Point, and retraced their steps to their quarters, on the mountain, bearing their trophies with them, to the no small gratification of the Army and the surrounding community.

On the twenty-third of June, 1780, the enemy, under General Knyphausen, made a more bold and deliberate attempt to reach Morristown, where the American Army had its principal depot of ammunition and provisions. On their way through Connecticut Farms, they burned that village to ashes, and ruthlessly murdered the amiable and inoffensive wife of the patriotic Chaplain Caldwell, to whom reference has already been made, In the vicinity of Springfield, however, they were met by General Maxwell, of Sussex-county, and a body of the New Jersey Militia; and, after a short battle, they were repulsed and glad to make good their escape. Many of the inhabitants of Bottle-hill and the country

around it, alarmed by the gun on Short-hills, hastened down to Springfield, that morning, and rendered good service in helping to drive back the invaders from the accomplishment of their design. In reporting this battle to Congress, soon after, Washington said. "The Militia of "New Jersey ran to arms and behaved with an "ardor and spirit of which there are few exam- "ples."

At that time, the Commander-in-chief was at Pompton-plains, where some of the troops had been quartered during the previous Winter. Hearing of this attempt of the enemy to reach Morristown, and believing that another similar attempt would soon be made, he, with that part of the Army posted there, came down and stationed themselves in this vicinity, to await the movements of the enemy. Washington himself often went up and stood by the alarm-gun and the beacon-light on Short-hills, and, with his spy-glass, frequently swept the whole field of vision, looking, with anxiety, especially towards Elizabethtown and New York Bay. General Knyphausen had not yet embarked for New York, but was still lying at Elizabethtown; and this only confirmed the suspicions of Washington, that another attempt was in contemplation upon Morristown. The British fleet hearing the troops which had been engaged in South Carolina, under Sir Henry Clinton, just then sailed into New York Harbor; and, from his high point of observation, Washington saw the fleet come in and whiten the bay; and, for once, his good heart was dismayed. In writing from that place to Congress, he said, "A very alarming crisis may "shortly open; and it will be happy for us, if "we shall be able to steer clear of some serious "misfortunes, in this quarter." A few days after this—seventeen days after the burning of Connecticut Farms—the whole British Army landed at Elizabethtown-point, and, uniting with the forces under General Knyphausen, commenced their march towards Short-hills. The alarm-gun was fired; the whole country, on this side of the mountain, was thoroughly aroused; the regular forces were posted at Springfield; the Militia came rushing down to the same point, from all the surrounding regions; wagons, loaded with the most valuable goods, stood before every door along all these thoroughfares, prepared, in case of the worst, to hurry off into the interior; and the whole region was filled with the most ungovernable excitement. Many who were not called to take arms, and among them old Parson Green, of Hanover, rode down to the summit of the Short-hills, to be witnesses of the engagement.

On that dismal morning, when the alarm-gun was fired, there was a little boy, six years of age, in Mr. Bradford's school, on the site of the present depot. Darling Beach and young Ashbel Green, son of old Parson Green of Hanover, were his teachers. His home was the house that stands on the side-hill, next East of the residence of Widow Chloe Samson. That little boy was our friend and neighbor, Deacon Ichabod Bruen, who is still living, at the advanced age of eighty years. When the alarm-gun was heard, that morning, the school was dismissed; and, when he reached his father's house, he found that his father, Joseph Bruen, who was a Minute-man, had already gone to Springfield; and that his mother was engaged in loading a wagon, which stood by the door, with the best of their goods, preparatory to leaving for the interior, in case it should prove to be necessary. Troops were hurrying, continually, towards the point of danger; express-riders were flying, back and forth, from Morristown to the Short-hills; and the whole aspect of things was dark and gloomy, beyond conception. At length, the armies met; both fought, with great spirit; soon, the British forces gave way; and, after setting fire to the village of Springfield, which contained about fifty houses and a church, they fled, precipitately, towards Elizabethtown, and made good their escape.

It was during this battle, and in the very height of it, it is said, that some of the American forces, getting out of wadding, as Rev. Doctor Nicholas Murray states, Parson Caldwell, who was flying, hither and thither, stimulating the men to do their duty, discovering their deficiency of that article, rushed into the old Presbyterian-church, hard by, and, bringing out armsfull of hymn-books, he scatterd them among the troops and cried out to them, "Put "Watts into them, boys!" with the happiest effect.

Some of the inhabitants of Bottle-hill were killed in that battle; and many of them were seriously wounded. Here it was that Captain Thomas, of this place, had both of his legs shot off, below his knees, while commanding a Corps of Artillery; and, while he was bleeding to death, he stood upon his mangled limbs and, waving his sword over his head, said to his men, "I am dying, but fight on, my boys: "never give up to the enemy," and expired. Here it was, too, that Eliakim Little, also of this town, with his little Company and a few pieces of artillery, held the whole body of the enemy at bay, for two hours, until it finally gave way and retreated; and here, too, many others, of the earnest and hardy yeomanry of Bottle-hill and vicinity, performed deeds of valor which were almost superhuman; and here they received wounds which they bore with them to their graves—which are so many proofs that they were not cowards on that day, when the safety of their families as well as the

honor of their country depended upon their efforts.

The firing of the guns and the heavy booming of the artillery were distinctly heard in this place, while the battle was in progress; and, when Springfield was burned, on that memorable afternoon, the smoke was seen from here, rising in dense masses above the intervening hills. This was a sad omen to inexperienced observers, here; and the worst of consequences was anticipated; but, at length, the suspense of the whole community was at an end, when an express rider came dashing up the road, swift as the wind, crying, at the top of his voice, "The British are flying: the British "are flying;" and when our victorious troops were seen returning from the scene of the strife, it was impossible for them to restrain their joy. Their long and repeated hurras, as they came through the place, the waving of handkerchiefs, from every dwelling along the lines of their march, and the tears of joy that were streaming down the faces of persons, of all ages and all conditions, in the community, showed, very clearly, what a deliverance God had wrought out for them, on that day. Though there were many wounded and some killed in the vicinity, never, on the whole, did the national flag float more exultingly, and never did a heartier tribute of gratitude ascend from the dwellings and the hearts of this region, than those with which that day was marked.

Four of our troops, who had been badly wounded, were brought up and placed in the barn connected with the tavern, now owned by Mr. Samuel Condit, on the East side of the Passaic, opposite to Chatham. These lived but a few days, and were buried, as I learn from Enos Bonnel, on the road leading from the above tavern to New Providence, very near the mill-dam, where their remains doubtless are, at this day. Several British officers and soldiers were taken prisoners in the battle; and there is at least one still living among us, who remembers to have seen these prisoners conducted through this place to the Head-quarters of the Army, at Morristown. Mrs. Richards, to whom I refer, states that she saw a number of these men, in their red coats, walking in and about the tavern, now owned and occupied as a dwelling by our neighbor, Mr. Robert Albright; and her belief is, that they spent the night following the battle of Springfield, in company with their guard, in that house.

A few days after this defeat of Knyphausen and the British, at Connecticut Farms and Springfield, the following pasquinade was stuck up, by some one, in the streets of the City of New York, in which their vain endeavors to conquer the Americans is pretty severely hit off:

"*V. 3*—Just not long before,
"Old Knip
"And old Clip
"Went to the Jersey shore,
"The rebel rogues to beat;
"But, at Yankee-farms,
"They took the alarms,
"At little harms,
"And quickly did retreat.

"*V. 4*—Then, after two days wonder,
"Marched boldly on to Springfield town,
"And swore they'd knock the rebels down;
"But, as their foes,
"Gave them some blows,
"They, like the wind,
"Soon changed their mind,
"And, in a crack,
"Return-ed back
"From not one-third their number."

While the Army was quartered, at various times, in this vicinity, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell was in the habit of preaching in this place, whenever his other duties would admit of it, both in the old Presbyterian meeting-house and in other places. This, we are told by Miss Rachel Sayre and Mrs. Richards, he often did, especially in the house of their father, his very dear friend, Deacon Ephraim Sayre; and, at such times, the room in which the services were held was the front room, on the South end of the house, the place where he usually stood being in the South-west corner of the room. Very often, as he was passing through the place, he would spend the night in that house; and, on such occasions, notice of his being there was sent out in the different neighborhoods, and assemblies were convened, to hear the Gospel from his lips. In various ways, he greatly endeared himself to this entire community; and, to this day, his name is one that is spoken, by all classes, in this region, with reverence and love. As an instance of the high estimate in which he was held, it is stated that, as he was passing through the village, one day, it was announced that he was to preach in the open fields, not far from the Passaic-bridge, in Chatham; and, while the multitude was assembling, from every quarter, and an individual was erecting a temporary stage for him to stand upon, an old soldier came elbowing his way into the crowd; and, upon learning that they were putting up a platform for Caldwell to speak upon, he exclaimed, "Let me have the honor of "serving as his platform. Let him preach, "to-day, standing on my body. Nothing is too "good for Parson Caldwell," with other expressions of a similar character, showing the profound reverence that he cherished towards this excellent man.

The following anecdote, says Doctor Murray, "is related of him and his devoted and pious "parishioner, Abraham Clark, whose name is "yet familiar to the people of East Jersey as "'Congress Abraham.' Caldwell officiated, for "a short time, as a Deputy Quarter-master-"general; and, for this purpose, he opened an "office, in Chatham, over the door of which he "had placed the following sign: 'JAMES "'CALDWELL, D. Q. M. G.'—Deputy Quarter "Master General. Perceiving Mr. Clark ap-"proaching his door," says Doctor Murray, "he "went to meet him and found him intently gaz-"ing upon the above letters. 'What,' said "Caldwell, 'are you looking at, so earnestly.' "'I am looking,' replied Clark, 'at those letters "'and I am striving to comprehend what they "'mean.' 'Well, what do you think they "'mean,' asked Caldwell. 'I cannot conceive,' "replied his friend, 'unless they mean—*Devil "'ish Queer Minister of the Gospel.*' This "anecdote," adds the Doctor, "shows the great "familiarity which subsisted between the men; "and, after a hearty laugh over the joke, the "pious patriots took counsel together as to "the affairs of the State and the nation.—(*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, iii. 80.)

Before the close of the War, it will be remembered, this worthy Minister was shot down by a sentinel at Elizabethtown-point, while engaged in escorting a female friend from the boat to his carriage—she having come from the city of New York for the purpose of spending a few days in his family. The deed was, at the time, generally believed to have been committed at the instigation of the enemy; but the evidence of this is not altogether satisfactory. Be this as it may, however, this, at least, is a fact, which, as the historian of Bottle-hill, I am proud to be able to record, that, upon the death of the worthy man, his old friend, Deacon Ephraim Sayre, of this place, hastened to Elizabethtown and brought up six of his orphan children to his own house, and took care of them, until they were permanently provided for, elsewhere. All of them remained with their new guardian at least three months; and some of them for a longer period. They became greatly attached to their father's friend, ever afterward, with filial reverence and love, calling him their "foster-father."

Doctor Murray says of Caldwell: "He was "of middling size and strongly framed. His "countenance had a pensive, placid cast; but, "when excited, was exceedingly expressive of "resolution and energy. His voice was sweet "and musical; but yet so strong, that, when "needful, he could make himself heard above "the notes of the drum and the fife. As a "preacher, he was uncommonly eloquent and "pathetic; rarely preaching without weeping "himself, and, at times, would melt his whole "audience into tears. Doctor Green says that "the impressions made by one sermon of Cald-"well's, preached in Chatham or Bottle-hill, in "1779 or 1780, have never been effaced from "his mind."

Some time after the battle of Springfield, as we learn from *The Life of General William Winds*, by Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, a detachment of British troops once more forced their way over Short-hills, as far as the Passaic-bridge, at Chatham. At that point, they were met by General Winds, with a strong body of Militia prepared to dispute their further progress, in this direction. Supposing that, of course, he and his men would instantly make good their escape, as soon as they chose to press forward, the British officer is said to have sent the taunting message to him that he "proposed to take dinner with him, the next "day, at Morristown," to which General Winds sent the following reply, which, it seems, had the effect to modify this officer's plans: "If "you dine with me, in Morristown, to-morrow "noon, I need not tell you where you will sup "to-morrow night." Not exactly liking this plain, Spartan language, the officer and his men deemed it the dictate of prudence to withdraw, which they accordingly did, General Winds seeing them safely over Short-hills and on their way to the place from whence they came.

During the Winter following the battle of Springfield, to wit, the Winter of 1780–81 while the New-England troops were stationed at West-point, on the Hudson, and those from Pennsylvania were quartered on Kimball-hill, where the Army was encamped, during the Winter preceding, the French forces established their quarters on the high ground North of the Presbyterian-church in Whippany; and the New Jersey troops were quartered, partly on Pompton-plain, and partly in private houses, in this place. The log-cabins which the army had occupied, four years before, in Lowantica-valley, were still standing; and it is not unlikely that some of our troops were quartered there. also, during the Winter of which we are speaking. Whatever may have been the fact in reference to this, however we have the authority of the late Azariah Carter for saying that all the dwellings of the citizens of Bottle-hill and vicinity were filled, once more to their utmost capacity, with officers and soldiers of the New Jersey line. Companies of soldiers passing through our village were matters of almost daily occurrence; the minute-gun and the beacon light, on Short-hills, were frequently heard and seen during the Winter; and, in va-

ious ways, the entire community was kept in a continued state of anxiety and excitement.

But the most exciting thing that occurred during that season was the mutiny which took place, in the Pennsylvania line, which had its Headquarters on Kimball-hill. This line consisted, at the time, of about two thousand men. Being dissatisfied with the terms of their enlistment, as well as the manner in which they were paid by the Government; and having appointed a Serjeant-major for their commander, nearly the whole line marched to the magazine, on the Morristown Green, and supplied themselves with ammunition, a half dozen field-pieces, and other things that they needed; and, thus prepared, they bade defiance to their officers. Abruptly leaving the encampment, they marched off towards Basking-ridge; and, when near that place, they were overtaken by their commander, General Anthony Wayne, who, after getting in their front, cocked his pistol and presenting it at some of the ringleaders, ordered them to halt and to return instantly to their quarters, or he would fire. In an instant, scores of bayonets were placed at his bosom, while these stern words were uttered in his ears; "General! "we respect and love you; but if you fire your "pistol or attempt, in any way, to enforce your "commands, we shall, at once, put you to "death." Nothing, as a consequence, could be done to arrest this most dangerous and disgraceful proceeding. Those of their number who were, at first, disposed to remain obedient to their officers, were compelled, by their more powerful associates, to join with them in the mutiny; and thus, after sundry acts of insubordination and outrage, which naturally awakened the deepest solicitude of all this community, they marched off.

General Wayne's Head-quarters, at that time, were at the house of Deacon Ephraim Sayre, in this village. That house is still standing, and is occupied by Deacon Sayre's daughters. The General's life-guards were stationed in the kitchen, in the rear of the main house; while the room occupied by the General was the front room, on the North end of the house. A small mulatto servant accompanied him, to wait upon him; and, in order to encourage, in him, the martial spirit, he was fully armed and equipped with a keen wooden sword, which the boy, of course, took great pride in flourishing, on all proper occasions.

The Winter that General Wayne quartered in this place was one of very great severity. The snow fell, in many cases, to a great depth; and, in one or two instances, it was drifted, in the rear of the house, up to the very eaves; while sleds were driven, on the hard crust, over the fences, without obstruction, in every direction. Armed sentinels constantly patrolled, back and forth, in front of the house; and, on several nights, the storm was so violent and the cold so intense that the sentinels were obliged to be relieved every half hour.

Wayne's Head-quarters being here, we have every reason to believe that the mutiny, to which reference has been made, exhibited some of the most exciting and alarming features in this immediate vicinity. History says that the mutineers robbed General Wayne's stables of his horses, for the purpose of drawing the field-pieces which they had secured and for other purposes; and it is not unlikely that that robbery was committed in this village. Here, too, without doubt, large bodies of the mutineers marched, more than once, to make their demands upon their Commander, for their arrearages and for necessary provisions; and, in this way, the citizens of this place were exposed, in many ways, to the most imminent danger. Many a sleepless night, no doubt, was passed in all this region, while these extraordinary movements were going forward; and many a brow, here, doubtless carried the marks of anxiety and fear, until the mutiny had become ripe and the mutineers had effected their purpose.

Encouraged by the success which had attended this insurrectionary proceeding, in the Pennsylvania line, that part of the New Jersey Brigade which had been quartered on Pompton-plains, resolved to try the experiment, also. Accordingly, on the twentieth of January, 1781, a few days after the Pennsylvania troops had withdrawn, they, also, rose up in defiance of their officers; making demands upon them similar to those made by the other troops. Putting all the threats of their officers at defiance, they provided themselves with all the ammunition that they wanted and marched down, in a body, to this place, where, as has already been stated, the rest of the New Jersey line had been quartered, for the purpose of compelling them, also, to unite with them, in the shameful movement. This was a new and a most fruitful source of anxiety to those who resided in this vicinity. Several days, doubtless, were consumed by those operations, in which the whole community must have been in a state of the most intense anxiety; and it was not until, by one of those prompt and decisive strokes for which Washington was remarkable, that a large detachment of the New England troops, on the Hudson, was marched down here, and the mutineers were obliged to submit, without conditions, a few of the ringleaders being hung, in the presence of their comrades, as a warning to others, that the mutiny was quelled and the anxieties of this community were allayed.

In what particular part of this township these things were transacted, I have not yet been able to ascertain; but the probability is, that it was somewhere not far from where we are now assembled.*

On the nineteenth of the following August, (1781) a French Regiment and the New Jersey Brigade, which had been stationed at West-point, on the Hudson-river, were ordered, by the Commander-in-chief, to make all possible dispatch and unite with the main body of the Army, which was drawn up before Yorktown, in Virginia. In order to conceal their real design, they were directed to come to this vicinity and, in some way or other, to make the impression that they were about, permanently, to establish their quarters here, and that their ultimate design was to make an attack upon Staten-island, where a large body of the enemy was stationed, and where the enemy's stores were collected. Accordingly, coming down from the North, with their baggage-wagons, and their artillery, and all their various equipments for the field, and passing through Pompton, Montville, Troy, Whippany, and so on, over through Columbia and this village, they passed over to the East side of the Passaic, opposite Chatham, and formed their encampment on a piece of land which belongs, now, to Mr. William Wallace, and which lies immediately in front of the old tavern, now kept by a Mr. Samuel Condit, and on the South side of the road leading, over Short-hills, to Springfield and the sea-board. Here, they proceeded to make all their arrangements, as if they were expecting to make *that* their permanent quarters. After setting their tents, they threw up a shed, nearly four rods in length, running parallel with the road and a little back from it; and, in this shed, they constructed a large number of ovens and made other arrangements which made the impression upon the entire community that, not only these Regiments but, possibly, also, the whole Army, were to be quartered there, for a long time. Mr. Azariah Carter remembered to have seen these troops come through the place and pass on to the point which has just been described; and he, and Mr. Ichabod Bruen, and Captain Luke Carter, and others, have stated to me that they had a distinct remembrance of the impression that was made upon every mind, in this region, at that time, that the whole Army was to be permanently quartered on that ground. Having made all these arrangements and created this impression, which was doubtless carried by spies to the enemy's camp, on Staten-island, the very thing which they desired to bring about, they suddenly, and without giving any intimation of their destination, crossed over into this township; passed up to Union-hill; and, thence, by the residence of Mr. Aaron Carter, through Green-village, Basking-ridge, and so on, proceeded to Yorktown; and, long before the enemy, on Staten-island, was aware of their design, they were far beyond his reach, on their way to the South. Aged people in this vicinity say that, at the commencement of the night on which they left, the entire camp appeared as it had done before; but that, at the dawning of the following day, they had all mysteriously disappeared, leaving behind them nothing but the long shed filled with ovens; while no one knew what their designs were or whither they were going. These ovens—I have been informed, by Mr. Enos Bonnel, an aged man, who was born, and is still living, within a few rods of the spot—were standing and the subjects of remark, for several years after the close of the War, he himself having often seen them.

By this well-conceived *ruse*, these troops succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy on Staten-island and in reaching the main Army, in Virginia; and their union with the Army, just at that time, contributed largely towards the capture of Cornwallis—an event which was soon after brought about.

That splendid conquest was achieved on the seventeenth of October, 1781, and may justly be regarded as the grand decisive act in that protracted and eventful struggle, which resulted in the establishment of our national independence. Great joy was experienced, everywhere, throughout this country, upon the announcement of this splendid victory; but no where more than in old Bottle-hill, where the evils of the War were felt so constantly and so heavily, and yet so cheerfully, from its commencement. Bonfires blazed here, in every direction. Our village liberty-pole which, when the War was begun, with becoming loyalty, let out the royal banner of King George to the breeze, now seemed to exult in the privilege of performing the same office to our national flag, which had been so nobly honored, during the long and bloody strife. Long and loud hurras were, everywhere, heard. Thanksgivings were sent up to Almighty God, from yonder old sanctuary; and from hundreds of family altars, over all this region, there went up, also, at that time, the incense of an earnest and heartfelt praise.

During the Winter succeeding the capture of the British Army, at Yorktown, this place was

* Mr. Tuttle is mistaken, in regard to this mutiny, as to the place of its being summarily quelled. Doctor Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, gives a minute account of the transaction, showing that the mutiny was quelled at *Pompton*, and not at Bottle-hill.—Thacher's *Military Journal*, —Hartford Ed., 1862, pages 251-253.—J. F. T.

esorted to by a small portion of the Amer-rces. During that season, Colonel Francis rented and occupied the old parsonage is now owned by Doctor H. P. Green. l Matthias Ogden resided at Major Luke s, in the house which is still standing, a o the North-east of the residence of his Ir. John B. Miller; and, while there, he a piece of land, belonging to the parson-d lying not far from where Mr. David C. s mill now stands. Major Eaton and lived with Benjamin Harris, next North of sidence of Deacon Ephraim Sayre. Major uff took up his quarters with Deacon in the house now occupied by his daugh-rs. Richards and Miss Rachel Sayre; and l Marsh occupied an old house which was anding on the spot which has since been ed by the dwelling of Mrs. Eliza Cook, South-east of the Methodist parsonage. mpanies of soldiers were billetted, here ere, as formerly, in private houses, where ould be most conveniently accommodated; e Winter passed away without any thing pecial taking place beyond the ordinary nces of life. Companies of soldiers and of baggage-wagons, loaded with army occasionally passed through, in one direc-the other; and, sometimes, an express-dashing through, at full speed, bearing ant dispatches, served to break up the ny of the season and to remind the inhab-hat they were still subject to the liabilities rdens incident to war.

he eighteenth of September of the follow-ar (1782) there was a good deal of excite-n this place, growing out of the discovery very dangerous and mischievous Tories, ad been prowling about and committing ations, in various parts of the country almost the period of the War. In a great of ways, also, they acted as spies and ed important aid to the enemy, by acting capacity of guides and informers. Their were Caleb Sweery, Junior, and John At length, by a mere accident, at the ove specified, their lurking-place was dis-l. A person residing in the northern s of the Great Swamp, a little South of Hickory Tree," a Mr. Dickerson, saw them g his house, at a very early hour in the ng; and the thought was readily suggested ey must be the offenders who had become ror of this region, and for whose appre-n the Governor had offered a large reward. nmunicated his suspicions to Captain Car-no, in company, with a select number of neighbors, took the necessary steps for pprehension. Not far from the spot al-designated, there lived one, Isaac Badgley, whose wife, it is believed, was a relative of one of the Tories. A person, consequently, was placed near the house of this man, to watch the movements of the family; when it was soon found that his wife went, regularly, in a certain direction in the swamp, about meal-time, carrying victuals with her. Having made this discovery, the party, under Captain Carter, entered the swamp, some miles from Badgley's house, and proceeded, carefully, to within a few rods of the house when they suddenly came upon them; and, being unprepared for defence, Sweery and Parr endeavored to make their escape by flight. Seeing this, Captain Carter and his party fired upon them and killed Sweery, taking Parr a prisoner, and lodging him in Morris-county jail, very much to the relief of the surrounding community.

For a few months after this, the country continued in a very unsettled state; and Bottle-hill shared, with other places, in the inconveniences and evils which such a state of things was adapted to create. Occasionally, some portions of the Army passed through this place; and, during that Winter (1782–'3) several of the officers and soldiers were quartered here, as in former years. Washington, accompanied by his suite, it is believed, passed through here, on business connected with the Army or for the purpose of visiting his friends in this vicinity. But the dangers and excitements which had been experienced here, in former years, were, for the most part, over; and, at length, on the nineteenth of April, 1783, just eight years after the War was begun, at Lexington, the news were received in a letter from La Fayette, who, by this time, had returned to France, that the independence of the United States had been formally recognized by Great Britain, and that the War of the Revolution was at an end. Six months after this, the American Army was disbanded. Two weeks following that, New York was evacuated by the British troops, amidst great rejoicing, in which the citizens of Bottle-hill most heartily participated. The log-cabins, in the Lowantica-valley encampment, were sold at public vendue, many of them being taken down and set up in other places, in this vicinity—some of them, according to Mr. Azariah Carter, being occupied, for various purposes, here, for forty or fifty years, subsequently. On the twenty-third of December, 1783, Washington resigned his office as Commander-in-chief of the American forces; the soldiers all returned to their various pursuits, which they had left for the purpose of entering upon the War; and our beloved country was fairly afloat, among the sovereignties of the earth.

In all these rapidly succeeding and most important events, the inhabitants of Bottle-hill took a most lively interest. The fires of a pure patriot-

ism burned in multitudes of bosoms, in this vicinity, through all the various stages of the Revolution. No regrets were experienced at the review of the sacrifice which had been made, during that most trying and eventful period; a common joy pervaded all hearts, that the inestimable blessings connected with a free government had, at last, been secured; and far off be the day when the self-sacrificing and patriotic owners of this hallowed soil shall be succeeded by those who, when their country shall be exposed to similar dangers, would not, as cheerfully, encounter similar trials! May the day never come when Bottle-hill and its vicinity, so consecrated by the sufferings of patriots and so conspicuous and bright on the pages of American history, shall belong to any others than such as shall be sincere and earnest friends of their country, and who, if it ever again shall be necessary, will not, without a moment's hesitation, once more, cheerfully, "pledge to it "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred "honor."

Thus, my friends, have I detailed in your hearing some of the leading facts relating to this place, during this eventful period of the American Revolution. The theme is by no means exhausted; but enough has been said to satisfy our minds that this old place bore its full share of the trials and burdens incident to that protracted struggle for Freedom. Our ancestors, here, freely shared with the brave men who were so often quartered among them, not only their homes but their best means of subsistence. Their gave up their best rooms, generally, for their accommodation. They rendered every possible assistance to them, in carrying out their designs. The American Army knew that, when it was here, it was surrounded by a yeomanry whose betrayal of it or of the sacred cause in which it was enlisted neither *British Gold* could purchase nor British threats intimidate; and, although, for eight years, the privacy of its homes was destroyed, its fields laid waste, its granaries exhausted, and all its most precious worldly interests endangered, it swerved not, for a single moment, from the sacred cause of liberty. Had it possessed ten thousand homes or ten thousand lives, we have good reason to believe that it would have periled them all, just as freely and just as cheerfully. Noble men! noble women! *What higher earthly honor could have been conferred upon you than that Washington was willing to confide himself, and his family, and his Army, and, thereby, his country, so often to your guardianship!* Seldom did our fathers, dwelling here, lie down, at night during all those eight years, without anxiety or alarm; and yet did they never complain. Mothers, wives, and sisters were left by their husbands, and brothers, and sons, to maintain themselves, while their natural guardians were away fighting the battles of their country; and neither did they give way to a spirit of complaining. All that they possessed they cheerfully sacrificed, for their country's good.

And now, as we are assembled here, on this seventy-ninth birth-day of our national independence, what mingled emotions of pleasure and sadness, of gratitude and pride, struggle in our minds. Along these highways, our patriot soldiers, poorly clad, almost famishing, and, in many cases, without even shoes to their feet have travelled. The rumbling of artillery and baggage-wagons has often disturbed the scene in which we are now mingling, now so quiet. These dwellings, all around us, were freely thrown open for the Army's comfort. These broad and beautiful acres yielded to it an ungrudged subsistence. The old church that formerly stood on yonder hill, invited it to its worship. The stirring notes of the fife and drum and the heavy tramp of armed men, passing and re-passing these roads, were often heard by our ancestors, here. The beautiful farms of Messrs. Treadwell and Kitchel, in the Lowantica-valley, have been made sacred by the sufferings of patriots. Along that old road, have passed General Knox, Colonel Hamilton, General Greene, General Lee, Baron Steuben, General Wayne, Lord Stirling, the noble Kosciusko, the immortal La Fayette, and a host of others, like them. Here, too, has been that peerless man, the immortal Washington, and, riding by his side, that magnificent woman of whom it is sufficiently honorable to say that she was a fit consort for such a man. Yes! the great Washington has travelled through our villages and along our roads; has received the salutations of our fathers, of our sisters, and mothers; has looked out upon these broad and beautiful landscapes; and, here, as he has been passing and re-passing, has his big heart been weighed down, at times with fearful anxieties; and, here, has he often, doubtless, prayed and planned for the salvation of our beloved land. Bottle-hill and Morristown were names as familiar as household words, all over our country, at that eventful period of which we have been speaking—being borne and mentioned every where, by those who were so often quartered here; and far off be the day when we, who have inherited these fields and who are now honored with the ownership of these beautiful places, to which they retreated from the rigors of active War, shall prove recreant to the example and the spirit of those who were, at that time, their possessors. May the day never come, when if our country shall again be invaded and our patriotic troops shall again need a secure Winter refuge, the owners of this hallowed soil shall

refuse to throw open their dwellings and their hearts to them. Standing here, then, on this beautiful eminence, beneath these overhanging forest arches and in the midst of all these scenes of revolutionary interest, a few only of which have now been rehearsed, let our hearts go up, in grateful acknowledgments to the G d of our Fathers—the God of battles—for all that we now possess and enjoy. With one voice and one heart, let us here utter our prayer—a prayer that shall rise to the very throne of the Almighty: May this country, with its institutions and liberties, so dearly purchased, *perish, never!* PERISH, NEVER!!

II.—LANSINGBURGH, N. Y.

Its Early History, Old Settlers, Schools, Markets, etc.—Continued, from Page 205.

V.

Taverns, Stores, etc.

In 1802, Mr. Editor, you could have stood in State-street and counted some twelve or fourteen taverns. Lansingburgh needed them. There was a great deal of travel through here, to the northward. The "village of Lansing-"burgh, in the town of Troy" was the title; and the number of inhabitants was far in advance of Troy. This place was on the high road to Ballston and Saratoga Springs—both, even in that day, noted places, although the first-named was the most popular—and, of course, as it was before railroads were built around here, all travel went through our village. An immense line of post coaches—four-horse—went through here, two or three times a day, besides private carriages. Walbridge & Baker must have owned nearly a hundred, if not more, of these coaches. Judson's tavern, on State-street, on the now vacant lots in front of Ball's house, was a noted tavern. The landlord was the father of the present David Judson. Commodore Mc Donough stopped there, often, during the War of 1812, while he was preparing his flotilla on the lake. Several paroled English officers boarded there, awaiting exchange.

Our village was very much opposed to the War; and, when cannons and munitions of war were hauled through here, the teamsters and attendants were refused entertainment at our public-houses, and had to quarter out of doors. The Phœnix was on its present site, but a wooden building of inferior appearance to what it is at present. It was popular, because it had a ball-room; for young people, in those days, were as full of fun as they are to-day. Suzar kept a tavern where E. Filley's family now lives. He and his family, also Adencourt, grandfather of the present Clinton Adencourt, came from France, with La Fayette, in the War of the Revolution. After the War, they settled here; and when—I think, in 1825—La Fayette passed through here, from Saratoga, on his way to New York, he called on Mrs. Adencourt, who was then living with Doctor Blatchford, in the house occupied by Mrs. Wood; and there they jabbered over old times, in French.

I think if the Marquis should come into town, to-day, I would recognize him. It was a great day for Lansingburgh and the surrounding places, when he went through here. Everybody turned out to do him honor. I well remember the cavalcade of gigs and sulkies—he in a gig—as they crossed from Waterford. Every little while, out came his gorgeous snuff-box, set with brilliants. He was a profuse snuffer.

Angus Murray kept tavern where John Ames has his shop; Cornelius Lansing built the Vandercook tavern, for Jonathan Wickware. It was afterwards sold to Ketchel Reed. David Thomas kept tavern where Major Dougrey now lives; and, at that time, State-street extended no further in that direction. Reuben Guild kept tavern where Zhan now is; Wolcott kept a public-house where Weaver's market now is; Barton had a public-house on the site of Lea's tin-shop; and Billy Thompson on the site now occupied by B. G. Hathaway. There was a tavern in New Guinea; one in Adamsville, on the site occupied by William Lansing. At Leach's old place, on the bank, just below the bridge, was a ferry and tavern. There was a store there, also.

On River-street, from Esek Hawkin's house to G. W. Cornell's, there was a string of stores. Along there, Tibbets, Lane, Dole, and many others, including Jonathan Burr, did a very large business in grain, of which thousands of bushels were bought and sold, here, annually. The merchants mentioned above went to Troy, in 1810, on account of the difficulties in the way of navigation.

Old John Mills built the Bank on the corner where J. G. Mc Murray now lives. James Reid was its first Cashier. He first kept store where Howlet's shoe-shop now is. He was a very large man and eminently social, withal.

We used to hold elections each Spring, for Mayor; and there was a great strife whether his honor should be from Coon-town or Shaver-town. The election was decided on this wise: a mark was made in the centre of Market-street, between Hanford's, now Striker's, and Bontecue's, now Hubbard's office. Jimmy Reid stood on the South side and Captain Ives on the North side. At a given signal, their adherents having seized hold of the coat-tails of the champions; the

leaders grasped hands and pulled: whichever leader was pulled over the line, the other was Mayor for the ensuing year. No repeating nor stuffed ballot-boxes, here. OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—FLOTSAM.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, IN EARLY VIRGINIA.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

Perhaps it is not generally known that colonial Virginia was one of the most intolerant of our early Settlements. Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Act establishing religious freedom, which was proposed in 1777 and was not passed until 1785, and then by the assistance of Mr. Madison. Mr. Jefferson's account of the early legislation, in Virginia, in reference to religion, will probably be found interesting. He informs us that:

"The first settlers of this Colony were Eng-
"lishmen, loyal subjects their King and Church,
"and the Grant to Sir Walter Raleigh contained
"an express proviso that their laws 'should not
"'be against the true Christian faith now pro-
"'fessed in the Church of England.' As soon
"as the state of the Colony admitted, it was
"divided into Parishes, in each of which was
"established a Minister of the Anglican Church,
"endowed with a fixed salary, in tobacco, a
"glebe house and land, with the other necessary
"appendages. To meet these expenses, all the
"inhabitants of the Parishes were assessed,
"whether they were or were not members of the
"established Church. Towards Quakers, who
"came here, they were most cruelly intolerant,
"driving them from the Colony by the severest
"penalties. * * * Several of the Acts of the
"Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693
"had made it penal in parents to refuse to have
"children baptized; had prohibited the unlaw-
"ful assembling of Quaker or other Separatists;
"had made it penal for any master of a vessel
"to bring a Quaker into the State; had order-
"ed those already here, and such as should come
"thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should
"abjure the country; provided a milder pun-
"ishment for their first and second return, but
"death for their third; had inhibited all persons
"from suffering their meetings in or near their
"houses, entertaining them, individually, or dis-
"posing of books which supported their tenets.
"If no execution took place here, as did in
"New England, it was not owing to the moder-
"ation of the Church r spirit of the Legislature,
"as may be inferred from the law itself, but to
"historical circumstances which have not been
"handed down to us. The Anglicans retained
"full possession of the country about a century."

It is my belief that this was a greater amount of intolerance than any which prevailed in New England; and it extended through a longer period. Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies did not engraft on their Codes the extremely proscriptive legislation of Massachusetts; and some excuse is found for Massachusetts on account of her fears of Archbishop Laud and the inquisitorial proceedings of his Star Chamber.

The Virginia Convention of 1776 repealed all statutory oppressions on religion; and the State was then left to the jurisdiction of the Common Law, under which heresy was punishable by burning, in accordance with the writ *De heretico comburando*. By the Act of Assembly of 1705, "If a person brought up in the Christian re-
"ligion denies the being of a God, or the Trini-
"ty, or asserts there are more Gods than one, or
"denies the Christian religion to be true or the
"Scriptures to be of divine authority, he is pun-
"ishable, on the first offence, by incapacity to
"hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical,
"civil, or military; on the second, by disability
"to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guar-
"dian, executor, or administrator, and by three
"years' imprisonment, without bail. * * *
"This is a summary view of that religious slav-
"ery under which a people have been willing to
"remain, who have lavished their lives and for-
"tunes for the establishment of their civil free-
"dom. The error seems not sufficiently eradi-
"cated, that the operations of the mind, as well
"as the acts of the body, are subjected to the
"coercion of the laws. But our rulers can have
"no authority over such natural rights, only as
"we have submitted to them. The rights of
"conscience we never submitted: we could not
"submit. We are answerable for them to our
"God."

It is a well-known apophthegm—which is found in the writings of Lord Bolingbroke, and of which the authorship is ascribed, by Mr. John Bartlett, of Boston, to Thucydides, that "His-
"tory is philosophy teaching by examples." There is certainly much of sound philosophy to be learned from the historic page. The wisdom of the present generation is derived, in large measure, from a study of the errors of the past; and, in reviewing the narrative of the intolerance of our early Colonists, we learn many lessons which will persuade us to the practice of humility and charity. "Let brotherly love continue" is the devout invocation of Scripture; and it is this principle of the Christian faith, in its development throughout the ages, which is the watchword of human progress.

Respectfully, Yours,
NEW ENGLANDER.

Death of the "Esquire," of the "Gretna "Green of America."

John Shelton, better known as "Squire Shel- "ton," died recently at Aberdeen, Ohio, aged about seventy-nine years, and was buried on the Kentucky side of the river, below Maysville.

It is said of Squire Shelton that, during the thirty-seven years he was a Magistrate at Aberdeen, he performed the marriage ceremony for four thousand couples. His fame as a tier of the knot matrimonial, extended far and wide; and the many runaway matches that found his house a stopping-place, gave to Aberdeen the name of "'Gretna Green of America.'" He was never very particular about whether or not all the forms of law had been complied with by loving hearts, seeming to have adopted, as his rule of action, the single one, "Love knows no law." He had performed the ceremony for so many who were not married in strict accordance with the law, that the Legislature of Kentucky, a year or two ago, found it necessary to pass a special Act, legalizing all his marriages. In cases where there was a great object, in consequence of the close pursuit of "enraged parents," he has been known to get out of bed, in the middle of the night, and, to save time, actually perform the ceremony with no other clothes on his person than his shirt. Again, he has performed the ceremony from his window, at night, while parties to the marriage contract were standing in the street, in front of his house. But, no matter what was the occasion for hurry, Squire Shelton invariably made a bargain before the job was commenced—his fees ranging from one dollar up to one hundred dollars, according to his own notion, by observation of appearances of what the groom was able to pay. As stated before, he had been Magistrate of Aberdeen for thirty-five years, continuously, to the day of his death. No opposition candidate for the office could ever be elected, no matter how popular he might be, personally or politically.

Squire Shelton's ruling passion was watches. A friend informs us that he left a large number of these behind. Nearly a hundred and fifty canes were presented to him, at different times, by parties whom he had served and made happy; and he seldom walked out twice in one day with the same cane in his hand.

No doubt many a father and mother who shall read this article, will drop a tear to the memory of Squire Shelton, who performed the ceremony that resulted in the family growing up around them.

Signing the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Jefferson used to relate, with much merriment, that the final signing of the Declaration of Independence was hastened by an absurdly trivial cause. Near the Hall in which the meetings were then held, was a livery stable, from which swarms of flies came into the open windows, and assailed the silk-stockinged legs of honorable members. Handkerchief in hand, they lashed the flies with such vigor as they could command, on a July morning; but the annoyance became, at length, so extreme, as to render them impatient of delay; and they made haste to bring the momentous business to a conclusion.

After such a long and severe strain upon their minds, the members seem to have indulged in many a jocular observation as they stood around the table. Tradition has it, that when John Hancock had affixed his magnificent signature to the paper, he said, "There, John Bull may read "my name without spectacles!" Tradition, also, will never relinquish the pleasure of repeating that, when Mr. Hancock reminded the members of the necessity of hanging together, Doctor Franklin was ready with his "Yes, we must, "indeed, all hang together, or else, most assur- "edly, we shall all hang separately." And this may have suggested to the portly Harrison—a "luxurious, heavy gentleman," as John Adams describes him—his remark to slender Elbridge Gerry, that, when the hanging came, he should have the advantage, for poor Gerry would be kicking in the air long after it was all over with himself.

French critics censure Shakespeare for mingling buffoonery with scenes of the deepest tragic interest. But, here we find one of the most important assemblies ever convened, at the supreme moment of its existence, while performing the act that gives it its rank among deliberate bodies, cracking jokes, and hurrying up to the table, to sign, in order to get away from the flies. It is precisely so that Shakespeare would have imagined the scene.—*Atlantic Monthly.*

Deacon May.—By the recent death of Samuel May, Boston loses one of her oldest merchants, and one of the last links of personal connection between the great City of 1870 and the little Town that was the cradle of liberty, in 1770. Deacon May was not born till 1776; but he was the youngest of a large family of brothers, one of whom was a member of the famous "Boston "Tea-party," in 1773; and Deacon May, himself, recollecting, as a boy, the later years of the Revolution, had also preserved in his memory many incidents told him by his kindred. He grew up to manhood under the administration of Washington, and cast his first vote for John Adams for President. All through his active life he was engaged in trade, and accumulated a fortune therein; but he never hesitated to ad-

vocate the principles of liberty in which he had been born and which his family always supported. Having come into the world in the same year with the Declaration of Independence, he had no difficulty in accepting its doctrine of the equality of men; and, from the first, was a zealous abolitionist. His nephew and namesake, Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, was more prominent before the public in that cause, but not more resolute in his private opinions. Deacon May derived his title from the Hollis-street Church, with which he was long connected, and where he stood stoutly by John Pierpont, in his memorable controversy with the members of the Parish, thirty years ago. After Theodore Parker went to Boston, to preach, in 1846, Deacon May joined his church, and was a constant attendant at the Melodeon and the Music-hall, till Parker's fatal illness, in 1858. His was one of the few white heads among the hearers of those stirring Sermons; and he was always loyal to his Minister, whatever Boston might say or do. In the hottest period of the anti-slavery struggle, he was firm and active, though already four-score years old; and he lived to see and rejoice in the utter downfall of the slavery he abhorred.

He was the friend of every good cause, and gave liberally to charities, public and private.

Jews in Philadelphia.—It would appear, from the *Pennsylvania Archives* (x., 731), that the Synagogue on Cherry-street, was consecrated on the thirteenth of September, 1782. The following is a copy of the Memorial of the Jewish congregation, inviting the President and Council to attend the Consecration:

"Memorial of the Jewish Congregation "of Philadelphia, 1782. We, the President "and Representatives of the Jewish congrega- "tion in this city, humbly beg leave to approach "his Excellency, the President, his Honour, the "Vice-president, and the Honorable the Executive "Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsyl- "vania.

"The Congregation of Mikve Israel (Israelites) "in this city having erected a place of public "worship, which they intend to consecrate to "the service of Almighty God, to-morrow after- "noon, and as they have ever professed themselves "liege subjects to the sovereignty of the United "States of America, and have always acted "agreeably thereto, they humbly crave the pro- "tection and countenance of the chief Magis- "trates in this State to give sanction to their "design, and will deem themselves highly hon- "ored by their presence in the Synagogue, when- "ever they judge proper to favor them.

"The doors will be open at three o'clock, and "the service will continue till seven.

"The uncertainty of the day of consecration "was the sole cause of having delayed this mat- "ter till now, but earnestly hope it will not be "thought too late.

"With prayers to the God of Israel for the "safety of the United States, in general, and this "Commonwealth, in particular, we are, Gentle- "men, most respectfully and most devotedly, in "behalf of the Congregation,

"Jonas Phillips, President,
"Michael Gratz,
"Sol. Marache,
"Solm'n Myers Cohen,
"Simon Nathan.

"Philada., 12 Sept., 1782."

The compiler of the *Archives*, in a note to the above, says: "The building alluded to, in the "foregoing, was no doubt the first Synagogue "erected in this city—on Cherry-street, between "Third and Fourth—and which, in 1824, gave "place to the present more spacious and more "elegant house of worship. There are now "(1854) five Synagogues in this city."—*Sunday Despatch.*

Antiquities of Albany Markets.—One hundred and twenty-two years ago, Albany was an important mart for skins and furs, tar and turpentine. The following is a literal copy of a price-current of that date, recently printed in *The Argus:*

"A Price Current of Goods, usually Imported at "*London* from *Albany*, July, 1750.

"Beavor Coat	*per* lb.	4s 9d to 5s
"Beavor Parchment	*per* lb.	
"Indian dress'd Deer Skins	*per* lb.	2s 6d to 2s 3d
"Deer Skins in the Hair	*per* Skin	abt. 6s or 7s
"Bear Skins	*per* Skin	15s to 16s or 17s
"Racoons	*per* Skin	abt. 1s 9d
"Cats	*per* Skin	3s to 3s 6d
"Otters	*per* Skin	7s to 8s
"Grey Foxes	*per* Skin	2s 3d to 2s 6d
"Red Foxes	*per* Skin	3s 6d to A
"Martins	*per* Skin	abt. 3s A
"Fishers	*per* Skin	7s 6d to 8s
"Wolves	*per* Skin	abt. 8s 6d
"Musquash	*per* Skin	6d to 9d
"Minks	*per* Skin	abt. 2s 6d
"Tar	*per* Barrel	11s to 12s
"Turpentine	*per* C. wt.	10s to 11s

Scraps.—We have been asked, says the *Progress*, who erected the "Old Mill" at Shimersville, and the name of the "Old Ferry," below Bethlehem? Jedidiah Irish built the mill at Shimersvilles, on Saucon-creek, some time prior to the year 1749. It is the oldest mill in Northampton-county, of which we have any record. In the year 1743, the Moravians of Bethlehem petitioned the Court of Bucks-county, for permission to lay out a road from their settlement to Saucon-mill. The mill and land attached to it was not long afterwards purchased by John

Curry, a Philadelphia lawyer, who resided at the mill, for many years, and established a ferry over the Lehigh, near by, which retained the name of "Curry's Ferry," until the year 1816, when Henry Tarret built the bridge over the Lehigh, at Freemansburg. Conrad Omensetter was the ferryman, at Curry's Ferry, during the Revolutionary War.

—*Appleton's Journal* gives the following statement of a change on the subject of office-holding, that has come over the people of Massachusetts: "It is refreshing in these latter days of "corruption, when office-seekers out-number the "offices and men barter honor and character for "position, to glance back into the past, and note "how little of ambition for public place entered "into the life of the fathers of New England.

"In 1633, so averse were the good people of "New Plymouth to taking office, and so fre-"quent were the refusals to accept the result of "elections, that it was found necessary to adopt "a penal provision to protect the public weal "from the inconveniences, not to say dangers, "incident to such a dereliction of duty. A law "was passed in which it was 'enacted, by public "'consent of the Freemen of this Society of "'New Plymouth, that if, now or hereafter, any "'were elected to the office of Governor, and "'would not stand to the election nor hold and "'execute the office for his year, that then he "'be amerced in twenty pounds sterling, fine; "'and in case it was refused to be paid upon the "'lawful demand of the ensuing Governor, then "'to be levied out of the goods or chattels of "'the said person so refusing.' A similar fine "of ten pounds sterling was ordered to be col-"lected from any person who refused to act as a "Councillor, when elected. It was further de-"creed that 'in case one and the same person "'should be elected Governor a second year, it "'should be lawful for him to refuse without "'any amercement; and the Company to pro-"'ceed to a new election, except they can pre-"'vail with him by entreaty.'

"Philosophers claim that the world is pro-"gressive, and good Christians believe that each "year brings us one nearer to the millenium; "but it is a matter of grave doubt whether it "will ever again be necessary, even in moral "Massachusetts, to fine a citizen for refusing "gubernatorial honors, or even to entreat him "to accept a second term."

—One of the old customs of Hempstead, N. Y., which was annually enjoyed by the sporting gentry of that town, and almost dreaded by the quiet portion of its inhabitants, was the Whortleberry Frolic which took place in the beginning of August and was celebrated by a series of trots on the Washington-course, near that village, and made the excuse, by many, for a drinking carousal. But the purchase of the Plains, by Mr. Stewart, put an end to Washington-course, and necessarily stopped horse-racing in that section, although a race or two has taken place, on the old New Market-course, near Hyde Park, a tract which was in active operation long before Washington-course was thought of, having been inaugurated some two hundred years ago. Even New Market-course has been given up; and the Whortleberry Frolic was advertised this year to come off on the Union-course. While those who love to see a good horse-trot will regret the loss of Washington-course, the more peacefully-disposed people cannot but feel thankful to Mr. Stewart that one of the excuses of some of the people for an annual spree, has been removed by him in his improvements on the Plains.

—Professor Gunning, of New York, has recently put forth an interesting theory in regard to the drainage of the lakes on the Northern borders of the United States, which he believes was originally through the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. The Niagara-river, according to his statement, has an existence of not more than two hundred thousand years. Before that period, a barrier, more than thirty feet high, across the Niagara plateau, threw the waters of Lake Erie back upon Michigan, and farther West to the Mississippi. Western geologists have found an old river channel from the lakes to the Illinois-river, and a great barrier once stretched across this plateau. The old river-bed, in Illinois, and the broken bridge across the Niagara plateau account for the comparatively recent creation of the falls. Such is the theory of Professor Gunning.

—Some years ago, in the days of stages, as a stranger was riding into Northampton, on the box with the driver, he inquired of him in regard to the denomination of the different churches, as they passed them. "This," said the driver, pointing to the Old Church, "is the *Old Line;* and "this," pointing to the Edwards Church, "is "the *New Line;* and that," (the Unitarian) "is the *Accommodation.*"

—The law allowing churches to put chain across the street, in the city of Philadelphia, to prevent traveling on Sundays, was passed April 4, 1798; extended to the Northern Liberties in 1815; and repealed in 1831.

—The Second Regiment, United States Cavalry, furnished thirteen general officers for the Confederate Army, from the roster of its commanding officers, as returned for 1860.

—Doctor Hawkins, a blind chemist, in the Spring of 1812, manufactured and sold soda-water in Philadelphia, and erected the first fountain ever put up in that city.

IV.—BOOKS.

Recent Publications.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of The Historical Magazine, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "Henry B. "Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.," or to Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Records of the Proprietors of Narraganset Township, No.* 1., *now the Town of Buxton, York County, Maine, from August 1st*, 1733 *to January 4th*, 1811. With a Documentary Introduction by William F. Goodwin, U. S. Army. Concord, N. H.: Privately Printed. 1871. Octavo, pp. xx., 400.

Captain Goodwin is known to all our readers as one of the most zealous and pains-taking of the students and writers of American history; and in this volume he has undertaken to perpetuate the records of his ancestral town, Buxton, Maine. In doing this, he has prefaced the Proprietory Records of the Town with an elaborate historical Introduction, crammed with documents and bristling with evidence. The Records, closely annotated with foot notes such as will cheer the anxious eye of every honest student, follow; and an Index of Names closes the volume.

It is such volumes as this which must serve as the basis of all history; and none who know their duty, as historical students and writers, will venture to overlook them. They are few in number, as gems are few; and their solid worth gives a value to them which other works, less authentic, can never secure.

It was privately-printed for Hon. Cyrus Woodman and Captain Goodwin; and the edition numbered two hundred and ninety-one copies, numbered and signed. The typography is hardly such as a work of this character is entitled to; and we venture to suggest to Captain Goodwin that the proof-reading might have been better done without injury to his work.

2.—*The National and Private "Alabama Claims" and their "final and amicable settlement."* By Charles C Beaman, Jr. Sine loco [*Washington?*] sine anno. [1871?] Octavo, pp. xiv., 358.

The author of this volume is said to have been Mr. Sumner's clerk; and he is now raised to the dignity of an Assistant Agent, under J. Bancroft Davis, to prepare the Case of the United States for the arbitration at Geneva! From such Agents and assistants may God save the Republic.

It has seldom been our duty to open a volume which was a greater fraud on its reader than this is; and, if we except Charles Francis Adams's Address on American Neutrality, before the New Historical Society, we never opened one in which the supreme ignorance of the author, concerning the subject which he wrote about, was more painfully and completely manifested. The author of this work, is, besides, incapable of writing a single sentence in decent English; and he has to learn, if his writings may form a correct guide to his acquirements, that a plural verb requires anything as its subject than a singular noun.

He bandies his judgment on neutrality without—for the best of reasons—disclosing what "neutrality" is; and his ignorance of the history of American legislation and diplomacy, concerning neutrality, is equalled only by that of Charles Francis Adams, whose ignorance thereon is simply lamentable.

From such an Agent and such an Arbitrator, we have to hope for nothing but disaster; and we know of nothing more than the stupid indifference of the great body of thinking men, on this subject, which tells more forcibly than anything else the terrible effects, on a community, of neglecting the history of one's own country.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

3.—*Thirteenth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee, for the year ending December* 31, 1870. Reported to the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, by Wm. J. Langson, Secretary. Milwaukee: 1871. Octavo, pp. 119.

This volume is wholy composed of statistics illustrative of the business of Milwaukee during 1870. There is nothing more than a brief introductory letter from Mr. Langson to the President of the Chamber, occupying less than a page; and then subject after subject is presented and illustrated with elaborate tables of statistics, until the entire matter of the trade and commerce of Chicago's earnest rival is placed before the reader.

The Report is evidently the result of great and well directed labor; and the Secretary of the Chamber is entitled to great credit for it.

4.—*Proceedings of the Tenth General Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood.* (*Specially Convened.*) New York: The Council of the Fenian Brotherhood. 1871. Octavo, pp. 36.

A report of the proceedings of one portion of the Irish revolutionists, at their Session in March last, to consider the failure of their Council's efforts to consolidate the antagonistic elements of their countrymen, for the more effectual accomplishment of their common purpose—the liberation of Ireland from the Government of the British Empire. It is interesting, because it exhibits the sentiments and character of the Irish, as they are seen in their own convocations; and it is interesting, too, because it presents an authentic record of events, in the history of the United States, of which the Fenians have borne the blame without justice—in the face of their earnest opposition thereto and refusal to participate therein.

5.—*Catalogue of the Historical Society of Delaware. With its History, Constitution, and By-laws, and Lists of Members.* Wilmington: 1871. Octavo, pp. 23.

Circular. [Setting forth the objects of the Society and appealing for support.] Quarto, pp. 2.

We have had pleasure in receiving these publications of the young and deserving Historical Society recently established in Delaware; and we are glad to learn that the older families in that gallant little Commonwealth look favorably upon it. We bespeak for it the active good-will of all, in this vicinity, who are interested in the promotion of a taste for historical enquiries among our countrymen, and of all who have anything to give to its Library and Cabinet. It is seated at Wilmington, whither may be sent any donation which friends may incline to send to it.

6.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Colby University, for the academic year* 1870-1. Second edition. Waterville: Printed for the University. 1871. Octavo, pp. 24.

This tract contains the ordinary lists of officers and students, terms of admission, course of study, text-books used, etc.; and it also exposes the disgraceful fact that, while the history of Greece and Rome is amply provided for, in the course of study at this University, the history of our own country—concerning which our young men are vastly more interested than they can be in any other—is WHOLLY *neglected*. They do not open a book on that subject; and are not taught to care a brass button for it.

If the Baptists of Maine do not consider the history of the United States as fit a subject for a young man's study as Anglo-Saxon literature—which *is on the* College course—they ought to cross the border into the Provinces, and remain there.

7.—*National Board of Trade. Recommendation for a Department of Commerce; with an account of the Board of Trade of Great Britain.* Boston: 1871. Octavo, pp. 20.

An argument for the establishment of a new Department in the Federal Government under the title of "The Department of Commerce."

We have carefully read the paper; and we are free to say that we see no force in the argument presented in this tract. The Secretary of the Treasury has so much to do with the revenues of the country and they are so entirely dependent on the Commerce, that we see no reason for a change—indeed, in the stubborn fact which we have named we see a very excellent reason for letting the subject remain as it is.

We hope the project will be abandoned.

8.—*Inaugural Address of David Campbell, Esq., President of the Board of Trade, of the City of Newark; delivered on the occasion of his taking the Chair, on the evening of ninth January*, 1871. Published by Resolution of the Board. Together with the Third Annual Report of the Directors for the year 1870. Newark, N. J.: 1871. Octavo, pp. 29.

A very respectable address, in which a number of excellent suggestions of practical importance to the Board were presented for its consideration. The Report which is appended relates wholly to the internal affairs of the association; and is wholly without a suggestion or a fact concerning the outside world, its Trade, or its Commerce.

There is some reason, we suppose, for calling this a Board of Trade; but, as far as we may judge from its Report, it might as well be regarded as a Presbyterian Church.

9.—*Manual of the Hammond Street Congregational Church, Bangor, Maine.* Printed for the use of the Members. Bangor: 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 52.

This exceedingly perfect manual contains the roster of Church-officers, in regular succession, from the beginning; the services on the admission of members, including the Confession and Covenant; the Church Polity, Rules of Government, Historical Sketch, and Catalogue of members, from the organization until now, with the places of their births, the dates of their admission, their removal (if not now members) etc.

It is the handiwork, in the management of its contents, of Deacon Duren with whom our readers are already acquainted, as a model Scribe; and it may be safely followed, as a pattern, by all who are engaged in the preparation of such little handbooks.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

10.—*Official Army Register for January*, 1871. Published by order of the Secretary of War, in compliance with the Resolution of the Senate of December 13, 1815, and Resolutions of the House of Representatives dated February 1, 1830, and August 30, 1842. Adjutant General's Office, Washington, January 1, 1871. Octavo, pp. 221 and three folding sheets.

What the Almanac is, in its every-day use, to the country housewife, the *Army Register* is to those who have any intercourse with the Army of the United States. It is the official record of the rank and official authority of every *officer* in the service; and, although it does not tell who are and who are not what they should be, it tells, on every line, who *ought to be* a gentleman, even if he is not one.

The series of this work is among the most important to those who, like ourself, have occasion to trace the progress of officers, step by step, from their small beginnings; and we shall feel grateful to any one who can assist us in filling our file, prior to 1860.

11.—*War Department, Surgeon-general's Office, Washington, August* 17, 1871. *Circular No.* 3. *A Report of Surgical Cases treated in the Army of the United States from* 1865 *to* 187[illegible]. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1871. Quarto, pp. 296.

We have heretofore noticed different issues of this very important series of works, published, from time to time, by the Surgeon-general of the Army; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, who are professional men, to this new number of the series.

As the title-page indicates, this volume is devoted to a report of the leading cases of surgery in the Army, since the close of the War—one thousand and thirty-seven of those cases out of more than sixty thousand reported to the office having been thus reported, with more or less detail. These reports relate to all the varied classes of operations which are presented in the Army; but they are generally described with great brevity and most frequently without that detail of treatment which professional men so much delight in. It is, nevertheless, one of the most interesting records of surgery with which we are acquainted.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

11.—*Memorial of Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, author of* The Day of Doom. By John Ward Dean. Second edition. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1871. Octavo, pp. 160.

This biography of the author of *Day of Doom* is based on a paper, from the same pen, on the same subject, which was published in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for April, 1863, and, subsequently, in pamphlet form, for private distribution; but it is now considerably enlarged and yet more improved.

It seems that the *place* of Parson Wigglesworth's birth is not known; but it is shown by Mr. Dean that he was born on the eighteenth of October, 1681. He was brought to America when he was only seven years old; lived successively, in Charlestown, New Haven, Boston—when he went to Master Cheever's school—and Cambridge—when he passed through Harvard-college—He was elected a Fellow of Harvard, in 1651 or '52; was a Tutor in that institution, in 1652; entered the ministry and was called to the pastorate of the church at Malden in 1654; published *The Day of Doom*, in 1662; and died in 1705. He was one of the most learned of the Clergy of his day; "genial and devotedly kind "in the relations and duties of his social and "professional life; and distinguished, even in "those days of abounding sanctity, for the sin-"gleness and purity of heart that characterized "his whole walk and conversation."

With that fidelity and, at the same time, that modesty which are such distinguishing traits in the character of the excellent author of this work, Mr. Dean has carefully traced the care[illegible] of this distinguished divine and poet, from [illegible] cradle to his grave; and, whether in that care[illegible] or in the history and bibliography of Mr. Wi[illegible] gleworth's writings, he has left little to be desi[illegible] ed by the most ardent admirer of that rigi[illegible] Puritan of the old school.

Typographically considered, this volune is o[illegible] of the neatest of the Munsell Press; and as [illegible] was printed only for subscribers and gifts, in a[illegible] edition of only fifty copies, it will not cease [illegible] possess an interest to collectors and students [illegible] early New England literature.

13.—*Short Studies on Great Subjects.* By James A[illegible] thony Froude, M.A. Second Series. New York: Charl[illegible] Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 472,

We noticed, some months since, the First S[illegible] ries of these *Studies;* and we have pleasure i[illegible] introducing the Second to our readers. It i[illegible] cludes the wide'y-read paper on *Calvinism*, whic[illegible] produced so much senseless discussion amon[illegible] those who assumed to know what Calvinism [illegible] and what it is not; and that is accompanied b[illegible] a dozen or so papers on other "Great Subjects [illegible] —in England—all of which have been alread[illegible] published, elsewhere.

Mr. Froude fails to give content to many; bu[illegible] we confess that we like to read his writings —s[illegible] incisive, so direct, so well-sustained—and th[illegible] volume, therefore, is welcome, notwithstandin[illegible] it has no Index.

It is a handsome volume; printed on tinte[illegible] laid paper; and neatly bound.

14.—*The History of Greece.* By Professor Dr. Ern[illegible] Curtius. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, A.M[illegible] Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. O[illegible] tavo, pp. 509. Price $2.50.

A new *History of Greece*, similar in plan an[illegible] purpose to Mommsen's *History of Rome;* an[illegible] scholars in Europe rank it beside that gre[illegible] work.

The volume before us is the first of the five [illegible] which the complete work is to be composed [illegible] and it carries the reader down the narrative [illegible] far as the Persian Wars, closing with a series [illegible] Notes illustrative of the text.

A history of Greece, contained within a mod[illegible] erate compass and yet of unquestionable meri[illegible] is certainly desirable; and the high character [illegible] this work seems to leave little more to be aske[illegible] for.

The typography is very superior, being exac[illegible] ly uniform with the best edition of Froude's *Hi[illegible] tory of England*, Mommsen's *History of Rom[illegible]* and other Crown Octavos of that class.

15.—*Hesperia.* By Cora L. V. Tappan. Sine loco; 1871. Octavo, pp. vii., 235.

If we do not mistake, the author of this handsome volume is somewhat celebrated in spiritualistic circles; and her reputation as a lady of intellectual ability is unquestioned.

The volume before us is an epic poem, of considerable pretension; and is designed to show the hard time which the Genius of Liberty and Justice had, in her search for a dwelling-place in the Old World, because of the persecution which every where prevailed, in that portion of the Universe. Like the Magi, in the East, however, she saw a star and followed it, landing in America, where she established herself; was joined by her consort, the Genius of Love and Fidelity; had a daughter, Hesperia,—which is, probably, the United States under another and more poetical name—is overcome by the serpent of Policy, who seeks to unite the young lady to its offspring, Slavery, but is defeated, in that project, by the Genius of Nature. The serpent controls the young lady, to some extent, however, until she becomes tired of the connection and "withdraws into the world of souls," where, "for a time," she reposes on her *otium cum dignitate.* In due course, Policy kicks up a row and goes to war with somebody, when the Genius of Justice and Liberty turns up, again, and directs the sword of the pugnacious old lady upon Slavery. Of course, the youngster suffers from the old lady's sword, which has thus, unluckily, fallen on his back; Slavery and War are annihilated; the two Genii, he of Love and Fidelity and she of Truth and Justice, gain the ascendency; and the Genius of Nature and the young lady—the United States, if you please—united, control the destinies of "the most lovely Empire on Earth."

All this is very poetical; and, from Mrs. Tappan's point of sight, we have no doubt that it is perfectly trustworthy. But we are free to say that, whether the poem is the work of Mrs. Tappan, herself, or that of some other hand, published through her, according to what is said to be the theory of that lady's school of philosophy, it is very evident to us, from our terrestrial standpoint, that the Genius of Truth and Justice was not present when some portions, at least, of it were written.

Thus, as a specimen of one class of untruthful presentations, on pages 32 and 33, the Genius of Love and Fidelity is made to follow his exiled consort, the Genuis of Truth and Justice, *on horseback*; and the "swift clattering "of horse's hoofs," which heralded the approach of "the foaming steed" on which the Spirit had travelled the Old World and thence, over land and sea, pushed his enquiries into the New, are elaborately presented in this Poem—how hard the road was, over which he travelled, may be seen on another page. There are other instances of this disregard of both the truth and good taste, in such cases as this; but we have not time nor space to notice any more of them.

"The Rock of the Pilgrims," about which so much is said, in Part V., as the Genius of Truth and Justice could have told Mrs. Tappan, was as different from what she represents it as it very well could be; and the spirit of those who settled the Old Colony is wholly misunderstood by that lady and wholly misrepresented in this Poem.

The repetition, too, in such a work as this, of the exploded yarn of Pocahontas saving John Smith is as discreditable to Mrs. Tappan's Genuis of Truth and Justice as it is to her own consistency and to her sense of propriety and good taste. If, however, Mrs. Tappan must needs employ the little adulterous squaw of the Roanoke as one of her characters, she could have called into requisition some portions of that young lady's history, without violation or undue straining of the truth, which would have better served what seems to be her own peculiar philosophy concerning what the marital relations of a woman should be and what they should not be, than the squaw's mere intercession for a prisoner and rescue of him from death could possibly have done, even if she had ever really done so.

But we have no room for a more extended examination of this work; and so, with an earnest protest against its foul teachings, insidiously presented under the guise of an epic devoted to political liberty—teachings which are well calculated to undermine every family circle in the Republic and establish, in their stead, something which would be as obnoxious to good morals, among individuals, as it would be obnoxious to the permanency of the State—we dismiss the subject.

16.—*Calvinism:* an address delivered at St. Andrew's, March 17, 1871. By James Anthony Froude, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871, Octavo, pp. 47.

This is, certainly, one of the most remarkable papers which we have ever read. It is the tribute, heartily paid, of an honest, earnest, and intelligent man, to a great, but obscure and unpopular, truth. It is the result of a careful study of the Past; of a close observation of the Present; and of a nervous solicitude of the Future. It is a trophy of the Truth, captured in her conflict with Ignorance and Falsehood.

We know of no more appropriate work for the thinking-men of to-day than this. We know of nothing which is as well calculated to employ the thoughts of men, on a great fun-

damental truth, and to control the current of their sympathies. We know of nothing which may appeal with so much power to the sense of honor and respect for the true and the pure, as this carefully-worded and deliberately-spoken Address, by the Rector of the Scotch College at St. Andrew's. It is the most powerful appeal for old-time Calvinism, against new-time Liberalism, that the modern Press has produced.

It ought to have a wide circulation and be generally read and pondered over: we can scarcely hope for such a result.

17.—*Geo. P. Rowell & Co's American Newspaper Directory* containing accurate lists of all the newspapers and periodicals in the United States and Territories and the Dominion of Canada and British Colonies of North America, together with a description of the towns and cities in which they are published. New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 576. Price $5.00.

The title-page of this volume so completely describes its contents that little remains to be told concerning it. It is a *descriptive* list of the various periodicals published in the United States and British America, in which the size, character, circulation, publisher's name, time and place of publication, and price of each are given, enabling advertisers and others to learn, concerning each, what is, very often, so necessary to be ascertained with accuracy and dispatch.

The immense labor attending the preparation of this work will be readily understood when it is known that six thousand, four hundred and thirty-eight are thus described; and that, from all these, the various details of information contained in this work had to be extracted very often with difficulty and never without careful and persistent labor.

To those whose enterprise leads them to require such a book, it will be invaluable.

18.—*Chips from a German Workshop.* By F. Max Muller, M A. Volume III. Essays on Literature, Biography, and Antiquities. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. viii., 492.

We have referred, hitherto, to the two earlier volumes of this series; and we have pleasure in returning to the subject.

The volume before us is devoted, largely, to the Literature of Germany—German Literature, generally, Old German Love Songs, Life of Schiller, Wilhelm Müller, the Language and Poetry of Schleswig-Holstein, Bacon, in Germany, a German traveller in England, etc., furnishing portions of the contents; and the Chevalier Bunsen's correspondence with Herr Müller conclud the work. *There is no Index.*

All that Herr Müller writes is marked with the profound scholarship which distinguishes him; and yet there is a freshness, a vigor, and attractiveness of style, in every paragraph, which interests the general reader as much as it secures the attention of the more scholarly. Such books as this are worthy of a place in any library; and the elegance of its topography entitles it to such a place, *notwithstanding its want of an Index will seriously annoy those who shall desire to refer to it.*

19.—*A School History of the United States of America from the earliest discoveries to the year* 1870. With Maps and other illustrations and an Appendix containing the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. By George F. Holmes, LL.D. New York: University Publishing Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 368. Price $1.50.

This volume is admirably written, as far as the style is concerned; but its author has evidently heard of no improvements in the quality of materials for history—no overthrow of old falsehoods, no stripping of historical jackdaws, no re-establishment of long-obscured truths—since he was a youngster; and the consequence is that, unless we except his history of the past forty years, we have only, in other words, the lessons which we recited when we were a school-boy, with all their falsehoods and extravagances.

That portion of the volume which relates to the War of Secession and the causes which led to that struggle is, by far, the best; and as the author evidently tried, in writing that portion of it, to ascertain and to tell the truth, it is to be regretted that equal accuracy was not sought in the preparation of every other. May not we hope that, before a new edition shall be issued, Professor Holmes will ascertain what the truth of our country's history really is, and correct the first half of this volume by that standard?

Typographically considered, this volume is neatly printed.

20.—*Shooting, Boating, and Fishing, for Young Sportsmen.* By T. Robinson Warren. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 165.

This little manual for young sportsmen seems to occupy the ground, completely; and a novice may learn from it all the mere *theory* of sportsmenship, whether that of the gun, the boat, or the fish-hook—of course, the practical portion must be sought elsewhere.

It is neatly illustrated and will be very acceptable to every embryo sportsman, whether old or young.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. IX. SECOND SERIES.] JUNE, 1871. [No. 6.

I.—WASHINGTON, IN MORRIS-COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.*

BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH COLLEGE, INDIANA.

The County of Morris, in the State of New Jersey, was settled "about 1710," by families from Newark and Elizabethtown. The main object attracting them thither was the iron ore which had been discovered in a mountain-range, a few miles West of Morristown. During the three quarters of a century which preceded the War of the Revolution, the settlements which had been made in Hanover were multiplied, spreading over the territory now occupied by the Townships of Chatham, Morris, Mendham, Chester, Rockaway and Pequannock. Several forges were built on the Whippany and Rockaway-rivers; and a small "slitting mill," contrary to the arbitrary laws of the Mother Country, was carrying on a contraband business. As early as about 1770—if not earlier—a blast-furnace was built, and named "Hibernia," some twelve miles North of Morristown. The noted Samuel Ford, a counterfeiter, who "left his country for his country's "good," was engaged in this; and, afterwards, Lord Stirling became its proprietor. In 1772, John Jacob Faesch, a native of Hesse Cassel, bought a small tract, at Mount Hope, of Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., and a large surrounding tract of the heirs of the East Jersey Proprietaries, and built a blast-furnace, which became, with the "Hibernia" furnace, a most efficient auxiliary to our Army, in furnishing balls and grape. There is some reason to suppose that some cannon were also cast at "Hibernia."

Up to the period of the Revolution, the population was of New England origin, coming from Newark, Long Island, or, directly, from the New England States, and entered deeply into the feelings and struggles which agitated the Eastern Colonies. It is true that the eastern part of Pequannock, on the plains which bordered the Passaic and Pequannock-rivers, and in Washington township, along a branch of the Raritan, the Hollanders predominated. Whilst many of these did not share in the opinions which produced the Revolution, in fact, were entirely averse to that movement, the masses of the Dutch were patriots. In 1776, the cultivation of the soil occupied the attention of those who resided in the eastern and southern Townships of the County; whilst, in the remaining Townships, the manufacture of iron was the main pursuit.

The County is one of the most varied and beautiful, in its scenery, in the whole State. On the eastern borders are the Short Hills and Long Hill, a range of highlands commanding a magnificent prospect of the country, North, as far almost as to the Orange-county line; East, as far as New York and the Narrows; and, South, as far as New Brunswick. The prospect from these Hills, in a clear afternoon, blending into one charming landscape, woodlands and meadows, hills and mountains, farms, villages, towns and cities, ponds, rivers, and the entrance to the ocean, is one which can never be forgotten. West of Morristown, there are ranges of mountains traversing the County, from North-east to South-west, and containing incalculable amounts of magnetic iron-ore, and abounding in valleys finely adapted to the plough. One thing is observable in the topography of the County, that its ranges of hills and mountains are so disposed as to make it easy to arrange beacon-fires, which, in a very short time, would alarm the whole County. This fact, I shall have occasion to mark in another place, as one of good importance, during the War, and as investing these localities with thrilling interest to all succeeding generations.

* In the year 1854, the author of this article, at the request of several gentlemen of Morristown, prepared two Lectures on the history of Washington's two Winters in Morris-county. These were afterwards re-written, and read before the New Jersey Historical Society. The commendation bestowed on the paper, by that Society, led the late Washington Irving, whilst preparing his *Life of Washington*, to ask for the loan of it, which he referred to, in one of his volumes, in a complimentary manner. Afterwards, Mr. George Bancroft sent for the manuscript. Not hearing from the article, I wrote him; and his answer indicated that it had failed to reach its destination. Afterwards, the editor of the *Harper's Monthly* solicited a copy for that Magazine; and, from the original notes, a *condensed sketch* was prepared. This was handsomely illustrated and published. Some months after this, the original article was found; and it is published, in full, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. —J. F. T.

Until within a few years, among the mountains of Morris, were living many old men and women who had passed through the trying scenes of the Revolution, which had made so deep an impression on their memories that, very naturally, it became the delight of their life to repeat the story of their sufferings and victories. In 1845, in the Presbyterian Congregation of Rockaway, alone, there were some eighteen persons over eighty years of age. One of these died in 1852, in his ninety-third year; another, in 1850, in his ninety-first year. Both had served in the Revolutionary War. Several women have died within five years, who were ninety years old or upwards. In 1854, there were two persons at the respective ages of eighty-eight and eighty-nine. In Morristown, were two brothers, Edward Condict, Esq. and the Hon. Lewis Condict, whose memory reached back to the period and events of the Revolution. In addition to such venerable witnesses, there were many descendants of those who shared in the trials and conflicts of that time. The children of such as Captain Stephen Jackson, of Rockaway, Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., Hon. Lewis Condict, Captain William Tuttle, and others, of Morristown; Captain David Thompson, of Mendham; Aaron Kitchel, of Hanover; and many others of the same period and opinions, still reside in Morris and remember well "what "their fathers told them," concerning that unparalleled struggle for freedom.

For years, it was a peculiar pleasure to the writer of this sketch to converse with the actual witnesses of the Revolution, or those who had heard, from such, the facts and traditions of the Revolution. These have been written down for preservation; and the principal object of this article is to weave, into one narrative, as far as possible, that part of these records which illustrate the history of Washington, during the two Winters he passed in Morris-county—the Winters of 1776–'7 and 1779–'80. Excepting the brief and, certainly, for local interest, the quite meager sketch of Lossing, in his admirable *Field Book of the Revolution*, I am acquainted with no book or pamphlet which pretends to give even an outline history of those two memorable Winters. Nor do I pretend to give a complete sketch; but only to add facts and traditions which may aid in a work so desirable, since everything which serves to bring out, distinctly, the trials of the patriots and, especially, the character of Washington, during that period, immortal in history, is valuable.

Before sketching the sojourn of Washington, in Morris-county, during the Winter of 1776–7, it will be important and pertinent to glance at the events which preceded it.

The Summer and Fall of 1776 had been marked with disheartening reverses, on the part of the Americans. In August, General Greene, next to Washington, the ablest officer in the Army, and, at that time, in command on Long Island, was "confined to his bed with a raging "fever," "but he hoped, through the assistance "of Providence, to be able to ride, before the "presence of the enemy may make it absolutely "necessary." His wish was not realized; and, on the twenty-seventh of August, the disastrous Battle of Long Island was fought. Washington "is said to have witnessed the rout and "slaughter of his troops with the keenest an-"guish," being unable to render any assistance without the greatest peril to his whole Army. Meanwhile, Washington says, "our people con-"tinue to be very sickly," even "one-fourth of "the whole;" and, "during the heavy storms, "are much distressed, not having a sufficiency "of tents to cover them." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, iv., 64, 68; Ramsay's *Washington*, 37.) Between eleven and twelve hundred men were either killed or taken prisoners; and, among the latter, Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling. On the thirtieth of August, all the military stores, artillery, and nine thousand men were removed from Long Island to New York; and, with such skill was this manœuvre performed, that the enemy, only six hundred yards distant, did not discover what was going on, until the last boat was pushing from the shore. "So intense," says Sparks, "was the "anxiety of Washington, so unceasing his ex-"ertions, that for forty-eight hours he did not "close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from "his horse." "The darkness of the night and "heavy fog in the morning" were good blessings from the God of battles.

During this trying period, Washington realized the manly words he addressed to his troops, that "each one, for himself, resolving "to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles "of Heaven on so just a cause, would behave "with bravery and resolution." (Ramsay, 40.) That defeat "dispirited too great a proportion "of our troops," and "great numbers of the "Militia have gone off, in some instances, by "whole Regiments;" and yet, he says, "every "power I possess shall be exerted to serve "the cause."—words amply verified by his actions. (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 73, 74.)

In September, he had the mortification of seeing two Regiments show too great disrelish for the "smell of gunpowder;" and General Greene, now "able to ride," wrote that "his "Excellency was so vexed at the infamous "conduct of the troops, that he sought death "rather than life;" still, posted strongly on

Harlem Heights, he hopes, against hope, that "the enemy would meet with a defeat in case "of an attack, if the generality of our troops "would behave with tolerable bravery."—(Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 94, 95.) In fact, there was something about this man which seemed to inspire his victorious enemies with dread; so that, notwithstanding one vicissitude after another, not of the most comforting nature, his bearing was calm and self-reliant. At last, he began that ever-memorable retreat through the Jerseys. On the nineteenth of November, he was at Hackensack, experiencing "great "mortification" at the capture of Fort Washington, with two thousand men, a good deal of artillery, and some of the "best arms we had." He is "wearied to death with the retrograde "motion of things, and solemnly protests to his "brother that a pecuniary reward of twenty "thousand pounds a year would not induce "him to undergo what he does;" and yet this was not inconsistent with the words he had written before, that he was heart-sick to "reflect that a brother's sword had been sheathed "in a brother's breast, and that the once happy "and peaceful plains of America are either to be "drenched in blood or inhabited with slaves. "Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" (Sparks's *Washington*, i., 137; iv., 183, 184.)

From Hackensack, he retreated with his little Army, to Aquackanock; thence to Newark, where he halted from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh. On the thirtieth, he was at New Brunswick; on the third of December, at Trenton; and, on the eighth, at "Mr. Berkeley's "summer-seat," on the West side of the Delaware, with the great resolution burning in his soul, like vestal fires, to live a freeman, or, if need be, to die for so noble an aim, and, in fact, his eye, at that time, glancing Westward, as he says, "if overpowered, we must cross the "Alleghany mountains." (Ramsay, 51.) Those who clung to his fortunes, caught his spirit; for, whilst there, West of the Delaware, a Connecticut officer wrote very spicy words to his friend, at home, "to advise the old and young "to be in readiness. *Push the affair of good "muskets;* let them carry a full ounce ball; "but I think a three and a half feet barrel is "long enough, *with a good bayonet.* Depend "upon it, to avoid the worst, it's necessary to be "well and martially equipped." (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1275.)

This retreat through New Jersey, in November and December of 1776, has usually been called, by the veterans of that day, "the Mud "Rounds," which is, to this day, a familiar phrase in that State. It was so called, on account of the roads which, during the first part of the march, were almost impassable quagmires; which became frozen before the march was ended—an awful road, indeed, for barefooted soldiers, of whom there were many in the diminished ranks of Washington. I have conversed with several soldiers who were in the Army, during that retreat, and have read the copious notes of the late venerable man, Doctor Lewis Condict, of Morristown, which were taken from the lips of Revolutionary Soldiers applying for pensions; and all who were in that march, alluded to the "Mud Rounds," as a time of very peculiar suffering and hardship. Old David Gordon, of Rockaway, who, at the age of ninety-two, was as cheerful as a bird, frequently spoke of that march with a shudder; and he was better off than many of his companions, for he had shoes on his feet. Their tents and clothing were insufficient to protect them; the roads were either muddy or frozen; the rain-storms were severe; and the inhabitants, along the route, panic-stricken, supposing the cause of Independence to be ruined. And yet the wasted Regiments of Washington never distrusted him, whose virtue and greatness shone resplendently in that darkest hour. To appear calm and confident, as if he were pursuing the foe, instead of conducting a retreat, this was heroism; this was faith in the future; and, at this point, the fame of Washington received "the image and superscription" which shall challenge the veneration of mankind, in the ages to come.

It is unnecessary for me to recount the victories of Trenton and Princeton; but, at this point, may be related a well-authenticated fact showing on what little things the great events in history apparently depend. It is generally conceded that the victory of Trenton, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of December, 1776, was the crisis in our national destiny; but few are aware how near the beam of destiny was to deciding adversely to us. The anecdote I have received from that zealous antiquarian, Doctor Charles G. McChesney, for many years the accomplished Secretary of State, for New Jersey. He tells me that the two-story brick house is still standing at the North-west corner of Warren and State-streets, in Trenton, in which Colonel Rahl, the brave but dissipated Commander of the Hessians, with a select circle of friends, was spending that Christmas night, in drinking and gambling, never dreaming of danger from the dispirited enemy hiding on the other side of the Delaware. Whilst Washington and his troops were contending with the fierce storm of snow and hail and the drifting ice fields of the Delaware, the Mercenary, Rahl, was doing some-

thing quite different, for which America has great reason to be thankful. A Tory, on the Jersey side of the river, discovered signs which led him to suppose that Washington was crossing for an object which could not well be mistaken. The Tory wrote a short letter, warning Rahl of his danger, and dispatched a messenger with it, directing him to give it to no one but the Hessian Commander. On inquiring at head-quarters for Rahl, he was directed to the house in which he was carousing. A negro servant opened the door, but refused to admit him, according to explicit directions from Rahl, to admit no one; but, as the informer seemed so urgent, he promised to deliver the note to him, immediately, and actually did deliver it. This was in ample time to have prevented a surprise, but, most fortunately, just then, heated with drinking, he was distributing the cards for a fresh game, and, thrusting the ominous note into his pocket, forgot it. The same news, however, were brought him, a few hours afterward, and in a shape not to be thrust into his pocket; and he found, to his sorrow, that his recklessness had enabled Washington to accomplish a brilliant achievement for his own renown and the salvation of his country. If the pernicious vices of drunkenness and gambling ever deserved gratitude, as the indirect means of great good, this would seem to be the case!

After the Battle of Trenton, Washington again crossed, with his Army, to the West bank of the Delaware. The enemy was in force, at New Brunswick and at Princeton. The weather had become so cold that, on the second of January, the Americans recrossed the river and took possession of Trenton. On the third of January, the enemy attacked Washington, on the Assanpink, which runs through Trenton, but were repulsed with considerable loss. That night, Washington executed a brilliant manœuvre, in a masterly manner. The campfires were kindled along his whole line, as if the battle were to be renewed in the morning; but the Americans silently withdrew, towards Princeton, to make the fourth of January a memorable day, by another cheering victory, attended with one incident, at the time, considered emblematic. The portrait of George the Third graced the walls of the College Chapel; and, whilst the enemy were defending themselves, in the venerable College, a random cannon-shot passed into the window and severed the King's head, in the picture. It is said, that the portrait of Washington now occupies the very frame from which the headless George was so rudely ejected.

"Weeping may endure for a night, but joy "cometh in the morning:" the retreat through the Jerseys, called the "Mud Rounds," by those who experienced its severe hardships, was the fore-runner of the victories of Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. Forthwith, we find a more cheerful tone in Washington's letters. Whilst retreating, he declared "the conduct of "the Jerseys has been most infamous," not making sufficient allowance for the fearful pressure of circumstances; but, on the fifth of January, he, in effect, recalls the harsh expressions of the eighteenth of December: "These "victories," he said, "have fired the Eastern "Regiments with ardor to protract their terms "of service;" "and the Militia are pouring in, "from all quarters, and only want veteran "troops to lead them on;" "the enemy have "evacuated the country below; they went off "in the greatest hurry and confusion."—(Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 230, 253, 258.)

It will not be out of place to state here, that many of the captured Hessians were sent to different parts of the country, to be put to work. Thirty of them were employed by John Jacob Faesch, about his Furnace, at Mount Hope, in Morris-county, the Government having furnished him with muskets sufficient for his American workmen to use in keeping the prisoners at their duty. Some of these prisoners died and were buried at an old graveyard on the West slope of the Mount Hope range, half a mile West of the works. Several of them became attached to the country, and concluded to remain. Their descendants are found, to this day, in the vicinity of Rockaway.

Some suppose, and so state, that no portion of the American Army was encamped in the vicinity of Morristown, until after the Battle of Princeton; but, on the twentieth of December, 1776, Washington wrote to the President of Congress that he had "directed the three "Regiments from Ticonderoga to halt at Mor-"ristown, in Jersey (where I understand about "eight hundred Militia had collected), in or-"der to inspirit the inhabitants, and, as far as "possible, to cover that part of the country." These were "Eastern Regiments," led to Morristown, under the command of Colonel Vose, about the middle of December. In a letter to Washington, dated December 19th, 1776, General McDougall says he came to Morristown, the day after General Lee was captured, at Baskinridge, which was on the thirteenth of that month; and that Vose arrived at Morristown, "day before yesterday," which was the seventeenth of December. From the same letter, we learn that Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, had, at that time, under his command, seven hundred Militia. The three Eastern Regiments were "Greatons Regiment, about 250 "men; Bond's do., 100; Porter's do., 170; "in all 520 men." At his own request, McDou-

gal, the General Officer at this station, was superseded by General William Maxwell of Sussex-county, New Jersey. The people of Morris-county were greatly alarmed, and had reason to be; for "Colonel Ford's Militia had "an engagement with the enemy at Spring-"field," on the fourteenth of December; and "he expected it would be renewed the next "morning, to gain the pass of the mountains." The engagement was not renewed; but the enemy, under General Leslie, retreated "to-"wards Spank-Town." In this first engagement, in which the Morris-county Militia distinguished themselves, the celebrated John Cleves Symmes—a pioneer of Ohio—participated, with a detachment of Militia from Sussex-county. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1296; *Sussex Centennial*, 62.) The regular troops were intended to join the Army of Washington; but the enemy made such demonstrations of their designs to reach Morristown, where was an invaluable Powder-mill, that they were ordered to remain, to assist in keeping the enemy away. Morris-county, at this time, had a Regiment in the regular service, at the North, under Colonel William Winds, which had materially diminished its means of defence; and this was one reason why Washington consented that the few New England troops should remain at Morristown, at a time when he needed them so greatly.

On the twenty-second of December, Colonel Ford conducted the Militia from Chatham to Morristown; and, from the fact that he was on parade on the thirty-first of the month, it is evident they had not been disbanded. Probably they were kept together until Washington's Army arrived from the Battle of Princeton.

Inasmuch as this gentleman bore a prominent part in the affairs of the State, up to the time of his death, having been honored with several responsible offices in the State and Army, and, furthermore, as the name is connected with that of Washington's Winter-quarters, in 1779-'80, a few facts concerning him will be interesting.

In the Diary of the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, son of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior., was found the following entry:—"THURSDAY, 21 "*June*, 1849. A census was taken in the years "1771 and 1772, in the British Provinces of "America, and deposited, after the Revolution, "as public archives at Washington; but their "room becoming much wanted, those of each "Province were delivered to the members of "Congress, from it, to cull what they chose, "preparatory to a burning of all the rest; "Gen. Mahlon Dickerson, then a member from "New Jersey, selected some from the County "of Morris, and sent me, yesterday, a copy, "verbatim, of one entry, as follows:—'*Widow* "'*Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Col. Jacob Ford,* "'(*Senior*), *was born in the City of Axford, in* "'*Old England; came into Philadelphia when* "'*there was but one house in it; and into this* "'*Province when she was but one year and a* "'*half old. Deceased April 21st*, 1772, *aged* 91 "'*years and one month.*' I always understood, "in the family, by tradition from her, (whose "short stature and slender, bent person I clear-"ly recall, having lived in the same house with "her and with my parents, in my grandfather's "family, at her death and before it,) that her "father fled from England when there was a "universal dread of returning Popery and per-"secution, three years before the death of "Charles the Second, A. D., 1682, and two "years before accession of James the Sec-"ond, in 1684; that while landing his goods, at "Philadelphia, he fell from a plank into the "Delaware river, and was drowned between the "ship and the shore, leaving a family of young "children in the wilderness; that she had sev-"eral children by her first husband, whose "name was Ford, but none by her second hus-"band, whose name was Lindsley, at whose "death she was taken into the family of her "son, Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., and treated with "filial tenderness, the remaining years of her "life, which were many. I am in the 85th "year (since January last) of my age, being "born in 1765, and was seven years old at her "death."

This interesting item is in a clear, beautiful handwriting, quite remarkable in a man eighty-four years old. The family name of Mrs. Lindsley and the origin of her first husband I have not seen. From the earliest organization of Morris county, in 1738, her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, was a leading man. In 1740, he was one of the Judges of "the Inferior Court "of Common Pleas for Morris-county;" and, for many years, he appears to have delivered the Charges to the Grand Jury, and was not unfrequently a member of the lower House in the Provincial Assembly. Being a man of thorough business habits and industry, he was successful in accumulating property. His second son and name-sake was born in 1738, and when the Revolutionary War began, he was one of the most enterprising and successful business men in the County. In 1769, he had boldly ventured some fourteen miles into the mountains, North-west of Morristown, to build a Forge for manufacturing iron. In 1770, he built the old stone house at Mount Hope; and, in 1772, he sold the property to John Jacob Faesch, who erected a blast-furnace on it. Previous to the

War, he had been entrusted with some difficult missions by the State, which he executed to general satisfaction. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 290, 292, 293, 564, etc.) But the greatest service he rendered his country was as the builder of the Powder-mill, on the Whippany-river, near Morristown. Early in 1776, as may be inferred from a manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society, he "offered to erect a "Powder-mill, in the County of Morris, for the "Makeing of gunpowder, an article so essential "at the present time;" and that the Provincial Congress "agreed to lend him two thousand "pounds of the Publick money for one year, "without interest, on his giving satisfactory "security for the the same, to be repaid within "the time of one year in good Merchantable "Powder"—the first installment "of one ton of "good Merchantable Powder," to be paid "on first of July next, and one ton per month "thereafter till the sum of two thousand "pounds be paid." (*Boteler Papers*, in the New Jersey Historical Society.) This mill was forthwith erected; and there is good reason to suppose that some of Colonel Ford's "good "Merchantable Powder" proved a valuable auxiliary in the Battles of Springfield, Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. The fact is interesting as a part of the history of theRevolutionary struggle, and as showing one reason for the repeated but fruitless attempts of the enemy to reach Morristown. From the letters of General Heath and General McDougal, and the modest letters of Colonel Ford himself, it is evident that he had done good service to his country; and this service was much applauded, at the time. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1259, 1278, 1419.)

Colonel Ford continued on duty until the thirty-first of December, when, on parade, he was taken ill of the sickness of which he died on the eleventh of January, 1777, nearly thirty-nine years of age. By order of General Washington, who, a few days before, had reached Morristown, this gallant officer's remains were buried with the honors of war. It is not without interest here, to state the fact that the father, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, died on the nineteenth of the same month. Both families, at that time, were living in the house which Washington occupied as his Head-quarters, the second Winter in Morristown. Colonel Ford, Junior's widow was a daughter of the venerable Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Morristown, the excellent and patriotic Rev. Doctor Timothy Johnes. This lady was afterwards honored as the hostess of Washington.

After the Battle of Princeton, the British went into Winter-quarters, at New Brunswick, and the Americans, at Morristown. What was the number of troops with Washington, I cannot state; but it was small, as is plain from his letters. On reaching Morristown, Washington wrote, "the situation is by no means favorable "to our views, and as soon as the purposes are "answered for which we came, I think to re-"move, though I confess I do not know how "we shall procure covering for our men, else-"where." (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 264.) And yet, all things considered, it may be doubted whether a better position could have been chosen, situated as it is among ranges of mountains extending from the Delaware to the Hudson. Repeated trials proved it to be finely adapted to repelling the enemy, who could not approach, in any direction, without the movement being detected and the invasion communicated to a highly patriotic population, by signal-guns and beacon-fires. The means of communicating with the posts on the Delaware and Hudson were very easy; and, besides all this, large portions of the surrounding country were cultivated, affording food and shelter to the soldiers. The fact that Washington wintered the second time at Morristown, proves that he had changed his views of it. The character of the County may be inferred from the fact that Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, removed his family to Parcippany, a few miles North-east of Morristown, for their greater security; and, for years, the house he rented was known as "The Governor's House."

General Washington reached Morristown on the seventh of January, 1777, and took up his quarters at a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, the commander of a Squadron of Light Horse, which did efficient service. This was a two story house, on the West side of the Morristown Green; and it is still standing, but greatly changed. A hall passed through the centre of the house; and, on the South side of this hall, were two rooms, communicating with each other by a door. The front room was occupied by Washington for a general office, sitting-room, and parlor, and the back room for his sleeping apartment. These two rooms have since been thrown into one, which is still used as a store. This old building has been refitted, and is likely to stand many years, as a memento of the greatest man ever sheltered under its roof. From this house, issued the noble letters of Washington, that Winter, which were so efficient in promoting the cause of our national independence.

"The Magazine" was on the South side of the Green, on a lot where now stands the Washington Hall; and tradition says that, frequently, waggons, apparently loaded with casks

of powder and guarded by soldiers, might be seen passing from the Powder-mill to the Magazine; but many of these casks contained *sand*, in order to deceive spies, who would thus give a flattering account of this part of our military stores.

In the North-west corner of the Green, stood the old Court-house and Jail, so famous as the common prison of Tories caught, not only in Morris, but Essex, Bergen, and Sussex-counties.

Just East of the present building of the First Presbyterian Church, stood the old Meeting-house, which, as we shall see, was used, this Winter, as a Hospital for the Army. Following the street, towards the Depot, we see the house occupied by the Minister, Doctor Johnes —it is still standing—and half a mile further on, we reach a beautiful swell of land, commanding magnificent scenery, in the midst of which is the "Ford Mansion."

Taking the road which goes North from the Green, in less than a mile, we come to the identical house, built by Lewis Condict, a distinguished patriot and, through the War, an indefatigable member of the State Privy Council. Taking the road which goes West, about two miles, you reach the site of the house used by General Knox, of the Artillery, the second Winter in Morristown. On the South-east corner of the Green, where is now the store of Mr. William M. Lindsley, was the office of the Commissary. At this time, Morristown was a mere village, but surrounded by a fine farming region, which was quite thickly peopled.

It is interesting and affecting to glean, from reliable sources, the facts which indicate the character and condition of the people in Morris-county, at the time Washington came among them. The records of the Courts show that the pecuniary affairs of the people were very much embarassed. The masses of the people were Whigs; but there were some Tories. Thomas Millege, a leading man, residing in Hanover, was elected Sheriff of the County; but, as we learn from a letter of his, dated, April 2d, 1776, he had scruples about taking the oath. His scruples ripened into genuine toryism; and he joined the enemy, hoping thus to save his large estate from confiscation. He died an exile; and his estate was confiscated. In Hanover, "an English emigrant, a man of "considerable property, and not a little *hau-* "*teur* who had drunk deeply into toryism," was holding "many an ardent controversey" with celebrated "Parson Gren," Presbyterian Minister of the parish, on the subject of American Independence. Ashbel Green, the Parson's son, heard the talk, and, afterwards, was amused to see this Tory standing up, in the Church, on a Sunday, whilst the Minister read his confession of the sin of toryism, being earnestly moved thereto by the rumor that he had been threatened with a coat of tar and feathers, by some hot bloods in Morristown. This was in the forenoon; and the culprit rode rapidly to the said "neighboring town," to get Doctor Johnes to read for him, the same confession, there, which the Doctor, at last, convinced him was unnecessary. (Dr. Green's *Life*, 33-36.)

About twelve miles North from Morristown, in "Rockaway Valley," was a nest of Tories, but some sterling patriots. The goodly farms of the latter, the Tories were sure would be confiscated, by and by, and, in so many words, had selected their share in the forfeited estates; but, as Providence willed it, the confiscations took place on the other side of the question. The patriots met in a stone house which yet stands; and the greatest *man* among them was the strong-minded wife of one, Frederic Miller, who annihilated all the faint-heartedness of her Whig friends, by her own brave bearing.

Over in Mendham, seven miles West of Morristown, Captain David Thompson—devout, godly, most eloquent in prayer—only represented his neighbors in that old Presbyterian Congregation, when, in answer to a brother officer, who exclaimed, at a very critical time in our affairs: "We are ruined; what shall we do now?" he said, devoutly raising his eyes towards heaven, "I suppose we can yet trust 'in God." And Captain Thompson's wife, Hannah Carey, was the true representative of her sex, in Morris, when she said to the starving soldiers: "You are engaged in a good "cause, and we are willing to share with you, "what we have, as long as it lasts!"

In Whippany, five miles North-east of Morristown, noble Anna Kitchel, wife of Uzal, scorned to get a "British Protection," when urged by good, but faint-hearted, Deacon—— having, as she said, "a husband, father, and "five brothers in the American Army, and, if "the God of battles will not care for us, we "will fare with the rest!" It was well said, that saying of Anna Kitchel. In fact, when we get at the history of that Winter, we find that not a small part of the provisions which sustained the soldiers, was raised, the previous season, by the women and servants, aided by men and boys, too old, or too young, to assist in defending the country.

About this time, Charles Hoff, the Manager of Lord Stirling's Hibernia Furnace, is assuring his employer that, with skilful workmen, they can cast very good cannon there—in fact, they did cast one on a certain day, "which missed "in the Breach; all the rest was sound and

"good." But then Mr. Hoff and John Jacob Faesch are very successful in casting cannon-balls and grape, which, no doubt, did execution when impelled by some of Colonel Ford's "good Merchantable Powder." Meanwhile, about New Year's day, lion-hearted and lion-voiced Colonel William Winds—afterwards General—has conducted the Morris-county Regiment home, from the North; and often, he is seen riding, or rather, rushing, along the highways, never able to get along fast enough.

In Morristown, there was Benoni Hatheway, first Major, then Colonel, a man who afterward believed in the "Morristown Ghost," and whose faith in witches led him to keep the sovereign horse-shoe nailed somewhere about his premises; but there was nothing else he feared, and very often he rushed among the enemy, in battle, like a cannon-ball. Benoni managed the powder in the Magazine, just right, having the same made into cartridges.

If we look at the Churches of Morris-county, we find them sound to the core, on the doctrine of the nation's independence. Excepting, perhaps, two Baptist Churches, at Morristown and Schooley's-mountain, there were no Churches but Presbyterian, with one or two Reformed Dutch. And the Ministers thought themselves preaching the Gospel, when they taught their people, "out of the Scriptures," what are the rights of men and nations. Thus, Parson Woodhull, of Black-river—now Chester—preached so discreetly and pungently, on these vital points, that the people sent him, for several years, to the Provincial Congress, to vote for them, there. In Hanover, Parson Green, an extraordinary man, in some doggerel verse of the day, addressed, as "preacher and teacher, "Doctor and Proctor, Miller and Distiller," was exerting a prodigious influence, in the same direction. This man, Rev. Jacob Green, was, in some respects, the most extraordinary man in the County; eminent, as a preacher and a physician, and long sighted, as a statesman. In Morristown, was the mild, gifted, and beloved Doctor Johnes, most assiduous Pastor, most strenuous patriot, and once dispensing the Communion elements to George Washington, at a meeting held in the Grove, because the Church was needed for a hospital. In Bottle Hill—now Madison—was good Pastor, Azariah Horton, who "was not a whit be-"hind the chiefest" patriots, in his zeal for American liberty. In Mendham, was Pastor Lewis, soon to be called to higher enjoyments; but he preached and prayed national independence, as part of the Gospel. In such Churches as Rockaway and Succassunna, having no Ministers, they held "Deacon's meetings;" and it was always noticed, that when brave William Winds prayed, in the old, unplastered Church, at Rockaway, his voice would become excited, even loud as thunder, as he implored God to break the arm of the oppressor and give America freedom. Eunice Kitchel—afterward the venerable Mrs. Pierson of Rockaway—who died in her ninety-fourth year, often heard Winds's stormy, patriotic prayers; and knew they struck a tender chord in the popular heart.

We have not dealt in imagination, but have stated facts, gathered from authentic sources, in thus sketching the state of things, in Morris-county, when Washington came here, in January, 1777. The people were embarassed with debt; but everything they had, they were willing to share with their country, and also to give her their "men of war able to bear the "sword." There were some Tories, but the records of the Court prove that such were loudly called on to "repent or perish." The old Jail, on the Morristown Green, was full of Tories and other prisoners. And, looking at the facilities of defence and communication, the ardent patriotism of the people and the Ministers of Morris-county, we may question the soundness of Washington's opinion, that "the situation is by no means favorable to our "views."

It is not an easy, but it is an interesting, task to glean and weave together the facts, yet available, showing what was the situation of the Army, during that Winter. The testimony of old people, incidental illusions in newspapers and manuscripts of that time, will give us much information. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that in a national work, Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, the map of "*Military Movements "in New Jersey*," Bottle Hill is not even put down, nor any reference made to the main encampment, that Winter of 1776-7, near Bottle Hill, in what was called Lowantica Valley, of late years known as Spring Valley. Nor is any illusion made to it, in that other great national book, Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*. By frequent conversations, with aged people, especially soldiers, the writer of this has long been acquainted with the general fact of the main encampment being there; but the detailed account of it has been gathered, with great labor, by the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, at one time, the Pastor of the Presbyterian church, in Madison, formerly Bottle Hill, and, with his consent, I quote his manuscript:

"The valley to which reference has been "made"—says Mr. Tuttle in his *Bottle Hill, during the Revolution*—"and which was select-"ed as the place of encampment, was called

"Lowantica, which is an Indian name, from "the brook which runs through it. * * * * "Commencing at a point, a little South of "Morristown, and running in a South-easterly "direction, for the distance of about five miles, "it loses itself in the vicinity of Green Village, "in what is commonly known as the Great "Swamp. The Lowantica, which runs through "this valley, is an unusually clear and beauti- "ful stream, which is formed from the springs "which abound in the valley, and gush forth, "in all their native purity, at almost every "step." * * * *

"At the time of which we are now speaking, "nearly the whole of this beautiful valley, not "excepting the place of the encampment, was "covered with a heavy growth of timber. * * "To this well-chosen spot, then, did the "American Army repair, for the purpose of "going into Winter-quarters. The weather, "at the time, was exceedingly cold. Pitching "their tents, at first, wherever they could find "places for them, they continued to occupy "them, it is believed, for two or three weeks, "until they were able to construct more sub- "stantial and comfortable accommodations. "The centre of the ground, marked out for the "encampment, was not far from the present "mansion of Mr. A. M. Treadwell. * * * * "The location was admirably adapted to the "objects for which it was selected. The "ground, at that point, gradually descends "towards the South-east, and is shielded, in a "great measure, by the crown of hill back of "it, from the severe winds and storms from "North-east, North, and North-west. A little "South of it, runs the Lowantica; and, still "nearer, are several very large and excellent "springs. The encampment began on the "slope, West of the spot occupied by Mr. "Treadwell's residence. * * * One princi- "pal street, between four and five rods wide, "was laid out in the middle, in the centre of "which stood the flag-staff, which, by this "time, had come to be called 'the Liberty "Pole,' from the top of which our national "banner floated. This street was kept in ex- "cellent condition; and was used as a parade- "ground; although there is some reason to be- "lieve that the fine level space, on the hill, "North of the Camp, was used for this pur- "pose, on special occasions, such as general "parades and reviews. The general direction "of the main street was North-east and South- "west. On this, were constructed the cabins "of the officers, which were somewhat larger "than those which were put up for the soldiers. "On either side of this leading avenue, were "either one or two other streets, running in the "same general direction, and about forty feet "in width. On these, the cabins of the sol- "diers were built, in some cases single, but "oftener in blocks of three, four, and five to- "gether; whilst, outside of them, especially "on the northern side, others were con- "structed, without any special reference to "streets, but rather in reference to the character "of the ground, the side hill there being in- "dented with several deep gullies. The "cabins, of which all the aged people in the "vicinity agree there were a large number— "probably, as many as three hundred, in all— "were made of unhewn logs and covered with "rough clap-boards, split out of the forest. * * "In one end of each cabin, a rough stone fire- "place was thrown up, surmounted by a plais- "tered stick-chimney; while, in the other end "of each structure, a bunk, or sleeping-place, "was erected with clap-boards and small pieces "of timber, resting on crotches, which were "driven into the ground. These bunks reached "across the entire end of the cabins, and being "filled with straw, were made to accommodate "ten or twelve soldiers each. * * * Rough "clap-board benches answered them for seats. "Huge fires were kept continually blazing, day "and night; and these constituted the sum-total "of their furniture.

"Several very large cabins were erected for "the accommodation of the Commissary De- "partment and camp-stores; and these are be- "lieved to have been located on the southern "borders of the Camp, in the vicinity of the "springs, already referred to. In that part of "the Camp, were also the cabins erected and "occupied by the Suttlers, who drove on a "brisk trade, in various Groceries, especially "good Whiskey. * * * * A little farther "down, towards the Lowantica, rude sheds "were built for sheltering the horses belonging "to the Camp. * * * * Here, too, the "baggage and artillery-waggons were drawn "up in lines.

"On the outermost limits of the encampment, "several log guard-houses were built, for the "sentinels, whose duty it was, in regular beats, "to pass back and forth, along the four sides "of the Camp, day and night."

These facts were derived from several aged people, who resided, all their lives, in that vicinity, and who had frequently been in the Camp, the Winter and Spring it was occupied. The writer of this article has frequently conversed with Mrs. Eunice Pierson, whose husband, Darius Pierson, was living with his father, on the farm, a part of which was used for the Camp; and she had the same general information from her husband, who has often pointed out to her, the location and plan of the

Camp, so that, in the main, the above minute description is doubtless correct. Mr. Tuttle has also pointed out the private houses, in the vicinity, which were occupied by Colonel Francis Barbour, Colonel Matthias Ogden, Major Eaton, Colonel Marsh, General Wayne, and other officers, in the course of this or other Winters, during the War.

The beautiful Lowantica Valley is a place, hallowed with patriotic associations; and never should it be forgotten that, along its gentle slopes, a part of the Army which achieved the victories of Trenton and Princeton, heroically suffered great privations; and that, often, the great men of the Revolution, Alexander Hamilton, Anthony Wayne, Baron Steuben, and, above all, pre-eminent, Washington, have here reviewed the brave but thinned ranks of their Army. Here, too, the martyr, Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, idolized by the soldiers, has "held forth the word of life," with simple but effective eloquence, and, with fervent pathos, has supplicated the aid of Him in whose sight "the nations are as grasshoppers," in behalf of the defenders of their Country. Nor should it be forgotten, that, along the slopes of the Lowantica Valley and in its immediate vicinity are many unknown graves, in which were buried patriot soldiers who died, that Winter, of diseases induced by hardship, or by the small-pox which prevailed. But of this more, in another place.

Washington stationed strong detachments, especially of the Militia, under General William Winds, in the region of Pluckamin and Quibbletown, in Somerset-county, to watch the enemy, quartered in New Brunswick, and protect that section of the country. I have the affidavits of soldiers, applying for pensions, which prove that these troops were engaged in no sinecure business; and that the too impetuous Winds did very efficient service. The entire season was distinguished by severe skirmishes, in which our Militia behaved with great bravery.

General Israel Putnam was in command of the troops, in the neighborhood of the Delaware; and General Heath, in the Hudson Highlands. The enemy exhibited the most ruthless disregard of the rights even of those who had claimed safety, under "British Protections;" and Washington wrote that the people "are exceedingly exasperated at the "treatment they have met with, both from "Hessian and British Troops." The religious feelings of the people were shocked by seeing their Churches desecrated, the enemy destroying the pews, and often stabling their horses in the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch sanctuaries. Churches belonging to the English Establishment were exempted, since, "as "body, the Clergy, the Church of England "in the Colonies, were either neutral in the "contest—the case with the greater number—"or ranged on the side of Royalty." (*Literary World*, September 23d, 1848.) It was no strange that the people should, in these circumstances, have become thoroughly weaned from the cause of Royalty. The appeals of such Ministers as MacWhorter, of Newark, and Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, and Green, and Johnes, and Horton and Woodhull, of Morris-county, were forcibly sustained by the sacrilegious conduct of the enemy. The conduct of the Tories and refugees was so inhuman and outrageous, that the Royal cause was identified, in the popular esteem, with these vagabonds, guilty of treason, robbery, and murder. During that Winter, Governor Livingston and his Privy Council, were compelled to itinerate, secretly and frequently, now holding their meetings at Trenton, Princeton, Newark, Morristown, or wherever it could be done, with safety, for the general good. The Governor was not a bold man, but a very persevering one; and, well aware of the fact that the Tories were determined to seize him, as a rare prize, to be carried to the enemy, he was usually attended, in his journeys, by a detachment of Arnold's Light Horse; and very seldom slept two successive nights in one house. In several instances, the Tories made a descent on the house where the Governor had spent the previous night; but, whilst thus hunted, for years, he managed, in every case, to elude his enemies. This estimable officer was greatly esteemed by Washington, and rendered invaluable services to the country, in those perilous times.

Only a part of the Army was quartered in Lowantica Valley. Large numbers were billetted at private houses, in the townships of Morris, Chatham and Hanover, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. This method, though necessarily arbitrary, was met by a people of "willing mind." Aaron Kitchel and his father, Joseph, of Hanover, had two houses, and gave up the larger one, on condition that the old people might have the other, required only to take care of three sick English prisoners, of whom there was no danger of their catching the small pox. The late Rev. Doctor Ashbel Green remembers that his father's family "consisted of nine individuals; and, as "well as can be recollected, fourteen officers "and soldiers were quartered in the same dwelling." (Dr. Green, in *The Christian Advocate*, ix., 522.) The Sayres, Richards, Ely, Beach, Kitchel, Smith, Tuttle, and other families,

ved in the same way, making no com-

iippany, honored as the first village in
ity to raise a Company of soldiers, for
of liberty, Mrs. Anna Kitchel, daugh-
aniel Tuttle, devout believer that she
s willing to "leave it all to the Lord;"
this piety, her husband was not a whit
ner. These worthy people never said
soldiers, "be ye warmed and filled,"
but always had rooms and free provi-
, at least, twelve soldiers, though they
otested when an officer attempted to
rty hungry fellows on them, for whom,
, they hung over the fire, "the large
holding half a barrel, filled with meat,
es, and other vegetables," so that they
not go away hungry. And there were
ls of people in Morris-county animated
e same spirit. Noble men! noble wo-
our descendants are proud of their an-
These are precious relics of a heroic
d ought to be garnered up safely in his-

while, as the Commissioners are pro-
for the soldiers as best they can, let us
to the old "Arnold Tavern," then hon-
sheltering its greatest guest. Seated
t his table, with lips compressed and
earfully stern, Washington is "under
isagreeable necessity of troubling his
hip, Gen Howe, with a letter almost
y on the subject of the cruel treatment
our officers and men, who are unhappy
h to fall into your hands, receive on
the prison-ships in the harbor of New
;" and did not the writer "endeavor to
n a redress of their grievances, he would
himself as culpable as those who inflict
severities upon them." "The distress
e prisoners," wrote one of them, "can
e communicated by words. Twenty or
die every day. They lie in heaps un
d. What numbers of my countrymen
died by cold and hunger, perished for
of the common necessaries of life! I
seen it. This, Sir, is the boasted British
ncy! * * * * Rather than again
rience their barbarity and insults, may
by the sword of the Hessians." (*Ameri-
chives*, V., iii., 1429) Just a week after
ngton reached Morristown, he wrote two
pistles to Lord Howe, on the same day,
ry 13th,) on the subject of "the barbarous
" our soldiers and sailors were receiving
York, "which their emaciated coun-
ices confirm." (Sparks's *Washington*,
3-277.)

weightier matters than this are pressing
im. The term of enlistment for large numbers of his men, is expiring, and most urgent letters are sent "to the Council of Safety "of Pennsylvania," "to the President of Con-"gress," "to the Governors of the thirteen "States," calling for more men and munitions; and it is cheering to find him able to say, on the twentieth of January, "our affairs here are "in a very prosperous train. Within a month "past, in several engagements with the enemy, "we have killed, wounded, and taken prison-"ers between two and three thousand men. I "am very confident that the enemy's loss here "will oblige them to recall their force from "your State. If I am properly supported, I "shall hope to close the Campaign gloriously "for America." (*Letter to Governor Cook*, in Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 256.) But the courageous and ever hopeful Washington has yet to pass through some very distressing, dark scenes—Battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown for instance—and is yet to be deserted by the Rev. Jacob Duchè, the first Chaplain of Congress, and endure the sharp agony of Benedict Arnold's treason, before he "closes the Cam-"paign gloriously for America;" but "with "the smiles of Providence," he will do it.

During this month of January, he has "the "satisfaction to say that General Philemon "Dickinson's behaviour, in an action that hap-"pened near Sommerset Court-house, on Mill "Stone-river, reflected the highest credit on "him; for, though his troops were all raw, he "led them through the river, middle deep, and "gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, al-"though supported by three field-pieces, they "gave way and left their convoy of forty wag-"gons and upwards of one hundred horses, "most of them of the English draft breed, and "a number of sheep and cattle which they had "collected." (*Ibid*, 289.)

But then it was not all or mainly sunlight in the "old Arnold Tavern;" for on the twenty-sixth of January, Washington wrote, "rein-"forcements come up so extremely slow, that I "am afraid I shall be left without any men be-"fore they arrive. The enemy must be igno-"rant of our numbers, or they have not horses "to move their artillery, or they would not "suffer us to remain undisturbed." (*Ibid*, 301.)

At this point, I may introduce an anecdote which I had from G. P. McCullough, Esq., father-in-law of the late Hon. J. W. Miller, who had it directly from General Doughty, a Revolutionary officer, residing in Morristown. A man had been employed by Washington, as a spy; but some circumstances had led Colonel Hamilton to suspect that he was carrying news to the enemy; and he determined to make some good use of the man. Accordingly, when the man called, one day, at the Colonel's office,

he found him very busy making out a Report of the condition of the Army, for the Commander-in-chief. The Report was made out with great minuteness of detail: such a Division had so many men, and such a Division so many, etc., etc.; and then the whole was summed up into a splendid aggregate at least four times as large as the actual force. The condition of the Magazines was detailed in the same manner. Soon after, the suspected spy entered the office, Colonel Hamilton pretended to have some errand and excused himself, saying he would be back in a few minutes. Apparently, in his haste, he had left his Report lying on his table; and, no sooner was he gone, than the fellow, glancing over its pages, and sure that he had an invaluable document, through a most fortunate chance, pocketed it and left for the enemy! General Doughty said that it was Colonel Hamilton's opinion that this happy stroke did not a little to keep the enemy from Morristown, at a time when the American Army was in no condition to receive them.

Thus passed the month of January, in plans to defend the country from its invaders; but another invader was approaching, dreadful, indeed, to contend with. Mr. Lossing intimates, that while measures were taken to innoculate the soldiers in the Northern Department, such means were not taken at Morristown. Not having his book at hand, I can only give my impression from memory. But this is a mistake. It was a common opinion, in this region, at that time, that the small-pox was wilfully and maliciously introduced by the enemy, hoping to do us fatal damage by the means. But, whatever were the means, the "*Morristown* "*Bill of Mortality*" shows that, on the eleventh of January, 1777, "Martha, widow of Joshua "Ball, died of small-pox." "Gershom Hatha-"way, on the 24th," and "Ebenezer Winds, on "the 31st" of the same month, by the same loathsome disease. On the fifth of February, 1777, Washington wrote, "the small-pox has "mad[illegible]ch head, in every quarter, that I find "it impossible to keep it from spreading "through the whole Army, in the natural way. "I have therefore determined not only to inoc-"ulate all the troops now here that have not "had it, but shall order Dr. Shippen to inoc-"ulate the troops as fast as they come to "Philadelphia. They will lose no time, be-"cause they go through the disorder while "their clothing, arms, and accoutrements are "getting ready." (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 311.) He was compelled to resort to this extreme measure by the experience of the previous year, especially in the Northern Army, which suffered greatly from small-pox. "An estab-"lishment," says Sparks, "for inoculation was "was provided near Morristown, for the tr[illegible] "in camp; one at Philadelphia, for those [illegible] "ing from the South; another in Connecti[illegible] "another in Providence." (*Ibid*, 364.) So as Morristown is concerned, it was not so m[illegible] a place, as a series of inoculating hospital different places, in the townships of Mo[illegible] and Hanover. The Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle his *Sketch of Bottle Hill, during the Revolut[illegible]* from which I have already quoted, rema[illegible] that "several private hospitals, in this vicini[illegible] "were used for the purpose of inoculation, "a means of arresting the progress of the d[illegible] "ease. One of these was the dwelling sub[illegible] "quently occupied by Jonathan Thompson, "the vicinity of the house belonging to [illegible] "David C. Miller. At that place, an excelle[illegible] "Surgeon was stationed; and thither all class[illegible] "in and about this village, went to pa[illegible] "through the process of inoculation." "Anoth[illegible] "place which was set apart for the purpose "inoculation, was the house which stood, "that time, on the farm of the late John O[illegible] "den, over the hill—about two miles South "Morristown— * * * * That house w[illegible] "then owned and occupied by Mr. Elijah Pie[illegible] "son; and, for several months, it was contin[illegible] "ally filled with both soldiers and citize[illegible] "who had repaired thither, in order to gua[illegible] "themselves, by inoculation, against th[illegible] "small-pox. I have been informed by some "the Brookfield family, residing but a litt[illegible] "distance from the Lowantica camp-groun[illegible] "that they received it from their revolutiona[illegible] "ancestors, who lived and died on the groun[illegible] "that, during that same Winter, there was "small encampment on the hill, back of th[illegible] "Bonsall mansion, a short distance North "the place last described; and it has seeme[illegible] "to me not improbable that that was an a[illegible] "rangement also made for inoculating th[illegible] "Army." "Another private house that w[illegible] "occupied for a hospital, was an old o[illegible] "which stood on the spot now occupied by th[illegible] "residence of Mr. Bailey, on the road leadin[illegible] "by the camp-ground across the Lowantic[illegible] "valley, and but a little distance from the ro[illegible] "leading from Green Village to Morristow[illegible] "* * * * Physicians and nurses we[illegible] "stationed there, also; and everything w[illegible] "done to save the lives of the poor fellows wh[illegible] "were carried thither, from time to time, [illegible] "litters, from the Camp. All the rooms in th[illegible] "house were continually filled with patient[illegible] "and a very large proportion of them died an[illegible] "were buried in the orchard, about five hu[illegible] "dred yards North-west of the house. Not[illegible] "ing now exists to mark the place of the[illegible] "burial." "But the principal hospital in th[illegible] "vicinity of the Camp, was a large house whic[illegible]

at that time, to a German gentle-
e name of Harperee, on the farm
belongs to J. J. Scofield, Esq., on
l leading from Bottle Hill to Morris-
at house stood about a quarter of
th of the above thoroughfare, and
which sloped towards the South,
could not be seen from the road.
ne and a half story house, having
on the lower floor and a greater
the upper; about one and a half
h-west of the centre of the Camp;
ny respects admirably adapted for
for which it was used. Here, also,
he soldiers saw the last of earth.
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The Bailey and Harperee houses
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thor of *Bottle Hill, during the Re-*
claim, "Very sacred, as a conse-
e the associations which gather
ese spots! Very precious ought
in the estimation of all true Ameri-
s!"

v return to Hanover, during this
eason, we find that "Parson Green"
regularly in the old Presbyterian
se, not from a "*Carpenter's bench*,"
years, but from a real pulpit, built
arpenter Jedidiah Beach, to which
had been specially incited, as is
Parson's preaching on the some-
ubject of "the Four Carpenters,"
the main inference of which discourse was, "Why can't I have a pulpit?" That pulpit witnessed the ministrations of its worthy occupant until early in February, 1777, when the Church was converted into a temporary hospital for those soldiers "who had taken the "disease—small-pox—in the natural way." Ashbel Green, eldest son of the Parson, was then almost fifteen years old, and was "train-"ing" for real battles, "in a Company of boys "from ten to fifteen years old; none I think "were admitted under ten, unless an indivi-"dual or two of uncommon growth!" (*Life of Dr. A. Green*, 55.) It was a dismal time, in the whole region, as we may well imagine. In a valuable note appended to the autobiography of the Rev. Jacob Green of Hanover, Dr. Ashbel Green makes the following statements of facts, which he himself was witness to, in his boyhood: "After the memorable manœuvres "and Battles at Trenton and Princeton, * * * "Gen. Washington quartered his whole army, "not a large one, in Morris-county. The "small-pox had broken out among the troops, "and proved *exceedingly fatal.* The Church "in which the Rev. Jacob Green statedly "preached was used as an hospital for those "who had taken the disease in the natural "way; and the *present writer can never forget* "*the appalling scenes which he there witnessed,* "*produced by the ravages of that frightful mal-*"*ady*, now so happily disarmed of its terrors "by the fortunate discovery of vaccination. "The troops were distributed in the dwellings "of the inhabitants, and the Surgeons of the "Army inoculated both soldiers and citizens "—the citizens without charge. The family "of the writer's father consisted of nine indi-"viduals; and, as well as can be recollected, "fourteen officers and soldiers were quartered "in the same dwelling. All were inoculated "together, and all had the disease in a very "favorable manner. Indeed, the disease by "inoculation was so slight that there was "probably not a day in which the Army could "not have marched against the enemy, if it had "been necessary; but it providentially was not "necessary." (*Christian Advocate*, ix., 522.)

All, however, did not have the disease so lightly. Little Eunice Kitchel, afterwards Mrs. Pierson, a *nouogenarian*, had the small-pox, which left traces so deep as were not effaced as long as she lived. Electa Beach, daughter of Captain Enoch Beach, afterwards married to Silas Dickerson, of Stanhope, brother of Governor Mahlon Dickerson, then to the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, of Rockaway, was apparently "sick unto death," with the same disease; and when she was near eighty years old, she told about the lamentation made over her, by

friends, and how that the Doctor tried to console them by the somewhat rugged words, "that they should not make such an ado about "it, for if she got well, she would be so—— "ugly!"—prefixing one of his Infernal Majesty's derivatives. No doubt, many other families were in the same distressing situation, and, perhaps, some of them did not fare as well.

The plan for inoculating the Army produced great alarm in the community; and Doctor Green says, "My father, I well remember, went "in a sleigh to Morristown, accompanied by "some of the most respectable men of his con- "gregation, to confer with General Washing- "ton on the subject." The representations made by these gentlemen were answered by Washington with so much force, that they "came back perfectly reconciled to the mea- "sure." He incidentally mentions the fact that "Doctor Bond of Philadelphia, then a Surgeon "of some eminence, of rank in the Army," and Doctor Cochran, of New Brunswick, were engaged in inoculating and attending the soldiers and citizens. In this connection, he also adds; "for a short time, my father's Church "was made a Hospital for the reception of "those on whom the natural small-pox had ap- "peared, before they could be inoculated; and "more frightful and pitiable human beings I "have never seen. The heads of some of them "were swelled to nearly double their natural "size; their eyes were closed; and their faces "were black as a coal. The most of these "died." (*Life of Doctor Ashbel Green*, 88-94.)

The private records of Parishes and Ministers of that day, in Morris-county, are unfortunately very scanty; and, in many cases, not a scrap is to be found. In Hanover, Mr. Green left nothing; and it is only through his son that we have anything to enlighten us in that dismal period of history. From his testimony, it appears that soldiers were quartered in every house in the Parish; and that both soldiers and citizens were inoculated, at home, and not in hospitals. It seems that a different course was pursued in Chatham and Morris Townships, where particular houses were set apart as Hospitals for inoculation, and, as is abundantly proved, in the latter place, with results far more dreadful than in Hanover. It evidently would be impossible to inoculate a whole community promptly in hospitals, so that many were exposed, whilst waiting their turn, or, through fear or some other cause, neglected the precaution, entirely.

This inference may be plainly drawn from the records of death in the *Morristown Bill of Mortality*, for the year 1777. On the twenty-fourth of January, and also on the thirty-first, occurred a death from small-pox in the Parish of Morristown. During the mon ary, Doctor Johnes attended elev his Parish, caused by small-pox, nearly three per week; in March nine; in April, twenty-one; in M June, six; in July, eight; and in —all produced by small-pox. in April, he attended two such f day, as on the second, seventh, April; and on the fourteenth an April, this unwearied Pastor att grave, each day, *three* parishone died of this foul disease. The *Bi* shows that no age, sex, or conditic —the wailing infant, the child ju prattle, the mother of little childr in the strength of manhood, th men died nearly ninety years old and bond-servant, all were laid death, in this most awful form. victims of small-pox did faithful attend to "the house appointed f in that memorable year of 1777; of them between the seventeenth and the first of August. It was year the Parish of Morristown eve or since, during which the old be tolls the hours, in the steeple of t byterian Church, tolled the de this life, of two hundred and five dents in that community, which in about every one and a half day entire year!

As already intimated, "Parson too much to do to keep bills of that we shall never know how r poor soldiers—"more frightful "human beings I have never se the old Hanover Church, their moans mingling with the cold, nor shall we know how many fam cimated by small-pox, dysentery fever, the terrible scourges of th same was true of the Bottle H which Rev. Azariah Horton, re the Church, died of small-pox o seventh of March, 1777. The sa devoted Pastor, Thomas Lewis, died, perhaps overtasked in vis and burying the dead, Could *of Mortality* for each of the ol Morris-county, for that year—Ha pany, Black River, Mendham, Rockaway, Pompton Plains—they less tell just such a tale as the Mo sad, simple, afflictive, showing th in Morris-county, was there a voi "mentation and great mourning."

We cannot intelligently appreci tion of Washington, the first Wi

wn, without thus bidding the past
ie dead, to go before us, like a living
t we may look at things in detail—
y, disease, nakedness, death—just as
ded upon Washington, his soldiers,
patriotic entertainers. Never were
inations of evil things better calcu-
dermine the courage of all concerned
iggle; and yet their faith in God
d. Washington was not an un-
ctator of the griefs about him; and
t he be seen, in Hanover and Lowan-
y, cheering the faith and inspiring
e of his suffering men. His labors
heavy, in the South-east room of the
'avern," urging on Congress the ne-
' tendering an oath of allegiance to
habitants, and outlawing those that
;" now advising and inspiriting his
Benedict Arnold among them, but
be elevated by his communion with
spirit of the age—now hurrying for-
nlistment of troops and the collec-
nitions; now teaching Lord Howe
is in humanity, by the law of retali-
hough," say he, "I shall always be
manifest my disinclination to any
verities towards those whom the for-
War may chance to throw into my
His situation is extremely trying,
second of March, he wrote, "Gen.
nnot have * * * less than ten
men in the Jerseys. * * * Our
loes not exceed four thousand. His
disciplined, well-officered, and well-
d. Our's raw Militia, badly officered,
er no government." The balance-
struck, seemed to be against him;
Robert Morris, the great financier of
ution, did not express himself too
writing that very Winter to Wash-
Heaven, no doubt for the noblest pur-
is blessed you with a firmness of
adiness of countenance, and patience
ngs, that give you infinite advantag-
ther men." To use his own words,
a multiplicity of business engaging
e attention."

a tradition among the old people of
nty, which has the semblance of prob-
d may therefore be repeated. It is
t Washington was at the "Arnold
he had a dangerous attack of quinsy
t, and, feeling serious apprehensions
recovery, some of his friends asked
licate the man whom he considered
itted to succeed him in command of
; and that, without hesitation, he
General Nathaniel Green. This is
; was heard, merely as a tradition.

Tradition also states that the anxieties of the Winter were relieved with a little pleasantry, in a correspondence between the English and American Commanders-in-chief. Howe is said to have sent to Washington a copy of Watts's version of the one hundred and twentieth Psalm, containing the following amiable verses

"Thou God of love, thou ever blest,
"Pity my suffering state;
"When wilt thou set my soul at rest,
"From lips that love deceit?

"Hard lot of mine! my days are cast
"Among the sons of strife,
"Whose never ceasing brawlings waste
"My golden hours of life.

"O! might I change my place,
"How would I choose to dwell
"In some wide, lonesome wilderness,
"And leave these gates of hell!"

To this, the same tradition states, Washington returned Watts's version of the one hundred and first Psalm, entitled *The Magistrate's Psalm*, containing the following pointed verses:

"In vain shall sinners strive to rise,
"By flattering and malicious lies;
"And while the innocent I guard,
"The bold offender sha'nt be spared.

"The impious crew, that factious band,
"Shall hide their heads, or quit the land;
"And all who break the public rest,
"Where I have power shall be suppress."

This tradition has come to me from two entirely distinct sources; but, of coure, it cannot be authenticated.

During the Winter, several sharp skirmishes were fought in the region between the American and English lines. One of these is described in the *New Jersey Gazette* of March 18th, 1777, by an American Officer, in a very racy manner. The engagement took place "near "Quibble or Squabbletown;" and the officer commanding two thousand of the enemy "is "under arrest, for undertaking, like Don "Quixote, to do impossibilities. He, instead "of marching directly to Brunswick, which he "might have done, must needs go fourteen "miles out of the direct road, to take prisoners "Gen. Maxwell and his party at Sparktown, "and to make his triumphant entry into Bruns-"wick, leading his captives in chains, like an "old Roman General, in which he found his "fatal mistake, when too late to remedy it, for "he found that he had surrounded a nest of "American hornets, who soon put his whole "body to flight."

And thus wore away the Winter and Spring. The new levies from Virginia and the Middle States have reached Morristown; the small-pox is conquered; the Powder-mill has been making "good Merchantable Powder," which Benoni Hatheway has been converting into

cartridges; John Jacob Faesch, of Mount Hope, and Charles Hoff, of Hibernia, have sent down many waggon-loads of balls and grape-shot; and, huzza! just in time for the opening Campaign, two vessels from France, arrived in port with twenty-four thousand muskets! And so, about the last of May, Washington, with his Army, left Morristown, to engage in the noble but bloody scenes of the Campaign of 1777; prominent among which are the Battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown! God speed you, noble man! We take peculiar pride in recalling the facts connected with thy sojourn among the mountains of Old Morris, during the sorrowful, yet glorious, Winter of 1776–'7!

In order to obtain a more life-like view of the facts connected with the sojourn of Washington in Morris-county, during the Winter of 1779-80, let us briefly glance at the events which transpired between May, 1777, and December, 1779.

On leaving Morristown, Washington took a strong position at Middle Brook, about nine miles from New Brunswick, and foiled Sir William Howe, who attempted to bring on a general engagement. The enemy were preparing a fleet, for the transportation of the Army, somewhere; but where, no one could tell: perhaps, to act in concert with the formidable expedition of Burgoyne, at the North, or, perhaps, to seize Philadelphia. Convinced that the latter was Howe's aim, Washington marched his Army to the Delaware; and, whilst in Philadelphia, he had his first interview with LaFayette. On the eleventh of September, was fought the battle of Chad's Ford, "in a "country from which Washington could not de-"rive the least intelligence, being, to a man, "disaffected." The heavy rains destroyed much ammunition—on one occasion, "forty "rounds to a man"—and so distressed his ill-protected and ill-clothed soldiers, that Washington was compelled, not only to withdraw to a strong position, but to issue peremptory orders to take blankets and clothing, if needs be, by force, from Philadelphia. Piteously does he say, "if there are any shoes and blank-"ets to be had in Lancaster, or that part of "the country, I entreat you to have them taken "up for the use of the Army;" for "our dis-"tresses, in the articles of shoes, stockings, and "blankets, are extremely great." One of the greatest difficulties he had to contend with, he says, is "the want of shoes;" "at least, one "thousand men are bare-footed, and have per-"formed the marches in that condition." In these hard circumstances, the Battle of Germantown was fought, on the fourth of October, "a "bloody day," as Washington called it, adding "would I could add it were a more fortunate "one for us." He lost about one thousan men; and, on the eighteenth of Decembe 1777, he led his troops into Winter-quarters, a Valley Forge, whither "they might have bee "tracked by the blood of their feet, in march-"ing over the frozen ground."

At the North, on the seventh of October, three days after the disastrous Battle of Germantown, the Battle of Bemis' Heights was fought, Benedict Arnold performing prodigies of valor; and, on the eighteenth of that month, "the Americans marched into the lines of the "British, to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*." "Among the officers taken, were six members "of the British Parliament. The train of brass "artillery and other ordnance were immensely "valuable, consisting of forty-two brass ord-"nance, besides seven thousand muskets, with "six thousand dozen cartridges, besides an am-"ple supply of shot, shells, etc." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 107-109.) An aged woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Doland, died at Mount Hope, Morris-county, in 1852, more than ninety-one years old, who once told me that, when eleven years old, she was living at Walmsy's Tavern, at Pompton, when the trophies of Burgoyne's surrender were passing through, on their way to Morris-county, where they were to be stored. She had been to a neighbor's house; and, on her return, found the house in a commotion. In the bar-room, was a heap of curious brass-instruments, which belonged to a German Band, captured with Burgoyne's Army. She says that, during the three days the Band remained, she had music enough and was glad when it was gone. The artillery and stores were drawn by oxen; and Mrs. Doland says that some of the cannon required three yokes. The train passed from Pompton to Morristown, through Montville, Troy, and Hanover. It is an interesting fact that the Presbyterian Meeting-house, at Succasunna Plains, some twelve miles West of Morristown, was used a place of storage for the muskets, cannon, and other articles taken at Saratoga. There is now living—1854—a gentleman, in Morristown, the Hon Lewis Condict, who, when a child, saw these stores at that old church. The larger cannon were ranged and sheltered outside the building; and the entire church was filled with the captured munitions. On the road from Morristown to the Plains, just as you are descending the hill, was the house of a Mr. James Young; the garret of which was filled with drums, band-instruments, and other accoutrements requiring shelter. Dr. Condict says he has often, when visiting at Mr. Young's house, amused himself with beating the drums, there stored. And it may be surmised that the fact of these trophies of a British defeat being stored in Morris-county, was

one of the reasons why the enemy had such a desire to penetrate that region—a desire which was never gratified.

Without doubt, the unfortunate contrast between the disasters of the Army on the Delaware and the brilliant success of the Army at the North was the occasion of those insidious comparisons which some thoughtless or malicious person instituted between Washington and Gates, and which resulted in a plot to supplant the Commander-in-chief.

As for the Army, at Valley Forge, a Frenchman thought he had summed up their hardships and heroism, in saying, "no pay, no clothes, no "rum." But we must hasten on.

The Campaign of 1778 made Monmouth a memorable spot in history. The morning of that day, as Dr. Charles G. McChesney once informed me, as Washington was hurrying on to the spot on which his terrible rebuke was to scathe, as with lightning, the Atheist and the Traitor, Lee, for his poltroonery, a patriot woman, Dr. McChesney's grandmother, ran from the house with a cup of refreshment, which she handed to him. Washington took it, and said to her, in a subdued tone of voice, "Madam, God only "knows whether I shall ever drink another!" Some eight miles West of Morristown, Jacob Losey, who is still living—1854—was bathing in a mill-pond, and, ever and anon, was start led by the long, dull, heavy roar of cannon, booming, dismally, along the earth. The lion-hearted, lion-voiced, but too hasty, General Winds, of Morris-county, had led a strong detachment of Militia, as far as Spotswood, a few miles South of New Brunswick, ordered, as is said, to intercept the enemy's baggage-train and cut off their retreat. He found the bridge at Spotswood was taken up. Loud roared the cannon, showing that there was warm work about Monmouth Court-house, that hot Sabbath in June. Impetuously did he and his men begin to relay the bridge, when a sleek, pious-looking Quaker rode up, at full speed, with the intelligence that the enemy, in considerable force, was landing at Elizabeth-Town-point, intending, no doubt, to penetrate Morris-county. Winds was on fire at the news, and, without thought and without orders, made a forced march back to Elizabeth-Town, on a fool's errand, to have it said by many, that he was a coward, in which assertion there was no truth. But then it was a sad mistake for his reputation and, perhaps, for his country. That Sunday, on which the Battle of Monmouth was fought, was an "inconceivably distressing "one to our troops and horses," killing a few and disabling many, but, upon the whole, showing to Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, the force of the words which, we have said, tradition asserts Washington sent to Howe:

"The impious crew, that factious band,
"Shall hide their heads or quit the land!"

The Winter of 1778–'9, Washington spent at Middle Brook; and its hardships were relieved by occasional amusements, for instance, by celebrating "the anniversary of our alliance "with France," when "a splendid entertainment "was given by General Knox and the officers of "the Artillery. General Washington and his "lady, with the principal officers of the Army "and their ladies, and a considerable number of "respectable ladies and gentlemen of the State "of New Jersey, formed the brilliant assembly. "* * * * * * In the evening, a very "beautiful set of fireworks was exhibited; and "the celebration was concluded by a splendid "Ball, opened by his Excellency, General Wash-"ington, having for his partner, the lady of "General Knox;" and the witness of this gallant display says, admiringly, of Washington, "his tall, noble stature and just proportions, his "fine cheerful, open countenance, simple and "modest deportment, are all calculated to in-"terest every beholder in his favor, and to com-"mand veneration and respect. He is feared "even when silent, and beloved even while "we are unconscious of the motive." "As for "Mrs. Washington, she, too, combines, in an "uncommon degree, great dignity of manner "with the most pleasing affability, but possesses "no striking marks of beauty." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 157)

But the Winter at Middle Brook was not devoted principally to dancing. Brave, stern Baron Steuben has been appointed Inspector-general of the Army; and, on the parade-ground, he is disciplining the men so severely that their labors amount to little less than hard service in the field. In the Spring of 1779, General Washington detached four thousand regular troops and a large body of Militia to punish the Indians for the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming; and the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, then five years old, remembered that a Brigade of these troops encamped, for a night, in the field opposite his late residence. The officers were quartered in his father's house. As for the general concerns of the Campaign of 1779, it was was made notorious by such piratical movements as the burning of Portsmouth and New London, as the means of "inducing the rebellious Pro-"vinces to return to their allegiance." On the fifteenth of July, "Mad Anthony" Wayne stormed Stony Point; and, in August, Major Henry Lee successfully attacked and took prisoners a body of the enemy, at Paulus Hook, as Jersey City was then called.

Thus passed that Campaign, until, early in December, Washington went into Winter-quar-

ters, at Morristown. His first letter, from Morristown, that Winter, bears the date "7 December, 1779;" and to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, he wrote, "the main army lies "within three or four miles of the town." On the fifteenth of December, he orders Brigadier-general Duportail, in conjunction with the Quarter-master-general, Greene, to "examine "all the grounds in the environs of our present "encampment," for "spots most proper to be "occupied in case of any movement of the "enemy towards us," "these spots to be large "enough for the movements of ten thousand "men." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 415–419.)

On the first of December, 1779, Washington became, in one sense, the guest of Mrs. Ford, daughter of Rev. Dr. Timothy Johnes, and widow of the lamented Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, who died soon after Washington first came to Morristown, in January, 1777. The house in which she was residing was built in 1774, in the most substantial manner and on a scale of elegance and comfort which indicates ample means in its builder. It is a pleasing fact that the house which sheltered Washington has been changed but little since he occupied it. The same weather-boards which resisted the storms of that tremendous Winter are just where they were then. You enter a spacious hall which runs the depth of the house; and not a plank in the floor has been removed since Washington first crossed the threshold of that mansion. The same oaken double-door that opened to him opens to you, now. When he came there, "the widow Eliza-"beth Lindsley, the honored mother of "Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior," had been dead nearly eight years. She lived to see the Ford Mansion begun; but not to live in it. Her son and grandson had been dead three years, nearly. The widow of the latter closed her life, there. Her son, the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, succeeded his mother in the mansion, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five years. At the present time (1871) his son, Henry Ford, Esq., is residing there; and is surrounded with his children and grand-children. So that if we reckon Mrs. Lindsley, who lived to see the house begun, it may be said that the old mansion has seen seven generations of the same family. Six generations have actually resided there, of which the first three are now gone; and yet so firmly is it built, that, a century hence, if modern vandalism can be kept from making it impossible, the stranger may open the same portal, press the same floor, wander through he same hall and rooms, and look out at the same windows, as did Washington, that memorable Winter. May it stand as long as the house in which Shakspeare was born! Excepting in the matters of paint and paper, the addition of a partition or two, and the filling up t spacious parlor fire-place, to accommodate a co grate, no changes have been made. Your e rests on the same walls, the same cornice the same window-casements, the same door the same mantle-pieces, the same window the same hearthstones, as did *his*, in the Wint of 1779-'80. The great outlines of the lan scape, once seen never to be forgotten, which *h* eye rested on, then, are the same; but the righ hand of enterprize has greatly changed the d tails. The eye now rests on thousands of clea ed acres which, then, were covered with dens forests; and the old town itself has change more than other things. We are naturally in clined to venerate places where great men hav accomplished heroic deeds. Very finely di Daniel Webster remark, at Valley Forge, "ther "is a mighty power in local association. W "all acknowledge, and all feel it! Thos "places naturally inspire us with emotion "which, in the course of human history, hav "been connected with great and interesting "events; and this power over ingenuous minds "never ceases, until frequent visits familiariz "the mind to the scenes. * * * * "The mention of Washington, the standing "on the ground of his encampment, the act o "looking around on the scenes which he and "his officers and soldiers then beheld, can "not but carry us back also to the Revolution "and to one of its most distressing periods." (*Works*, ii., 277.)

What is true of Valley Forge, is true o Morristown and, especially, of the venerable mansion in which Washington resided. It is no ordinary place; and every object which has survived the ravages of time has a sort of sacredness which one can feel better than describe. Take this old arm chair, standing in the hall, and draw it up to the old secretary, also standing in the hall. Washington was often seated in that chair, and often wrote at that secretary. Or take this plain little table, said to have been a favorite one with him, on which to write, because he could easily move it: look at the very ink-spots, which are said to have been made that Winter—spots, which, in the eye of the antiquary, are more beautiful than settings of precious stones—open now to the immortal letters which Washington wrote, that Winter, many of them at that very secretary or little table; read those letters, attentively, and let the imagination evoke the form of their great author, on whose brow are the deep tracings of anxious thought; and one must be either very stupid or very stern if he do not feel a peculiar thrill, a warm glow pervading his whole nature, as thus he beholds, not only Washington, but his dignified lady, the admi-

rable Martha Washington; the courtly and bril-iant Alexander Hamilton; the apostate quaker, out splendid soldier, Nathaniel Greene; the in-comparable commandant of the Artillery, Henry Knox; the giant-sized and stern Baron Steuben; he polished Kosciuszko; the elegant and accom-plished Sterling; and, perhaps, an occasional nember of the group, Satan in Paradise, the raitor, Arnold!

It is interesting to ascertain the arrangements of the house and the large family occupying t, that Winter. On the twenty-second of Jan-uary, 1780, Washington wrote to the Quarter-naster-general, Greene, whose duty it was to provide for the comfort of the Commander-in-hief, "I have been at my present Quarters since the first day of December, and have not a kitchen to cook a dinner in; * * nor is there a place, at this moment, in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my fami-ly and all Mrs. Ford's are crowded together, in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 449.) This was in eference to the cooking department; and, oon, a log kitchen was built, at the East end of he house, for the use of Washington's family. Ie himself occupied the two South-east rooms f the main house, on the first and second oors. The room on the first floor, he used for dining, reception, and sitting-room; and the ne immediately above it, as a bedroom. At the Vest end of the house, and but a little distance om it, another log cabin was built for a gene-al office, which Washington occupied, particu-arly in the day time, with Colonel Alexander Iamilton and Major Tench Tighlman. This luster of buildings was guarded, night and ay, by sentinels. In the field, South-east of ne house, huts were built for Washington's ife Guards, of whom there are said to have been wo hundred and fifty, under the command of eneral Colfax, grandfather of our Vice Presi-ent.

We have already noted the principal locali-es of interest, in Morristown, but may here al-ude to two, with each of which is associated a anecdote of Washington. The first Winter e spent there, as has already been stated, it as found necessary to use the Presbyterian leeting-house, as a temporary Hospital. Dur-ng the cold weather, Doctor Johnes probably reached, principally, in private houses, in dif-erent parts of the congregation; but, when ne warm weather came on, it is reported, by adition, that public meetings, on the Sab-ath, were held a few rods back of the Doc-or's house. The tradition comes directly om Doctor Johnes, that, previous to holding communion on that spot, Washington called on him, as is stated in Hosack's *Life of Clinton*, and, "after the usual preliminaries, thus accost-"ed him, 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's "'Supper is to be celebrated with you, next Sun-"'day. I would learn if it accords with the "'Canons of your Church to admit communi-"'cants of another denomination!' The Doc-"tor rejoined, 'Most certainly. Our's is not "'the Presbyterian's table, General, but the "'Lord's; and hence we give the Lord's invi-"'tation to all his followers, of whatsoever "'name.' The General replied, 'I am glad of "'it: that is as it ought to be; but, as I was "'not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would "'ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to "'join with you on that occasion. Though a "'member of the Church of England, I have "'no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor as-"sured him of a cordial welcome; and the "General was found seated with the communi-"cants, the next Sabbath."

This tradition is well authenticated, and is in perfect keeping with his opinions, elsewhere expressed. I do not now recall any occasion in which he ostentatiously calls himself "a "Churchman," being a man of correct taste; but he was an Episcopalian, by an honest prefer-ence,—he had too just views of God, as a Spirit, and of His worship, as spiritual, to nar-row down his devotion to any locality, either Mount Gerazim or Jerusalem. Once he used these words: "Being no bigot, myself, I am dis-"posed to indulge the professors of Christi-"anity in the Church with that road to "heaven which to them shall seem the most "direct, the plainest and easiest, and least "liable to objections." And to "The Bishops, "Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episco-"pal Church," he wrote, on the nineteenth of August, 1789, in reply to their Address: "On "this occasion, it would ill become me to con-"ceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fra-"ternal affection which appears to increase "among the friends of genuine religion. It af-"fords most edifying prospects, indeed, to see "Christians of every denomination dwell to-"gether in more charity, and conduct them-"selves in respect to each other with a more "Christian-like spirit than ever they have "done, in any former age, or in any other nation." —Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, xii., 404.

In March, 1797, Washington, in his reply to the Address of "the Clergy of different De-"nominations residing in and near the city of "Philadelphia," uttered the following senti-ment: "Believing, as I do, that *Religion* and "*Morality are the essential* pillars of society, I "view, with unspeakable pleasure, that har-"mony and brotherly love which characterize "the Clergy of different denominations, as well "in this, as in other parts of the United

"States; exhibiting to the world a new and "interesting spectacle, at once the pride of "our Country and the surest basis of univer- "sal harmony."—*Dr. Green's Autobiography*, 615.

Doctor Johnes has handed down another anecdote connected with the place already alluded to, which illustrates Washington's genuine politeness. One Sabbath he was in attendance on the Doctor's service, held in the open air, and a chair had been brought in, for his use. Just before the service began, a woman with a child in her arms came in; and, as the seats were all occupied, Washington immediately rose from his and, placing her in it, remained standing the entire service.

The other anecdote I received from P. G. MacCullough, Esq., who received it from the late General Doughty, of Morristown, who saw the incident which he related. The scene of the anecdote, General Doughty fixed as having occured a few rods South of the ruins of the New Jersey Hotel, and where a carpenter's shop now stands. Washington had purchased a young horse of great spirit, activity, and power, but not broken to the saddle. A man in the Army, noted for his braggadocio glorification of his own horsemanship, solicited the privilege of the General to break his horse to ride. Permission was given; and the General, with some of his friends, went out to the place already mentioned, to see the horse take his first lesson. After considerable preparation, the man leaped on the back of his mettlesome pupil, who, unaccustomed to that sort of incumbrance, began a series of frantic efforts to unhorse him; and, in a very few seconds, by a judicious planting of his fore feet and a skilful uplifting of his hind feet, he succeeded in sending his rider clean over his head. As the discomfited brag was landed so unceremoniously, but unhurt, Washington threw back his head and laughed boisterously, until the tears fairly ran down his face. General Doughty was wont to say that he never met a person who had ever heard Washington laugh loud, during the two Winters he spent in Morris-county, except on this single occasion! As such, the incident is worthy of memory.

As a picture of the times, and a fact with which to compare the present and the past, let me state that, during the Spring of 1780, whilst Washington was in Morristown, Jacob Johnson, father of the venerable Mahlon Johnson, who still survives, died on Morris-plains, three miles North of Morristown. He was a fine horseman, and belonged to Arnold's troop of Light Horse, in which service he caught the cold of which he finally died. His son, Mahlon, remembers, distinctly, that a large concourse of people attended his father's funeral, and that there was only one conveyance, on wheels, among them all, this being used to carry the corpse t the Morristown grave-yard. But there was great cavalcade on horseback. Doctor Johne the minister, and the physician, each with linen scarf on, and on horseback, led the pr cession; and many a horse, that day, carried man in the saddle, and, behind him, was seate on a "riding cloth," his wife, or mother, or si ter, or daughter. This was the funeral proce sion which attended to the grave the remai of a man of property and position, in the Pa ish of Morristown, in 1780. Certainly, manne and customs have undergone very considerab change, since that time; but, whether th change has been for the better, each one mu decide for himself—probably, that plai unostentatious procession contained as mar warm, sympathizing, and unselfish hearts as th more courtly and better-bred processions whi now visit the same "God's acre," in coach and according to the rules of good society.

I have not spoken of the main encampme of that Winter, preferring to give a descriptio of that and things connected with it, by ther selves. To this part of the work, let us no address ourselves. On the thirtieth of Nove ber, 1779, General Greene, the Quarter-maste general, wrote from Morristown to one of t Quarter-masters of New Jersey, that "we a "yet like the wandering Jews in search of "Jerusalem, not having fixt upon a positi "for hutting the Army;" and he says that has described two favorable positions to t Commander-in-chief, "the one near Equac "nock, the other near Mr. Kemble's, four mil "from this place." The next day, he writes the same gentleman, that "the General h "fixed upon a place for hutting the Army ne "Mr. Kimball's, within about four miles "this Town. His reasons for this choice a "unnecessary to be explained, but, whatev "they are, they will prove very distressing "the Quarter-master's Department. * * * "I beg you will set every Wheel in motion th "will give dispatch to business." From th it may be inferred that General Greene preferr the position near Aquackanock, as one mo accessible, and also nearer to the more thick settled Counties along the Hudson. His p dictions, concerning the Commissary, were f filled more literally than he himself dreamed

The position actually chosen is one of t finest localities in Morris-county, and can reached by two roads. The one principa travelled, that Winter, is the old road to Mer ham, over "Kimbal's Hill," as it is called, this day. The camping-ground is about fo miles South-west from Morristown. Followi the Baskingridge-road, four miles, through region famous for its excellent soil and f

scenery, with the mountain on your right, you come to the Kimbal property, now owned by H. A. Hoyt, Esq. Here you turn to the right, and ascend the highlands, for a mile, and you are on the ground which must be considered as consecrated by the unparalleled hardships of the American Army. The different camps where were quartered the troops from New England, the Middle, and the Southern States, were on the lands which then belonged to Mr. Kimbal and Mr. Wicke, including some one thousand acres. The house on the Wicke property, is still standing, very much as it was in that Winter; and it is worthy of a brief description. It is on the crown of the hill, whence you descend, westward, to Mendham and, eastward, to Morristown. In front of the house was an old black locust—cut down in 1870—at least two feet and a half in diameter; and at the East end is the largest red cedar I have ever seen. Both these trees were standing in 1780. In the immediate vicinity of the house, are several immense black cherry-trees, which belong to the same period. The house itself is nearly square, and is built in the old style of New England houses, with a famous large chimney-stack, in the centre. The very door which swung then is there still, hanging on the same substantial strap-hinges, and ornamented with the same old lion-headed knocker. Passing through this door, which fronts southward, you come into a hall some four feet deep and eight feet wide, its width being just the same as the thickness of the chimney. Turning to the right, you pass from the hall into the ordinary family-room, and to the left, into the parlor. A door from the family-room and the parlor leads you into the kitchen, which is about two-thirds the length of the house. The fire-places of these three rooms all belong to the one huge stone stack, in the centre; and everything about them remains as it then was. They would alarm modern economists, by their capacity to take in wood by the cord. The spaces above the old mant'e-trees are filled up with pannel-work, and, in the parlor, especially, evidently were once quite fine, especially for that day. On the North side of the parlor, is a door leading into the spare bed-room, with which is connected an amusing incident. Great difficulty was experienced, in the Spring of 1780, in procuring teams to remove the army stores, and horses for Cavalry. Mr. Wicke's daughter, Tempe, owned a beautiful young horse, which she frequently rode, and always with skill. She was an admirable and a bold rider. One day, as the preparations for removing the Army were progressing, Miss Wicke rode her favorite horse to the house of her brother-in-law, Mr. Leddel, on the road to Mendham; and, on her return, was accosted by some soldiers, who commanded her to dismount and let them take the horse. One of them had seized the bridle-reins. Perfectly self-possessed, she appeared to submit to her fate, but not without a vain entreaty not to take her favorite from her. She then told them she was sorry to part with the animal, but as she must, she would ask two favors of them, the one was to return him to her, if possible; and the other was, whether they returned him or not, to treat him well. The soldiers were completely thrown off their guard, and the reins were released, they supposing she was about to dismount, than which nothing was farther from her intentions, for no sooner was the man's hand loose from the bridle than she touched her spirited horse with the whip, and he sped from among them like an arrow. As she was riding away, at full speed, they fired after her, but probably without intending to hit her; at any rate, she was unharmed. She urged her horse up the hill, at his highest speed, and coming round to the kitchen-door, on the North side of the house, she sprang off and led him into the kitchen, thence into the parlor, and thence into the spare bed-room, which had but one window, and that on the West side. This was secured with a shutter. The soldiers, shortly after, came up, searched the barn and the woods, in vain. Miss Wicke saved her horse, by keeping him in that bedroom, three weeks, until the last troop was fairly off. The incident, which is authentic, shows the adroitness and courage of the young lady, who, afterwards, became the wife of William Tuttle, an officer in the Jersey Brigade, during the entire War.

The descriptions of the different camps, which are to be given, are quite imperfect, but interesting; and, such as they are, are derived from the late Captain William Tuttle, who was stationed with the Jersey Troops during that Winter. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that some friendly pen was not ready to record the conversations of this fine old soldier, an officer in the Third Jersey Regiment, and perfectly acquainted with all the localities of the encampment on Kimbal-hill. He was twenty years old, at the time; and, from the conclusion of the War until his death, in 1836, he resided most of the time either on the Wicke Farm or in the immediate vicinity. Very often would he go over the ground, especially with his young relatives, pointing out the precise spots occupied by the different troops, and filling up hours with thrilling anecdotes connected with that Winter; but these conversations no one was at the pains to record, and now they are hopelessly gone. He enlisted in

the regular service, in 1777, and remained in it until Peace was declared. He suffered the exposures of Winter-quarters at Middle Brook, Valley Forge, and Kimbal-hill; was in the battles of Chad's Ford, Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth, Springfield, and "others of less note"; was with LaFayette, in his Virginia Campaign; and was at the siege of York Town, and yet his careless relatives, culpably, have suffered his history to be shrunk into the compass of his own meager but modest affidavit, in the Pension Office.

As good fortune will have it, a former tenant on the Wicke farm occupied it several years before Captain Tuttle's death; and, in company with the old gentleman, frequently passed over the camp-grounds. Under Mr. Mucklow's direction, a small party of us passed over the various points of interest. Taking the old Wicke house as the starting point, we crossed the road, and, following in a South-west direction, came into a tract of timber, on an easy slope, and extending to a living spring brook. In the upper end of the woods, near the brook, we found the ruins of several hut-chimneys. Following the side hill, in the same direction as the stream, that is, in a South-east course, we found quite a large number of these stone chimneys; and, in some of them, the stones seem to be just as the soldiers left them. At one point, we counted two rows containing forty chimneys; some of them evidently belonging to double-huts. Just below these, we came into a fine level opening, almost bare of trees, and which may have been grubbed clean of stumps and roots for a parade ground. A few rods higher up the side of the hill, were other ruins, extending with some degree of regularity around the face of the hill, in a curve, until the row was terminated at a brook, on the East side, which puts into the stream already mentioned. On the crown of the hill is another row of ruins; and Captain Tuttle informed our guide that the cleared field, on the hill, was once covered with similar remains. Thus far, we counted one hundred and ninety-six of these; and had been over the ground occoupied by the Jersey Brigade. Frequently did Captain Tuttle relate the fact that he had seen the paths, leading from the Jersey camp to the Wicke house, marked with blood from the feet of the soldiers without shoes!

On the same side of the road, and near to it, is a cleared field. In this field a spring-brook rises, around which the hill slopes in the form of a horse shoe. On the North side of this was a slaughter-house; and a little lower down, on the same side, are the remains of the huts built for the Commissary-department, and in the vicinity of a beautiful spring. On the opposite side of the brook, we found several ruins which, with those just mentioned, amounted to twenty-three. On the ground of the slaughter house, Mr. Mucklow ploughed up an old bayonet.

Crossing the road, directly opposite this point, we came into a cleared field which is in the Southern slope of Fort Hill. Along the road fence, is a row of stones which were in the hut fire-places, and which were drawn off to clear the ground for ploughing; but higher up in the woods are several remains. East of this lot, and lower down the hill, is an open field, in which we saw several rows, in regular order, containing sixty fire-places; and thence, following the curve of the hill, in a North-east course, in regular rows, we counted one hundred more. We were informed that the remains are to be seen around the entire hill; but want of time forbade our pursuing the inquiry farther.

We now ascended Fort-hill, around the sides of which we had been walking for some time. It is shaped like a sugar-loaf; and, from the North-east to the South-east, its sides are very steep, making the ascent not a little difficult. I was on this point, in the Spring, before the leaves had put out; and the view from it is surpassingly beautiful. Fort Hill, is one of the most commanding points in Morris-county. Westward, you can see the Schooley's Mountain range and, as I fancied, the mountains along the Delaware. Southward, is a fine range of highlands, in the midst of which is Baskingridge, (where General Lee was captured) so distinct that, with a glass, you can tell what is doing in its streets. South-east of you, Long-hill and Plainfield Mountain stretch far in the distance, from the top of which, you may see from New York to New Brunswick, if not to the Delaware. East of you, are the Short-hills, so famous as the watch-tower of freedom, during the Revolutionary War, and on which, night and day, sentinels were observing the country along the Hackinsac, Passaic, and Raritan, and even to New York and the Narrows. North-east, you can see the two twin mountains, in the vicinity of Ringwood; and, beyond that, the blue-tinged mountains, towards Newburgh. Between these prominent points are intervening landscapes, beautiful as the eye ever rested on. But of this, more in another place.

At the East and North-east, on the top of Fort-hill, are some remains not like those we had previously examined. They evidently were not the ruins of breast-works, but seem to have been designed to prepare level places, for the free movements of artillery; and a close inspection shows that cannon stationed at those

two points, on the hill top, would sweep the entire face of the hill, in case of an attack. This, undoubtedly, was the design. In the immediate vicinity, are the remains of quite a number of hut-chimneys, probably occupied by a detachment of artillery-men.

Passing down the West side of Fort-hill, towards the old house, we came into what has always been called the Jockey Hollow-road, at a place which tradition points out as the spot where Captain Billings was shot, when the Pennsylvania troops mutinied, on New Year's day, 1781. The aged mother of Mr. Robert K. Tuttle of Morristown, pointed out a black oak tree, by the roadside, as near the spot where the unfortunate man was shot down, and buried in the road where he was killed. Mrs. Tuttle was, at the time, living on a part of the Wicke farm, so that the tradition is undoubtedly true.

We now returned to the house in order to visit Hospital Field, as it is still called, and also the Maryland Field, so called because the Maryland troops were there encamped, during the Winter of 1779-'80. These fields are about half a mile North from the house. Hospital Field is on the slope of a high hill, facing East and South-east; and, at the bottom, is a fine spring-brook, in the vicinity of which were huts for the hospitals. Of these there are no remains, as the plough has long since obliterated them; but, near by, is a most interesting place, marked by a grove of locust trees, planted to protect the graves from the plough. Here are two rows of graves where were buried those who died at the hospitals, that Winter. A granite monument ought to be built, immediately, there, to commemorate those unnamed men, who died whilst in the service of their country. The length of space occupied by the graves, as far as can now be seen, is about one hundred and seventy feet, thus making a single row of graves about three hundred and forty feet long. The graves evidently are near together, so that quite a large number must have died in the hospitals, that Winter. Whether there was any other burying-ground used, it is impossible now to determine; but it is very probable, that the hill-sides, in the vicinity, contain many graves which will remain unknown until the morning of the resurrection.

Directly East from Hospital Field, on a hill opposite, the Maryland troops and, perhaps, the Virginia were "hutted;" but we were assured that no remains are left, as the ground has all been ploughed, so that we did not visit it. In all, we had counted three hundred and sixty-five chimney foundations, marking the sites of as many huts, besides many which, inadvertently, we omitted to count. We must have seen more than four hundred in all; and I am thus particular in describing their positions, because a few years more may entirely obliterate all traces of the camps on Kimball-hill.

If we return to the top of Fort-hill, and cast the eye over the prominent points already mentioned, we shall perceive how admirably they are adapted for the purpose of spreading alarm by means of beacon-fires. The ranges of the Short and Long-hills and Plainfield Mountain, on the South-east and East, Schooley's Mountain, on the West, the mountains near Ringwood and along the new York line, on the North and North-east, all are as distinct as light-houses. Very early in the War, there was a beacon-station, on the Short-hills, near the country residence of the late Bishop Hobart; but, in the Winter of 1778-'9, Washington communicated to the Governor of New Jersey a plan for establishing these beacons throughout the State; and, in accordance with his request, on the ninth of April, 1779, General Philemon Dickinson, one of the most able Militia officers in the State, was instructed to carry the plan into effect. Hitherto, no traces of a written plan have been found, but there can be no doubt as to some of the locations. That on the Short hills is remembered by persons still living—1854—from whom the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle derived the account he gives of the matter. "On that commanding elevation," writes Mr. Tuttle, in his *Lecture on Bottle Hill during the Revolution*, "the means were kept "for alarming the inhabitants of the interior, "in case of any threatening movement of the "enemy, in any direction. A cannon, an eigh- "teen-pounder—called in those times 'the old "'sow'—fired every half hour, answered this "object in the daytime and in very stormy and "dark nights; while an immense fire or beacon- "light answered the end at all other times. A "log-house or two * * * * were erected "there for the use of the sentinels, who, by re- "lieving one another, at definite intervals, kept "careful watch, day and night, their eyes contin- "ually sweeping over the vast extent of country "that lay stretched out like a map before them. "The beacon-light was constructed of dry wood, "piled around a high-pole; this was filled with "combustible materials; and a tar-barrel was "placed upon the top of the pole. When the "sentinels discovered any movement of the "enemy, of a threatening character, or such "tidings were brought them by messengers, "either the alarm-gun was fired or the beacon- "fire kindled, so that the tidings were quickly "spread over the whole region. There are sev- "eral persons still living in this place, who "remember to have heard that dismal alarm-

"gun, and to have seen those beacon-lights "sending out their baleful and terrific light "from that high point of observation; and "who also remember to have seen the inhabi-"tants, armed with their muskets, making all "possible haste to Chatham-bridge and the "Short-hills."

That there was a system of beacon-lights, there can be no doubt, although, unfortunately, the most of those are dead who could give us information about it, and there are no documents describing the various points where these lights were kindled. Of one, we have some knowledge. Seven miles North of Morristown, near the present Rail-road Depot, at Denville, is a mountain which rises abruptly to a considerable height, from which you can see the Short-hills. On this point, there was a beacon-light, managed by Captain Josiah Hall, whose descendants still reside in the vicinity. A fire from this point would be seen from the top of Green Pond mountain, several miles farther North; and a fire on that mountain would probably reach the portion of Sussex-county where the brave Colonel Seward, grandfather of Senator Seward, resided. Tradition says, that such was the case; and that, often, at night, the tongue of fire might be seen leaping into the air on the Short-hills, soon to be followed by brilliant lights on Fort-hill, on the Denville-mountain, the Green Pond-mountain, and on the range of mountains on the Orange-county line. To many, it has seemed inexplicable, and it was so to the enemy, that they could not make a movement towards the hills of Morris, without meeting the yeomen of Morris, armed and ready to repel them. I have conversed with several old men who have seen the roads converging on Morristown and Chatham, lined with men who were hurrying off to the Short-hills, to drive back the invaders. The alarm-gun and the beacon-light explain the mystery; and, as an illustration of scenes frequently witnessed, I may give an incident in the life of an old soldier, by the name of Bishop, who was living at Mendham. He was one morning engaged in stacking his wheat, with a hired man, when the alarm-gun pealed out its warning. "I must go," exclaimed Bishop. "You had better take care of your wheat," said his man. Again they heard the dull, heavy sound of the alarm-gun; and instantly Bishop slid down from the stack, exclaiming, "I can't "stand this. Get along with the grain, the "best way you can. I'm off to the rescue!" Hastily, he packed a small budget of provisions; and, shouldering his musket, in a few minutes, he was on the way to Morristown. He says that, on his way there, he found men issuing from every road, equipped just as they left their fields and shops, so that, by the time he reached town, he was one of a large company. Here they were met by a messenger who said the enemy was retreating. It was by such alacrity that it came to be a boast of the Morris-county people, that the enemy had never been able to gain a footing among these hills. They frequently made the attempt, but never succeeded. Once, as it is said, for purpose of exchanging prisoners, a detachment did reach Chatham-bridge, which was guarded by brave General Winds, to whom the braggart Captain sent word that he proposed to dine next day in Morristown. The message called out the somewhat expressive reply, that "if he dined in "Morristown, next day, he would sup in ——" (the place infernal) "next night!"

So far as possible, let us now relate the facts which show the sufferings and heroism of our soldiers, on Kimbal-hill, the Winter of 1779–'80. On the ninth of December, General Greene wrote, "Our hutting goes on rapidly, and the "troops will be under cover in a few days. "The officers will remain in the open field un-"til the boards (from Trenton) arrive, and as "their sufferings are great, they will be propor-"tionably clamorous." The New England troops, on the ninth of that month, were at Pompton; and Doctor Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, says, "On the fourteenth, we reached "this wilderness, about three miles from Morris-"town, where we are to build huts for Winter-"quarters." The severity of the Winter may be inferred from Doctor Thacher's description. "The snow on the ground is about two feet deep "and the weather extremely cold; the soldiers "are destitute of both tents and blankets, and "some of them are actually bare-footed and "almost naked. Our only defence against the "inclemency of the weather consists of brush-"wood, thrown together. Our lodging, the "last night, was on the frozen ground. Those "officers who have the privilege of a horse can "always have a blanket at hand. Having re-"moved the snow, we wrapped ourselves in "great coats, spread our blankets on the "ground, and lay down by the side of each "other, five or six together, with large fires at "our feet, leaving orders with the waiters to "keep it well supplied with fuel during the "night. We could procure neither shelter nor "forage for our horses; and the poor animals "were tied to the trees, in the woods, for twen-"ty-four hours, without food, except the bark "which they peeled from the trees." "The "whole Army, in this department, are to be en-"gaged in building log-huts for Winter-quar-"ters. The ground is marked, and the soldiers "have commenced cutting down the timber of "oak and walnut, of which we have great

"abundance. Our baggage has, at length, ar-
"rived; the men find it very difficult to pitch
"their tents, in the frozen ground; and, not-
"withstanding large fires, we can scarcely keep
"from freezing. In addition to other suffer-
"ings, the whole Army has been seven or eight
"days entirely destitute of the staff of life;
"our only food is miserable fresh beef, without
"bread, salt, or vegetables." (*Military Journal*, 176, 177.)

The general fact that that Winter was one of terrible severity is well known; but we may obtain more vivid ideas of this fact by a few details. In the *New Jersey Gazette* of February 9th, 1780, published at Trenton, the editor says, "The weather has been so extremely cold,
"for near two months past, that sleighs and
"other carriages now pass from this place to
"Philadelphia, *on the Delaware*, a circumstance
"not remembered by the oldest person among
"us." As early as the eighteenth of December, 1779, an officer, who visited some of the smaller encampments along the hills, in the vicinity, writes, "I found the weather excessively cold." (*New Jersey Gazette*, December 22, 1779.) On the fourteenth of January, Lord Stirling led a detachment against the enemy, on Staten Island; and, on the morning of the fifteenth, he crossed on the ice, from Elizabethtown-Point. (*Life of Stirling*, 206; Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 447.) The Hudson was so bridged with ice as to permit foot-passengers to cross from New York to Hoboken and Paulus Hook.

But the unparalleled depth of snow added to the intense sufferings of the soldiers. On the fourteenth of December, as Thacher says, the "snow was two feet deep." On the twenty-eighth of December, an officer says, in the *New Jersey Gazette*, "while I am writing, the
"storm is raging without." But the great storm of the Winter began on the third of January, when the greater part of the Army were not protected by the huts, which were not yet ready for occupation. Doctor Thacher thus describes the storm (*Military Journal*, 181); "On the 3d inst" [*January*, 1780] "we
"experienced one of the most tremendous
"snow storms ever remembered: no man could
"endure its violence many minutes without
"danger to his life. Several marquees were
"torn asunder and blown down, over the offi-
"cers' heads, in the night, and some of the
"soldiers were actually covered while in their
"tents and buried, like sheep, under the snow.
"My comrades and myself were roused from
"sleep by the calls of some officers for assist-
"ance; their marquee had blown down, and
"they were almost smothered in the storm,
"before they could reach our marquee, only a
"few yards, and their blankets and baggage
"were nearly buried in the snow. We (the
"officers) are greatly favored in having a sup-
"ply of straw for bedding; over this we
"spread all our blankets, and with our clothes
"and large fires at our feet, while four or five
"are crowded together, preserve ourselves from
"freezing. But the sufferings of the poor sol-
"diers can scarcely be described; while on
"duty they are unavoidably exposed to all the
"inclemency of the storm and severe cold; at
"night, they now have a bed of straw on the
"ground and a single blanket to each man;
"they are badly clad and some are destitute of
"shoes. We have contrived a kind of stone
"chimney, outside, and an opening at one end
"of our tents gives us the benefit of the fire
"within. The snow is now from four to six
"feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to
"prevent our receiving a supply of provisions.
"For the last ten days, we received but two
"pounds of meat a man, and we are frequent-
"ly for six or eight days entirely destitute of
"meat and then as long without bread. The
"consequence is, the soldiers are so enfeebled
"from hunger and cold, as to be almost unable
"to perform military duty or labor in con-
"structing their huts. It is well known that
"General Washington experiences the greatest
"solicitude for the sufferings of his Army and
"is sensible that they in general conduct with
"heroic patience and fortitude."

This storm continued for several days, accompanied with violent winds, which drifted the snow so that the roads were impassable. So deep was the snow, that, in many places, it covered the tops of the fences, and teams could be driven over them. Under date of "Janu-
"ary 22d, 1780," an officer on Kimbal-hill wrote the following lively description of the condition of the Army, in consequence of this storm: "We had a Fast, lately, in Camp, by
"general *constraint*, of the whole Army; in
"which we fasted more sincerely and truly for
"*three days*, than we ever did from all the
"Resolutions of Congress put together. This
"was occasioned by the severity of the weather
"and drifting of the snow, whereby the roads
"were rendered impassable and all supplies of
"provision cut off, until the officers were
"obliged to release the soldiers from command,
"and permit them to go in great numbers to-
"gether, to get provisions where they could find
"them. The inhabitants of this part of the
"country discovered a noble spirit in feeding
"the soldiers; and, to the honor of the soldiery,
"they received what they got with thankful-
"ness, and did little or no damage." (*New Jersey Gazette*, January 26th, 1780.)

The manuscript letters of Joseph Lewis,

Quarter-master at Morristown, prove this description to be truthful. On the eighth of January, he wrote, "We are now as distressed as "want of Provision and Cash can make us. "The soldiers have been reduced to the ne- "cessity of robbing the inhabitants, to save "their own lives." On the next day, he wrote, "We are still in distress for want of provisions. "Our Magistrates, as well as small detachments "from the Army, are busy collecting to relieve "our distresses; and I am told that the troops "already experience the good effects of their "industry. We are wishing for more plentiful "supplies." And, in real distress, he writes under the same date, "the sixty million dollars "lately collected by tax, must be put into the "hands of the Superintendent for the new pur- "chases. You will therefore have but little "chance of getting Cash until more is *made*. "If none comes sooner than by striking new "emissions, I must run away from Morris "and live with you at Trenton or some other "place, more remote from this, to secure me "from the already enraged multitudes."

On the eighth of January, General Washington wrote from the Ford mansion, the comforts of which must have made the sufferings of his soldiers seem the more awful: "The present "state of the Army, with respect to provisions, "is the most distressing of any we have experi- "enced since the beginning of the War. For a "fortnight past, the troops, both officers and "men, have been almost perishing for want. "They have been alternately without bread or "meat, the whole time, with a very scanty al- "lowance of either, and frequently destitute of "both. They have borne their sufferings with "a patience that merits the approbation, and "ought to excite the sympathy, of their coun- "trymen. But they are now reduced to an ex- "tremity no longer to be supported." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 439.) This letter, which was addressed to "the Magistrates of "New Jersey," is one of the noblest productions of his pen; and right nobly did those, thus feelingly addressed, respond to the appeal. And in this, none were superior to the people of Morris-county, on whom, of necessity, fell the burden of affording immediate relief, and whose efforts did not cease when this was effected. On the twentieth of January, Washington wrote to Doctor John Witherspoon, that "all the Counties of this State that I have "heard from, have attended to my requisition "for provisions, with the most cheerful and "commendable zeal;" and to "Elbridge Gerry, "in Congress," he wrote, "the exertions of the "Magistrates and inhabitants of this State "were great and cheerful for our relief." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 448, 456.) In his *Military Journal* (page 182), Doctor Thacher speaks, with enthusiasm, of "the "ample supply" of food furnished by "the "Magistrates and people of Jersey;" and Isaac Collins, Editor of the *New Jersey Gazette*, on the nineteenth of January, says, "With plea- "sure, we inform our readers, that our Army, "which the unexpected inclemency of the sea- "son and the roads becoming almost impassa- "ble, had suffered a few days for want of pro- "visions, are, from the spirited exertions now "making, likely to be well supplied."

It was during this season of distress, that Hannah Carey, wife of Captain David Thompson, of Mendham, one day, fed troop after troop of hungry soldiers; and as they told her they had no means of paying her, she said to them, "Eat what you want; you are engaged in a "good cause; and we are willing to share with "you, what we have, as long as it lasts!" and Hannah Carey Thompson was only one of a great company of women, like-minded with herself. It is true, she gave an impudent Tory such a reception of scalding water, on a certain occasion, as made him roar with pain and, in future, abstain from such acts; but then her heart was large towards the suffering defenders of her country. In Whippany, the potatoe-bin, the meat-bag, and the granary of Uzal and Anna Kitchel always had some comfort for the patriotic soldiers; and the ample farm of old General Winds, of Rockaway, had not borne harvests too good for him to bestow on his brethren-in-arms. Often, the soldiers, goaded by hunger, would go several miles to beg or steal a little food; and, in some such excursion, it happened that Elizabeth Pierson, second wife of Parson Green, of Hanover, "par- "ticularly lamented the loss of a fat turkey "that had been reserved for a Christmas din- "ner;" but her husband, although his son, Ashbel, never remembered to have seen him smile, perpetrated quite a scriptural joke, "when he "rather excused what the soldiers had done, "by quoting these words from the *Book of Pro- "verbs*, 'Men do not despise a thief, if he steal "'to satisfy his soul when he is hungry!'" Provisions came, with a right hearty good will, from the farmers in Mendham, Chatham, Hanover, Morris, and Pequannock; and not only provisions, but stockings and shoes, coats and blankets. Over on Smith's Hammock, as it was called, beyond Hanover Neck, Ralph Smith's mother assembled the patriot women to sew and knit for the soldiers. In Whippany, Anna Kitchel and her neighbors are at the same good work; and, in Morristown, "Mrs. Parson Johnes" and "Mrs. Counsellor "Condict," with all the noble women in the town, made the sewing and knitting-needles

fly on their mission of mercy. The memory of the Morris-county women of that day is yet as delightful as the "smell of a field which the "Lord hath blessed!" and this tribute to their worth is not woven up of fictions, but of facts, gathered from living lips, and, therefore, never may those women perish from the memory of their admiring and grateful descendants.

The generosity of which we have spoken is much enhanced by the fact, that the people supposed themselves to be *giving*, and not *selling*, their provisions. According to the prices —Continental Currency—affixed to various articles, by the Magistrates of Morris-connty, in January, 1780, they gave away thousands o dollars to soldiers at their tables; and as for provisions, nominally sold, they were paid for either in Continental bills or certificates, both of which they considered as nearly worthless. Their opinion of the bills was not wrong, since, after the War, hundreds of thousands of dollars were left on their hands, which were never redeemed; but many of them made a serious mistake in their estimate of the certificates which were redeemed with interest. Yet many of these men threw these certificates away, as worthless, and esteemed themselves as doing an unpaid duty to their country.

It is interesting to ascertain the prices of various articles used in the Camp, that Winter. On the twenty-seventh of January, Quarter-master Lewis wrote: "The Justices, at their meeting, "established the following prices to be given for "Hay and Grain thoughout the County [*of Morris*], from the 1st of December, 1779, to the 1st "of February next, or until the Regulating Act "take place.

"For Hay, 1st Quality,	£100	per ton.
" " " 2d "	£ 80	" "
" " " 3d "	£ 50	" "
" " for one horse, 24 hours,	6	dollars.
" " " " per night,	4	"
"Wheat, per bushel,	50	"
"Rye, " "	35	"
"Corn, " "	30	"
"Buckwheat and Oats,	20	""

This, certainly, is rather a startling "Price "Current;" but it was only in keeping with such significant advertisements as frequently appeared in the papers of that day: "ONE "THOUSAND *Dollars Reward*" for the recovery of "my negro man, Toney;" or "THIRTY *Spanish Milled Dollars*," for the recovery of my runaway "Mulatto Fellow, Jack." "Forty "paper dollars were worth only one in specie;" and the fact increases our wonder, alike at the patriotism of the people and soldiers, which was sufficient to keep the Army from open mutiny or being entirely disbanded.

To leave this gloomy side of the picture, a little while, it is well to record the fact that, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1779, whilst the snow "storm was raging," Martha Washington passed through Trenton, on her way to Morristown; and that a troop of gallant Virginians, stationed there, were paraded to do her honor, being very proud to own her as a Virginian, and her husband also. She spent New Year's Day in Morristown; and now, in the Ford mansion, you may see the very mirror in which her dignified form has often been reflected. The wife of the American Commander-in-chief received her company, did the honors of her family, and even appeared, occasionally, at the "Assembly "Balls," that Winter, dressed in American stuffs. It is a pleasing anecdote, which was once told me by the late Mrs. Abby Vail, daughter of Uzal and Anna Kitchel. Some of the ladies in Hanover, and, among them, "the "stately Madame Budd," mother of Doctor Bern Budd, dressed in their best, made a call on Lady Washington, and, as one of them afterwards said, "we were dressed in our most "elegant silks and ruffles, and so were introduced to her ladyship. And don't you "think, we found her with a *speckled homespun "apron on, and engaged in knitting a stocking!* "She received us very handsomely, and then "resumed her knitting. In the course of her "conversation, she said, very kindly, to us, "whilst she made her needles fly, that American "ladies should be patterns of industry to their "countrywomen; * * we must become independent of England by doing without those "articles which we can make ourselves. Whilst "our husbands and brothers are examples of "patriotism, we must be examples of industry!" "I do declare," said one of them, afterwards, "I never felt so ashamed and rebuked in my "life!" It is very possible that Martha Washington, with her knitting-needles and homespun dress, might not be admitted into the same circle with our modern "Potiphars;" and yet she *does* shine beautifully, in this little scene, proving herself the worthy companion of the illustrious Washington.

From documents, not very important in themselves, we sometimes derive impressive lessons. The original of the following subscription for Assembly Balls in Morristown, that Winter, is still in possession of the Biddle family, on the Delaware: "The subscribers "agree to pay the sums annexed to their re- "spective names and an equal quota of any "further expence which may be incurred in "the promotion and support of a dancing As- "sembly to be held in Morristown, the present

"winter of 1780. Subscription Moneys to be "paid into the hands of a Treasurer hereafter "to be appointed.

"Nath. Greene	400 dolls paid
"H. Knox	400 ditto paid
"John Lawrence	400 dolls paid
"J. Wilkinson,	400 dolls paid
"Clement Biddle	400 dolls paid
"Robt. H. Harrison	400 dolls paid
"R. K. Meade	400 dolls paid
"Alex. Hamilton	400 dolls paid
"Tench Tighlman	400 dolls paid
"C. Gibbs	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Pierce	400 dolls paid
"The Baron de Kalb	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Moylan	400 dolls paid
"Le Ch. Dulingsley	400 dols paid
"Geo. Washington	paid F. D. ($400.)
"R. Clairborne	pd 400 dolls.
"Lord Stirling	pd 400 dolls
"Col. Hazen	pd 400 dolls
"Asa Worthington	pd 400 dolls
"Benj. Brown	pd 400 dolls
"Major Stagg	pd 400 dolls
"James Thompson	pd 400 dolls
"H. Jackson	pd 400 dolls
"Col. Thomas Proctor	pd 400 dolls
"J. B. Cutting	pd 400 dolls
"Edward Hand	pd 400 dolls
"William Little	pd 400 dolls
"Thos. Woolford	pd 400 dolls."
"Geo. Olney	400 dolls paid
"Jas. Abeel	400 dolls paid
"Robert Erskine	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Cochran	400 dolls paid
"Geo. Draper	400 dolls paid
"J. Burnet	400 dolls paid."

The amounts thus "paid" constitute the somewhat imposing sum of thirteen thousand, six hundred dollars "for the support of a "dancing Assembly the present winter of 1780." Now I frankly confess that this paper produced an uncomfortable sensation in my mind, by the somewhat harsh contrast between the dancing of the well-housed officers, at O'Hara's tavern, and the "hungry ruin" at Kimbal-hill. The Assembly was not so well set off with gas-lights and fashionable splendor as many a Ball in our day. No doubt it was rather a plain affair, of its kind; and yet it reminds one that, while these distinguished men were tripping "the "light fantastic toe," in well-warmed rooms, there were, at that very time, as Captain William Tuttle often told it, a great many tents in which there were soldiers without coats and barefooted, shivering and perishing in the fearful storms and cold of that same "present win- "ter of 1780;" and that there were paths about the camps, on Kimbal-hill, that were marked with real blood expressed from the cracked and frozen feet of soldiers who had no shoes!

However, I do not allude to this contrast as peculiar to that place and those men, for feasting and starvation, plenty crowned with wreaths of yellow wheat and gaunt famine wreathed in rags and barefoot, dancing and dying, are facts put in contrast in other places beside O'Hara's and Kimbal-Hill, and at other times than "the present winter of 1780."

The principal object of introducing the subscription-paper here is to show the kind of currency on which our Revolution was compelled to rely. Here we find the leading men in Morristown, paying a sum for the dancing-master and landlord, the ministers of a little amusement, which, nominally, is large enough for the high figures of Fifth Avenue *millionaires;* but a closer inspection shows that the sum of thirteen thousand dollars was not worth as much as three hundred silver dollars. Doctor Thacher says, significantly, "I have just seen in the "newspaper an advertisement offering for an "article forty dollars. This is the trash which "is tendered to requite us for our sacrifices, "sufferings, and privations, while in the service "of our country. It is but a sordid pittance, "even for our common purposes, while in camp; "but those who have families dependent on "them, at home, are reduced to a deplorable "condition." The officers of the Jersey troops, in their Memorial to the Legislature of New Jersey, declare "that four months' pay of a "soldier would not procure for his family a "bushel of wheat; that the pay of a Colonel "would not purchase oats for his horse; that a "common laborer or express-rider received four "times as much as an American officer."

If such were their circumstances, let us rather admire than condemn these brave men, at Morristown, who were striving to invest the stern severities of that Winter with something of the gayer and more frivolous courtesies of fashionable life.

As for fighting, there was but little, the principal expedition being the descent of a detachment on Staten Island, under Lord Stirling. The expectations raised by this expedition are quite flatteringly told in an unpublished letter of Joseph Lewis, Quarter-master. He writes, under date of "January 15th 1780," that he had orders from General Greene "to procure "three hundred sleds or sleighs to parade Fri- "day Morning at this post and at Mr. Kim- "ble's * ° * * . I did not fail to exert "myself on the occasion, and the Magistrates "gained deserved applause. About five hun- "dred sleds or sleighs were collected, the ma- "jority of which were loaded with troops, "artillery, &c. These sleds and as many more "are to return loaded with stores from the

"British Magazines, on Staten Island, except "some few that are to he loaded with wounded "British Prisoners. About 3000 troops are "gone, under the command of Lord Stirling, "with a determination to remove all Staten "Island, bag and baggage, to Morristown!" (*MS. Letter of Joseph Lewis.*)

This expedition failed of realizing its object, because the enemy, by some means, had been put on his guard. Still, Collins of the *New Jersey Gazette*, was sure it would "shew the "British mercenaries with what zeal and alacri- "ty the Americans will embrace every oppor- "tunity, even in a very inclement season, to "promote the interests of the country by har- "assing the enemies to their freedom and inde- "pendence." (*New Jersey Gazette*, January 19th 1780). And, on the twenty-second of that January, Quarter-master Lewis wrote in quite a subdued tone, "I suppose you have heard of "the success of our late expedition to Staten "Island. It was expensive but answered no "valuable purpose. It shewed the inclination "of our inhabitants to plunder." (*MS. Letter J. Lewis.*) This expedition was at a time when "the cold was intense;" and about five hundred of the soldiers had their feet frozen.

The enemy, by way of retaliation, on the twenty-fifth of January, crossed to Elizabeth-town and burnt the Town-house and Presbyterian Church. They also "plundered the house "of Jecaniah Smith." The same night, another party "made an excursion to Newark, surprized "the guard there, took Mr. Justice Hedden out "of his bed, and would not suffer him to dress; "they also took Mr. Robert Niel, burnt the "Academy, and went off with precipitation." Rivington's *Royal Gazette* speaks of this Justice Hedden as "a rebel magistrate remarkable "for his persecuting spirit." (*New Jersey Gazette*, February 2d and 16th 1780). It was marvellous that Hedden survived that march, in such weather, from Newark to New York; but the tough man was nerved thereto by his brutal captors.

But have the troops enough to eat? General Greene's letter to "the Colonel of the Morris- "town Militia" gives us a most sorrowful answer. "The Army," writes Greene, in January, "is upon the point of disbanding for "want of provisions; the poor soldiers having "been for several days without any, and there "is not being more than a sufficiency to serve "one Regiment in the Magazine. Provisions "are scarce at best; but the late terrible storm, "the depth of the snow, and the drifts in the "roads prevent the little stock from coming "forward, which is in readiness, at the distant "Magazines. This is, therefore, to request you "to call upon the Militia-officers and men of "your Battalion to turn out their teams and "break the roads, from between this and Hack- "ettstown, there being a small quantity of pro- "visions, there, that cannot come until that is "done. The roads must be kept open by the "inhabitants, or the Army cannot be subsisted. "And, unless the good people immediately lend "their assistance to forward supplies, the Army "must disband. The direful consequences of "such an event I will not torture your feelings "with a description of; but remember the sur- "rounding inhabitants will experience the first "melancholy effects of such a raging evil." (Johnston's *Life and Correspondence of Nathaniel Greene*, i., 146.)

On the eleventh of January, Greene wrote, "such weather as we have had, never did I "feel," and the snow was so deep and drifted "that we drive over the tops of the fences." He then describes the sufferings of the soldiers, and adds, "they have displayed a degree of "magnanimity, under their sufferings, which "does them the highest honor." (*Ibid*, 148.) On the tenth of March, Joseph Lewis tells his superior officer, "I should be happy to receive "about fifty thousand dollars to persuade the "wagoners to stay in Camp until May, which "will prevent the troops from suffering." And on the twenty-eighth of the same month, he again writes, "I am no longer able to procure a "single team to relieve the distresses of our "Army, to bring in a supply of wood, or for- "ward the stores which are absolutely neces- "sary. * * * * * I wish I could inhabit "some kind retreat from those dreadful com- "plaints, unless I had a house filled with money "and a Magazine of Forage to guard and pro- "tect me." "Good God! where are our re- "sources fled? We are truly in a most pitiful "situation and almost distracted with calls "that it is not in our power to answer."! (*MS. Letter of J. Lewis.*)

But there is another fact which adds a deeper shade to this picture of suffering, since, from Thacher's *Military Journal*, we have this sentence, in which, with no little exultation, he says, "having to this late season—February "14th—in our tents, experienced the greatest "inconvenience, we have now the satisfaction "of taking possession of the log-huts just com- "pleted by our soldiers, where we shall have "more comfortable accommodations;" and yet, in March, he says, "our soldiers are in a "wretched condition for want of clothes, "blankets, and shoes; and these calamitous "circumstances are accompanied by a want of "provisions." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 187.)

From these letters, written by actual witnesses, we are able to gather enough of facts to

aid us in appreciating the condition of the Army.

I may appropriately close this historical monograph with an original letter of Washington, which has never yet been published, and which is a very striking commentary on the difficulties of his position the last Winter he was in Morristown. It was found among some old papers, in the possession of Stephen Thompson, Esq., of Mendham, New Jersey, a son of Captain David Thompson, who is referred to in this article. It will be remembered that the great snow-storm which caused such distress in the camp, began on the third of January, 1780. The famine which threatened the Army, caused Washington to write a letter "to the Magis-"trates of New Jersey," which is published in Sparks's editions of the *Writings of Washington*. A copy of that letter was inclosed in the letter which is now published for the first time. It is a valuable letter, as showing that Washington's "integrity was most pure, his justice "most inflexible."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, *January* 8, 1780.

"SIR,—The present distresses of the Army, "with which you are well acquainted, have de-"termined me to call upon the respective Coun-"ties of the State for a proportion of grain "and cattle, according to the abilities of each.

"For this purpose, I have addressed the "Magistrates of every County, to induce them "to undertake the business. This mode I "have preferred as the one least inconvenient "to the inhabitants; but, in case the requisi-"tion should not be complied with, we must "then raise the supplies ourselves in the best "manner we can. This I have signified to the "Magistrates.

"I have pitched upon you to superintend the "execution of this measure in the County of "Bergen, which is to furnish two hundred "head of cattle and eight hundred bushels of "grain.

"You will proceed, then, with all dispatch, "and, calling upon the Justices, will deliver "the inclosed Address, enforcing it with a "more particular detail of the sufferings of the "troops, the better to convince them of the ne-"cessity of their exertions. You will, at the "same time, let them delicately know that you "are instructed, in case they do not take up "the business immediately, to begin to impress "the articles called for throughout the County. "You will press for an immediate answer, and "govern yourself accordingly. If it be a com-"pliance, you will concert with them a proper "place for the reception of the articles and the "time of the delivery, which, for the whole, is "to be in four days after your application to "them. The owners will bring their grain "and cattle to this place, where the grain is to "be measured and the cattle estimated by any "two of the Magistrates, in conjunction with "the Commissary, Mr. Vorhes, who will be sent "to you for the purpose, and certificates given "by the Commissary, specifying the quantity "of each article and the terms of payment. "These are to be previously settled with the "owners, who are to choose whether they will "receive the present market price—which, if "preferred, is to be inserted—or the market "price at the time of payment. Immediately "on receiving the answer of the Magistrates, "you will send me word what it is.

"In case of refusal, you will begin to impress "till you make up the quantity required. This "you will do with as much tenderness as possi-"ble to the inhabitants, having regard to the "stock of each individual, that no family may "be deprived of its necessary subsistence. "Milch cows are not to be included in the im-"press. To enable you to execute this business "with more effect and less inconvenience. you "will call upon Colonel Fell and any other well-"affected active man in the County, and en-"deavor to engage their advice and assistance. "You are also authorized to impress wagons "for the transportation of the grain.

"If the Magistrates undertake the business, "which I should infinitely prefer, on every ac-"count, you will endeavor to prevail upon "them to assign mills for the reception and "preparation of such grain as the Commissary "thinks will not be immediately needful in the "Camp.

"I have reposed this trust in you from a "perfect confidence in your prudence, zeal, and "respect for the rights of citizens. While "your measures are adapted to the emergeney, "and you consult what you owe to the service, "I am persuaded you will not forget that, as "we are compelled by necessity to take the "property of citizens for the support of the "Army, on whom their safety depends, you "should be careful to manifest that we have a "respect for their rights, and wish not to do "any thing which that necessity, and even "their own good, do not absolutely require.

"I am, Sir, with great respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"G°. WASHINGTON.

"P.S. After reading the letter to the Jus-"tices you will seal it.

"LT. COL. DE HART."

II.—GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN.*

An Autobiography.

In looking over some family papers, lately, we found the annexed scrap; it appears to have been the commencement of some memoranda, addressed, we believe, to General Henry Lee, of Virginia, as we remember, that, in the year 1800, this gentleman was calling upon the old officers to furnish him with materials for a work, which he has since published, under the title of a *History of the Southern Campaign*. It is written by the late General Daniel Morgan, of Winchester, in Virginia; and contains a part of the attack on Quebec, by Montgomery. It is a hasty thing, and the production of a man who wielded the sword better than the pen; who could marshall his forces for an engagement, better than he could arrange materials for a history. We regret that we cannot find the remainder of the letter.

"Dear Sir,

"To give you my history during the War, I "must begin in 1774, when I served an active "and hard campaign under Lord Dunmore, "against the Indians. After we had beat them, "and reduced them to order, and were on our "return home, we heard, at the mouth of the "Hockhocking, on the Ohio, that hostilities "were offered to our brethren, the people of "Boston. We, as an Army, immediately form-"ed ourselves into a society, pledging our hon-"ours to assist the Bostonians, in case of a "serious breach, which did take place on tha "19th of the following April, at Lexington. I "was appointed a Captain, by Congress, on "the 22d of June, 1775, to raise a Company of "Riflemen to march in haste to Boston. I re-"cruited 96 men in a few days; set out for "Boston; and reached that place in 21 days, "bad weather included, nor did I leave a man "behind. We remained at that place, inac-"tive, 16 weeks, the enemy being shut up in "Boston; I was then detached, at my own re-"quest, to Quebec, at the head of three Rifle "Companies, viz:—my own, and two, from "Pennsylvania, under Captains Smith and "Hendricks, the latter fell in the attack on "the garrison. I was placed under the com-"mand of General Arnold; and led the van "through the woods. For a description of "this march I refer you to the Journal of Col. "William Heth, who was a Lieutenant in my "Company. We arrived in Canada, I think, "on the 3d of November, in a most distressed "situation, destitute of provisions, and every "kind of comfort. We marched to Point "Levee, refreshed the troops, and on the night "of we crossed the river in some "small craft which we found drawn up in some "*guts*, and some bark canoes, (which we pur-"chased from the Indians,) we passed between "two men of war, in point blank shot; but we "slipped through, undiscovered. I led the "*forlorn hope;* I marched up General Wolfe's "Cove, and formed on the Plains of Abraham, "where I expected to be attacked. We, how-"ever, remained undiscovered. We then "marched to Caldwell's house, in which strong "building, the enemy had posted a consider-"able force. We carried it, sword in hand. "Here I also commanded the *forlorn hope*. We "then besieged the place, for some days, but "finding the ammunition wet, we raised the "siege and marched to Point aux Tremble, 20 "miles from Quebec; here finding the powder "of the rifles dry, I marched back, with my "three Companies, and renewed the siege.

"On my return, I took several prisoners. I "kept up the siege, till the arrival of General "Montgomery, when we meditated an attack "on the town; this was carried into effect, a "few days after. Here I was again appointed "to the command of the *forlorn hope*, on the "river St. Charles, under the orders of General "Arnold.

"This officer being wounded in the leg, un-"der the wall, before we got into the town, I "sent him off, with two of my men, and took "his place, for, although there were three field "officers present, they would not take the "command, alledging that I had seen service, "and they had not. This, I think, reflected "honour on their characters. I had to attack "a two-gun battery, supported by Captain "M'Leod and 50 regular troops. The first "gun that was fired missed us, the second flash-"ed, when I ordered the ladder, which was on "two mens' shoulders, to be placed; (every two "men carried a ladder.) This order was im-"mediately obeyed, and, for fear the business "might not be executed with spirit, I mounted "myself, and was the first man who leaped into "the town,* among M'Leod's guard, who were "panic struck, and, after a faint resistance, ran "into a house that joined the battery and plat-"form.

"I lighted on the end of a heavy piece of "artillery, which hurt me exceedingly and per-"haps saved my life, as I fell from the gun "upon the platform, where the bayonets were "not directed.

"Col. Charles Porterfield, who was then a "Cadet in my Company, was the first man who

* From *The Pittsburgh Gazette* for July 10th, 1818. Edited by Morgan Neville, a grandson of General Daniel Morgan.

We are indebted, for this interesting scrap, to our respected friend, William M. Darlington, Esq., of Pittsburgh.

*General Lee has made a mistake, in stating that Colonels Heth and Porterfield jumped over first.

"followed me; the rest lost not a moment, but "sprang in as fast as they could find room; all "this was performed in a few seconds. I order- "ed the men to fire into the house and follow "up their fire with their pikes (for besides our "rifles, we were furnished with long espontoons) "this was done, and the guard was driven into "the street.

"I went through a sally-port at the end of "the platform; met them in the street; and "ordered them to lay down their arms, if they "expected quarters; they took me at my word "and every man threw down his gun. We "then made a charge upon the battery and took "it, and everything that opposed us, until we "arrived at the barrier-gate, where I was or- "dered to wait for General Montgomery, and a "fatal order it was, as it prevented me from "taking the garrison, having already made "half the town prisoners. The sally-port "through the barrier was standing open; the "guard left it; and the people came running, "in seeming platoon, and gave themselves up, "in order to get out of the way of the confu- "sion that was likely to ensue. I went up to the "edge of the upper town, with an interpreter, "to observe what was going on, as the firing "had ceased. I found no person in arms at all. "I returned and called a Council of War of "what officers I had, for the greater part had "missed their way, and had not got into the "town. Here I was overruled by hard reason- "ing; it was stated that, if I went on, I would "break an order, in the first place; in the next "place, I had more prisoners than I had men; "that if I left them, they might break out, re- "take the battery, and cut off our retreat; that "General Montgomery was certainly coming "down the River St. Lawrence, and would join "us in a few minutes, so that we were sure of "conquest if we acted with caution. To these "arguments I sacrificed my own opinion and "lost the town.

"General Montgomery had cut down an out "picket, and was marching up to the two gun "battery, when he was killed. Captain "Cheeseman, Major McPherson and some other "officers fell with him. Col. Donald Campbell, "Quarter-master-general, undertook to order a "retreat, which order was obeyed. We were "then left to shift for ourselves; but we did not "yet know the misfortune, for it was still in our "power to have taken the garrison."

* * * * * * * *

The remainder of the letter is lost; but the party under Morgan, when they found the American army had retreated, took possession of a waste house, where they made a desperate resistance, but were finally forced to surrender. Sir Guy Carlton offered Captain Morgan a Colonel's Commission in the British Army, which was indignantly refused. He was shortly afterwards exchanged, and placed at the head of the Rifle corps.

III.—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1704.

As Represented by Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., in a Memorial to the Venerable Society.*

Communicated by the Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D.

The State of the Church in Pensylvania most humbly offered to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in fforeign Parts.

As it was my Zeal for God's Glory and the Earnest desire I had of Propagateing the Gospel in fforeign Parts; That were the great motives y^t^ Engaged me in this Mission, so God has been graciously pleaseed to bless my honest Endeavours & Labours this way with A Suitable Success in the Church of Philadelphia in Pensylvania and as if this had been the Philadelphia menconed in the Revelations, God has out of the Abundance of his Goodness hitherto verified that Promise made to it *Rev.* 3: 8: Behold I have set before thee an Open Door and no man can shut it. For from a very weake and infant state it is now exceedingly ecreased and strength'ned by those numbers y^t^ have been gained Over it; And from hence the marvelous Light of the Gospel has been spread & diffused not only unto the adjacent Churches

* From the original MS., preserved among the Bishop White papers, belonging to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., was, as his name would imply, of Welch descent, and a graduate of Brazen-Nose-college, Oxford. Appointed to Philadelphia, in the year 1700, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London, and succeeding the Rev. Thomas Clayton, his ministry was eminently successful, and his labors extended over a wide circuit of country. In 1716, he resigned his charge, in Philadelphia, and, two years later, the Mission at Oxford and Radnor, to which he had been appointed by the venerable Society. Removing into Maryland, he was presented to St. George's Parish, in Baltimore, now Harford, County, where he ministered until his death, which occurred in the year 1721.

Notices of his life and labors are scattered through the pages of the several volumes of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland MSS., in the Archives of the General Convention, and occur, in print, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 22-25; *Historical Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, i., 35, 49; Anderson's *Colonial Church*, ii., 436; iii., 256, 257; Hawkin's *Missions of the Church of England*, 107, 108, 277; Dorr's *History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 24, 281, 282, 408, 410, 413, 415, 416; Bolton's *History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, ii., 58; Gadsden's *Life of Bishop Dehon*, 8, 9; Bolton's *Westchester Church*, 35, 148, 167, 171, 172, 174, 177, 188, 218, 227, 228, 416; Beardsley's *Connecticut Church*, 23; *Episcopal Magazine*, i., 17: and elsewhere.—W. S. P.

but also to some of y^e^ Neighbouring Provinces and that Church which first seemed to be but A private Conventicle is now become truely the Catholick Church of those Parts.

But tho' God has thus Prospered the Affaire of his Church in Pensylvania Yet I am far from Arrogateing any thing to my selfe on the acco^t^ of my Performance ffor I glory not in any thing but in the Lord, Nor can it well be possible that so good A Cause shou'd miscarry w^n^ it is promoted & Countenanced by A Sett of such Extraordinary men as the Venerable Corporation for Propagateing the Gospel in Foreign Parts; And here I must humbly crave leave to make the most Sincere and gratefull Acknowledgm^ts^ to y^e^ Venerable Society both in Behalfe of my selfe & my Congregation for the Expence it has been at in paying for Her Mat^ies^ Grant of 50^le^ per Anum to the Church of Philadelphia and 30^le^ to the School.

Nor must J Omit among the Number of our Benefactors y^e^ Noble and generous Col. Nicholson who has by his large Contributions and other Remarkable Instances of his Zeal for the Glory of God and Good of Souls shown of what Advantage to Religion the Influence & Example of One good man is; But because A more Minute & Particular Account of the Churches Affaires in Pensylvania & some of the Adjacent Provinces may in some Respects be Useful as well as Satisfactory to the Venerable Society.— I will have lay before it all that Occurs to my Memory at this Distance & will shew by what Steps and Methods the Church in Philadelphia, and the Adjacent Parts came to be formed and Established as it now is.

To Proceed therefore, J was sent over Missionary in the year 1700 by the Right Honable & Right Rev^d^ the Lord Bishop of London to Philadelphia the Province of Pensylvania, where J preached the Gospel and administred the Ordinances of Christ, with Equal Comfort to my selfe, as well as Advantage to Others; And God was in A little time pleased to prosper my Labours to that Degree, as that J had in less then three years after my Arival a very numerous Congregation Consisting for the most Part of Persons brought over from the Quakers and other Sectaries to the Church of England: And the true Religion (by the frequent Resort of Persons from remote Parts to Philadelphia) did so spread and the Number of Converts did encrease so fast that J was Obliged to divide my selfe among them as often and as Equally as J could till they were formed into Proper Districts & had Ministers Sent over to them by the Venerable Society.

For this reason I went frequently to Chichester w^ch^ is 25, Chester or Upland 20, Maidenhead 40 (where J baptized 19 Children at one time) Concord 20 Evesham in West Jersey 15, Montgomery 20 and Radnor 15 miles distant from Philadelphia, All which tho' Equally fatigueing and Expensive J frequently went to & preached in, being by all means determined to lose none of those whom I had gain'd, but rather add to them till the Society otherwise Provided for them.

But Montgomery and Radnor next to my own beloved Philadelphia had the most considerable share in my Labours where J preach'd in Welch Once A fortnight for 4 years till the Arival of M^r^ Nichols Minister of Chester in 1704. About which time also the Rev^d^ M^r^ John Thomas my late Assistant came for England; By this Gent'^s^ Departure the Service of y^e^ Church of Philadelphia intirely devolved upon my selfe in all its parts, so y^t^ I was obliged to an Uncomon Application & Labour in the Supply of my Cure in all it's Branches.—

While M^r^ Thomas Continued in Philadelphia we had an evening Lecture twice every month, One preparatory to the holy Sacam^t^ y^t^ last Sunday of the Month; The other to a Society of young men that met togeather every Lord's day, after evening Prayer to read the Scripture, & sing Psalms, and I being alwaies present at those meetings unless hindered by the Publiq Service of the Church, Or by Visiting persons in Violent Sickness or Calamitous Circumstances, read some select Prayers out of the Publiq Liturgy of the Church, alwaies begining with this Collect; Prevent us O Lord in all our Doeings &^c^ and Concludeing with the benediction, carried them with me to the Church, where M^r^ Thomas read and I preached upon Subjects suitable to the Occasion, particularly I insisted upon those Texts. Rejoyce O young man. Wherewithall shall A young man cleanse &^c^; And we discovered A Visible Benefit from those Evening Lectures; For those Quakers that Durst not Appear in the Day at the Publiq Service of the Church, for fear of Disobligeing their Parents or Masters wou'd Stand under the Church Windows at Night, till many of them pluckt up so much Courage, as to Come to the Church it selfe, & at last by the blessing of God upon the Word preached, submited to the holy Ordinance of Baptizm & Continued Stedfast in the Comunion of the Church of England, And here after w^t^ I have said concerning the Benefit of those monthly evening Lectures and the number of Converts and the Extent of my District and the great work that in all Respects lies on my hands: It might be expected that I shou'd say something concerning the Necessity and Usefulness of an Assistant to me in the Discharge of my Duty; But when I Consider the Dangers that may Arise from haveing two Ministers in One Church es-

pecially where there is not A Bishop where both parties may speedily Resort, and be concluded by, and how apt Some young Missionarys are to run into Factions, and to Vye with those, to whom they should on all acco^{ts} pay a Just Regard and Deference, Of which there has been a late unhappy Instance in those parts.

I cannot bring my selfe to Entertain A thought of this kind till A Bishop or at least a Suffragan be established or settled in those parts. For the Peace and Unity of any Church is too Vallue able a blessing to be easily or slightly parted with, And if Divisions of this kind shou'd happen (w^{ch} may easily enough fall out, in A Church where all its Minist^{rs} are yet upon A Level, and not the least Shew or Shadow of Authority To restrain or keep them within Bounds) how inconsiderable would all those other Avantages be y^{t} may be reaped from an Assistant tho' he preach't and acquited himselfe like an Angel in all the other parts of his Function.

As for the Number of Adult persons and Children that I baptized during my Mission, I take 'em by A modest Computation to amount to 750, Or rather 300 in Philadelphia, and in all the forenamed Places. —

The Welch at Radnor and Merioneth in the Province of Pensylvania have addressed my Lord of London (haveing A hundred hands to their Petition) for A Minister to be settled Amongst them, that understands the British Language there being many Ancient People among those Inhabitants that do not understand the English; And cou'd A sober and discreet man be procured to Undertake that Mission, he might be Capable by the blessing of God to bring in, A plentiful harvest of Welch Quakers; that were Originally bred in the Church of England, but were unhappily perveerted, before any Minister in Holy Orders, that cou'd preach to 'em in their owne Language was sent into Pensylvania; But I believe they are not irrecoverable, had they an itinerant Missionary, who wou'd use Application & diligence to reduce 'em to the Comunion of the Church.

There is Another welch Settlement called Montgomery in the County of Philadelphia, 20 miles distant from the City where there are Considerable Numbers of Welch people, formerly in their Native Countrey of y^{e} Communion of the Church of England; But about the year 1698 Two years beforre my Arival in that Countrey most of them Joyned with the Quakers, but by God's Blessing some of them were reduced & I have baptized their Children, and preached often to them, especially while my late Assistant M^{r} Thomas continued with me.

I Visited them & prevailed upon them to meet every Lord's Day About 40 in Number, where One that can understand the Language well, & is A sober discreet man, reads the Prayers of the Church every Lord's Day, the Proper Psalms and Lessens, Omiting only the Absolution & what properly belongs to the Priests Office, and then reads some Portion in A Book of Devotion to the People; I met with several good Books translated into the welch Language among my Countrey People, Particularly the Whole Duty Of man in Welch, and the Practice of Piety: As for the Christian monitor, Dorrington's Familiar Guide to the Lord's Supper; The Advice of A Minister to his Parishoners, All in Welch, what I received, were faithfully dispersed, but were so few that A greater Number is still much wanting.

There is A welch settlement betweene Appoquinomy & New Castle to which the Rev^{d} M^{r} George Ross has preached frequently in the English Tongue Since his Arival; but that Gentleman not Understanding their Native language is not Capable to Answer the End, As the Rev^{d} M^{r} Jenkins would be, who is going Missionary to Appoquinimy, who has A Competent knowledge in the Welch Tongue; And if the most Honourable Society would be pleas'd to give it him in Charge to Visit those people as oft as may be, It would be A meanes by God's help to keep those in the Comunion of the Church y^{t} are already Joyned with it, and to reduce others that have been seduced

There is a large and fair structure, built for divine Worship at New Castle 40 miles from Philadelphia, finished within & without where I preached the begining of December last, and found A Considerable Congregation, Considering the Generality of the People was gained over from other persuasions; Their Minister, the Rev^{d} M^{r} George Ross is esteemed A Person that is Ingenious and well learned as well as Sober & prudent & I doubt not but by the Blessing of God upon his good Endeavours the Church of New-Castle will continue to Encrease,

In Chester 20 miles from Philadelphia upon Delaware River, they have A good Church, built with Brick finished, where M^{r} Henry Nichols is Minister. I preach't the middle of December last in that Church to A Congregation Consisting of About 150, But when I preach'd the Sumer before I found A more Numerous Congregation, Our Winters being very severe in those parts, detains many from Church, whose Plantacons lye at A distance, & for y^{t} reason M^{r} Nichols preaches sometimes at Concord in y^{e} weeke days.

Trinity Church in Oxford Township lies in y^{e} County of Philadelphia 9 miles from the City, where for the 4 first years after my Arival

in Philadelphia, I frequently preached and Administred both the Sacraments, And had when I preached last in it about 140 people, most of the people brought over to the Church of England from Quakers, Anabaptists & other Perswasions. I shou'd now put an End to my Memorial, were it not that y^e^ want of a B^p^ amongst us canot be pas't over in Silence; Tis A dismal thing to consider how much y^e^ want of One has retarded the Progress of the true Religion in America.

The Spaniards were in the begining of their Settlements in thesse Indies Sensible of those DisAdvantages, and therefore they wisely remedied any inconveniences that might happen on this Score, by Erecting Several Bishopricks in their Dominions in that Part of the World, And why we shou'd not Copy after them especially in so Useful & necssary A point I doe not understand? since what is good for them in this Respect cannot be bad for us

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

It can be no shame for us to imitate their Prudence & conduct on this Occasion and tho' we had no such Instance or Example to direct or influence in an Affair of this kind; yet the Evident Necessity of the thing it selfe loudly calls for Supply and Releife.

I will only mention A few things which Points at this defect and then the Venerable Society will Judge whether the English Americans have not reason to press for & demand the Constant Residence of A Mitred Head among them.

I take it for granted that the Ends of the Mission can never be rightly answered without Establishing the Discipline as well as the Doctrine of the Church of England in those Parts; for the One is A Fortress & Bulwark of defence to the other, and Once the Outworkes of Religion come to be slighted & dismantled it is easy to foresee without the Spirit of Prophecy what the Consequence will be.

1. As to A ready and Constant Supply of Ministers or Missionarys (which is of the last Consequence to the well Being of the American Churches) this can never be hoped for, without A Resident Bishop among them to whom upon the Death or Notorious and Scandalous imorality of any Clergy-man, Applycation may in A little time be made. And the wants of such Cure may be ssupplyed by his Ordaining such Psons as shall be found capable of labouring in God's Vineyard; Such I presume A Resident Bishop wou'd seldom or never want there.

For to establish A Bishoprick wou'd be in effect the establishing A College in those parts Or at least it wou'd draw many of our young Students thither from Great Britain and Ireland in hopes both of Ordination & Preferm^t^. Whereas by sending to great Britain A vast deal of time is lost, nor can the true State of Ecclesiastical things or Persons be ever so well known As By A Bishop who lives upon the Spott, and who Consequently can best See into All the Secret Causes and Springs of things.

2. A Bishop is Absolutely necessary to preside Over the American Clergy, & to oblige them to do their duty & to live in peace & Unity one with Another.

The Missionarys of America are like other men, & they may sometimes fall Out and differ, among themselves and give great Offence thro' their unnecessary Heats and Animosities to the People.

The Contention betweene Paul and Barnabas was so sharp & grew so high that they fell out and parted upon it, & can we thinke that American Missionarys are bett^r^ arm'd or less expos'd to Accidents of this kind then those two great & holy men were. And if this shou'd be the Case of the American Missionarys, as it has sometimes been How fatal must the Consequencess of such an Unhappy Strife & Contention be, where there is no Superiour to Controul them, or to take A Cognizance of any Affair of this kind into his hands, Religion in this Case must bleed & fall A Victim to the Factious and unruly humours of A few Turbulent & indiscreet persons, nor indeed humanly speaking, Is it possible it shou'd be otherwis when there was no King in Israel, the Childre^n^ of Israel did that which was Right in thei^r^ own Eyes, and can it be expected, that it wilr be otherwise with y^e^ Clergy of America wherel there is no B^p^ to put A Stop to their career, Or to keep them w^th^ in those bounds of Decency, Respect and Mutual forbearance, which they so much owe to One Another; Wheresover Presbytery is Established there they have the face and Appearance of An Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction & Authority after their way to resort to, upon All Occasions: But Our Clergy in America are left destitute of Any Advantage of this kind, & are exposed to the mercy and Conduct Own, very often unreasonable Passions and Appetites which are by many Degrees the worst Masters they can truckle under.

I will only in the third place mencon the Dis-Advantages the Laity lie under for want of Bishop, and put an End to this tedious Memorial.

The Minister's Subsistence & Livelyhood being in all places in America more or less depending upon the bounty of y^e^ people by Contributions & Acts of Assembly, it is A difficult matter for 'em w^th^ out y^e^ Countenance & Authority of A Bishop to put A Stop to y^e^ prophaness & imorality of their several parishoners,

for to touch ye more Topping & considerable men of 'em either in publiq or private is to draw ye fury of ye whole Congregation upon ye Missionary & to deprive himselfe of yt Salary or Maintenance wch he has from them, It were to be wished that the Clergy's Salarys & maintenance in America were Settled and Adjusted by Act of Parliamt in Great Britain, & then they would be the more bold & resolute in doeing their duty; But as bad as things are in this Respect yet a Bp would to a great Degree Remedy All Inconveniencies of this kind, For if the Missionary either could not or durst not do his Duty, then the Bishop would; And the Laity would in A little time be brought to pay A greater Regard to their spiritual guides, & then they wou'd by degrees submit to Church discipline & Censure wth out wch tho' A Church may be planted & gathered yet it can never be of any long growth or Continuance. But now nothing of this kind is heard of or Attempted there, and men Commit Adultery Polygamy, Incest, and A Thousand other Crimes, Of which the Ministers can hardly Admonish them in private, without Manifest Hazard & dis Advantage to himselfe, because there is no ecclesiastical jurisdiction established in those parts, and tho' there were, there are no Laws in Being which make the Inhabitants of those Countreys lyable and Obnoxious to it. No Statute of the 23d H: 8: No Writt de Excomunicato Capiendo to Oblige Spiritual Delinquents to Submit to the Censures of the Church for the Good of their own Souls.

Add to this that the want of A Bishop to Confirm in those Parts is A great Trouble to the American Clergy; For they are bound by the Rubrick not to administer the Sacramt of the Lord's Supper, but to such as are Confirmed; which Prohibition Notwithstanding they are forced to break thro' in this Case of Necessity. Many other reasons may be Assigned for the Erecting A Bishoprick in ye English America But I am afraid I have trespassed already too much On the Venerable Society's Patience, nor should I have presumed to have menconed any thing of this kind; But yt ye Necessities of the Church in foreign Parts are so pressing that it was not possible for me to Avoid giveing this short hint (which I doe with the most profound Humility and Submission) without incuring the Sin of Concealing that, which I know to be necessary to the Good of the Church and so agreeable to the Desires of all the poor Clergymen and Protestants of America, as Easily appears by the several Addresses which have been made on this Account; But As for the Way or Method of Erecting A Bishoprick, in those parts; The Venerable Society is the best Judge of that. To whose most pious & prudent care & Conduct I humbly submit and leave it. And do most earnestly beseech God to bless and preserve this Venerable Society in all its Religious and Charitable Undertakings.

I have been concerned in this Mission above seaven years, and do want by God's Grace to spend more of my time and paines in the propagation of the Gospel in those Parts.

Evan Evans.

London
18th September 1707

IV.—AARON BURR, AS A SOLDIER.

A Letter from Judge Young, of Westchester-county, N. Y.*

Mount Pleasant Jany 25th 1814

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th ulto., asking for some account of the Campaign in which I served under the command of Col. Burr, during the Revolutionary war, was received some days ago, and has been constantly in my mind. I will reply to it with pleasure, but the compass of a letter will not admit of much detail.

I resided in the lines, from the commencement of the Revolution until the Winter of the Year 1780, when my father's house was burnt by order of the British General. The County of Westchester, very soon after the commencement of hostilities, became, on account of its exposed situation, a scene of the deepest distress. From the Croton to Kingsbridge, every species of rapine and lawless rapine prevailed. No man went to his bed but under the apprehension of having his house plundered or burnt, or himself or family massacred, before morning. Some, under the character of Whigs, plundered the Tories; while others, of the latter description, plundered the Whigs. Parties of marauders assuming either character, or none, as suited their convenience, indiscriminately assailed both Whigs and Tories. So little vigilance was used on our part, that the emissaries and spies of the enemy passed and repassed, without interruption. These calamities continued, undiminished, until the arrival of Col. Burr, in the Autumn of the year 1778. He took command of the same troops which his predecessor, Col. Littlefield, commanded. At the moment of Col. Burr's arrival, Col. Littlefield had returned from a plundering expedition, (for to plunder those called Tories was then deemed lawful) and had brought up horses, cattle, bedding, clothing, and other articles of easy transportation, which he had

* We are indebted for this important letter to our friend and neighbor, S. S. Randall, LL.D., of this village.—Editor Historical Magazine.

proposed to distribute among the party, the next day. Col. Burr's first act of authority was to seize, to secure, all this plunder; and he immediately took measures for restoring it to the owners. This gave us much trouble, but it was abundantly repaid by the confidence it inspired. He then made known his determination to suppress plundering. The same day, he visited all the guards, changed the position, dismissed some of the officers whom he found totally incompetent, gave new instructions. On the same day, also, he commenced a Register of the names & characters of all who resided near and below his guards—distinguishing, by secret marks, the Whig, the timid Whig, the Tory, the horse-thief, and those concerned in or suspected of giving information to the enemy. He also began a map of the country in the vicinity of the fort.—of the roads, bye roads, paths, creeks, morasses, &c., which might become hiding places for the disaffected or for marauding parties. This map was made by Col. Burr, himself, from such materials as he could collect on the spot, but principally from his own observations. He raised and established a Corps of horsemen from among the respectable farmers and young men of the County, of tried patriotism, fidelity, and courage. These also served as aids & confidential persons, for the transmission of orders. To this Corps I attached myself, as a Volunteer, but did not receive pay. He employed discreet & faithful persons, living near the enemy's lines, to watch their motions and give him immediate intelligence. He employed mounted Videttes, for the same purpose, directing two of them to proceed together, so that one might be dispatched, if necessary, with information to the Col., while the other might watch the enemy's movements. He established signals throughout the lines, so that, whether by night or by day, instant notice might be had of an attack or movement of the enemy. He enforced various regulations for concealing his positions and force from the enemy.

The laxity of discipline which had before prevailed, enabled the enemy, frequently, to employ their emissaries to come within the lines and to learn the precise state of our forces, supplies, &c. Col. Burr soon put an end to these dangerous intrusions, by prohibiting all persons residing below the lines, except a few whom he selected, such as Parson Barstow, Jacob Smith, & others whose integrity was unimpeachable, from approaching the outposts. If any one had a complaint or request to make of the Colonel, he procured one or more of the persons he had selected, to come to his quarters, on his behalf. This measure prevented frivolous & vexatious applications and the still more dangerous approach of enemies, in disguise. All these measures were entirely new, and, within eight or ten days, the whole system appeared to be in complete operation, and the face of things was totally changed.

A few days after the Colonel's arrival, the house of one Gedney was plundered in the night, and the family abused and terrified. Gedney sent his son to make a representation of it to the Colonel. The young man, not regarding the orders which had been issued, came to the Colonels' quarters, undiscovered by the sentinels, having taken a secret path through the fields for the purpose. For this violation of orders, the young man was punished. The Colonel immediately took measures for the detection of the plunderers; and, though they were all disguised and wholly unknown to Gedney, yet Colonel Burr, by means which were never yet disclosed, discovered the plunderers, and had them all secured within 24 hours. Gedney's family, on reference to his Register, appeared to be Tories; but Burr had promised that every quiet man should be protected. He caused the robbers to be conveyed to Gedney's house, under the charge of Capt. Benson, there to restore the booty they had taken; to make reparation in money for such articles as were lost or damaged and for the alarm and abuse, the amount of which the Colonel assessed; to be flogged ten lashes; and to ask pardon of the old man. All which was faithfully and immediately executed. These measures gave universal satisfaction; and the terror they inspired effectually prevented a repetition of similar depredations. No further instance occurred during the time of Col. Burr's command.

The measures adopted by him were such that it was impossible for the enemy to have passed their own line without his having immediate knowledge; and it was these very measures which saved Major Hull, on whom the command devolved, for a short time, when the state of Col. Burr's health compelled him to retire.

These measures, together with the deportment of Col. Burr, gained him the love and veneration of all devoted to the common cause, and conciliated even its bitterest foes. His habits were subject of admiration. His diet was simple and spare in the extreme—seldom sleeping more than one hour at a time—without taking off his clothes, or even his boots—he was on a blanket or a mattress, before the fire. Between midnight & 2 o'clock in the morning, accompanied by two or three of his Corps of horsemen, he visited the quarters of all his Captains and their picket guards, changing his route, from time to time, to prevent notice of

his approach. You may judge of the severity of this duty, when I assure you that the distance which he thus rode, every night, must have been from 16 to 24 miles, and that, with the exception of two nights only, in which he was otherwise engaged, he never omitted these excursions, even in the severest and most stormy weather. Except the short time necessarily consumed in hearing and answering complaints and petitions from persons both above and below the lines, Col. Burr was constantly with the troops. He attended to the minutest article of their comfort—to their lodgings—to their diet—for those off duty he invented sports—all tending to some useful end.

During two or three weeks after the Colonel's arrival, we had many sharp conflicts with the robbers & horse thieves, who were hunted down with unceasing industry. In many instances, we encountered great superiority of numbers; but always with success. Many of them were killed & many taken.

The strictest discipline prevailed, and the Army felt the fullest confidence in their Commander and in themselves; and, by these means, became really formidable. During the same Winter, Gov. Tryon planned an expedition to Horseneck, for the purpose of destroying the Salt Works erected there; and marched with about 2000 men. Col. Burr received early information of their movements; and sent word to Gen. Putnam, to hold the enemy at bay, for a few hours, and he, Col. Burr, would be in their rear and be answerable for them. By a messenger from him, Col. Burr was informed by that General, that he had been obliged to retreat; and that the enemy were advancing into Connecticut. This information, which, unfortunately, was not correct, altered Col. Burr's route towards Mamaroneck, which enabled Tryon to get the start of him. Col. Burr then endeavoured to intercept him, in East Chester, according to his first plan; and actually got within cannon shot of him. But Tryon run too fast, and, in all haste, left most or all of his cattle and plunder behind him, and many stragglers, who were picked up.

I will mention another enterprize which proved more successful, though equally hazardous. Soon after Tryon's retreat, Col. De Lancey, who commanded the British Refugees, in order to secure themselves against surprize, erected a Block House, on a rising ground, below De Lancey's bridge. This, Col. Burr resolved to destroy. I was in that expedition, & recollect the circumstances. He procured a number of Grenades, also rolls of Port fire & canteens filled with inflammable materials, with contrivances to attach them to the side of the Block House. He set out, with his troops, early in the evening, and arrived within a mile of the Block House, by 2 o'clock in the morning. The Col. gave Capt. Black the command of about 40 volunteers, who were first to approach—20 of them to carry the Port fires, &c., &c. Those who had hand grenades, had short ladders, to enable them to reach the port-holes, the exact height of which Col. Burr had ascertained. Col. Burr gave Capt. Black his instructions, in the hearing of his Company, assuring him of his protection, if they were attacked by superior numbers—for it was expected that the enemy, who had several thousand men, at and near Kingsbridge, would endeavour to cut us off as we were several miles below them. Burr directed those who carried the combustibles to march in front, as silently as possible—that, on being hailed, they should light the hand grenades, &c., with a slow match, provided for the purpose, and throw them into the port holes. I was one of the party that advanced. The sentinel hailed and fired. We rushed on—the first hand grenade that was thrown in drove the enemy from the upper story; and, before they could take any means to prevent it, the Block House was on fire, in several places. Some few escaped, and the rest surrendered, without our having lost a single man. Though many shots were fired at us, we did not fire a gun. During the period of Col. Burr's command, but two attempts were made by the enemy to surprize our guards, in both of which they were defeated.

After Col. Burr left this Command, Col. Thompson, a man of approved bravery, assumed it; and the enemy, in open day, advanced to his head quarters, took Col. Thompson, & took, killed, & wounded all his men, with the exception of about thirty. My father's house, with all his outhouses, were burnt. After these disasters, our troops never made an effort to protect that part of the country. The American lines were afterwards changed and extended from Bedford to Croton Bridge, and from thence, following the course of that river, to the Hudson. All the intermediate country was abandoned and unprotected, being about 20 miles in the rear of the ground which Col. Burr had maintained. The year after the defeat of Col. Thompson, a brave and, in many respects, a valuable, officer took the command, making his head quarters at Danford's, about a mile above the Croton. The position was well-chosen; but Col. Greene omitted to inform himself of the movements of the enemy and, consequently, was surprized—himself, Maj. Flagg, & other officers were killed; and a great part of the men were either killed or taken prisoners. Yet these officers had the full benefit of Col. Burr's system.

Having perused what I have written, it does not appear to me that I have conveyed any adequate idea of Burr's military character. It may be aided a little by reviewing the effects it produced.

The troops of which he took command were undisciplined, negligent, and discontented. Desertions were frequent. In a few days, these very men were transformed into brave, honest, defenders—orderly, contented and cheerful; confident in their own courage; and loving, to adoration, their Commander, whom every man considered as his personal friend. It was thought a severe punishment, as well as a disgrace, to be sent up to the Camp, where they had nothing to do but to lounge and eat their rations.

During the whole of his command, there was not a single desertion—not a single death, by sickness—not one made prisoner by the enemy—for Col. Burr had taught us that a soldier, with arms in his hands, ought never, in any circumstances, to surrender: no matter if he was opposed by thousands, it was his duty to fight.

After the first ten days, there was not a single instance of robbery. The whole country under his command enjoyed security. The inhabitants, to express their gratitude, frequently brought presents of such articles as the country afforded; but Col. Burr would accept no presents. He fixed reasonable prices, and paid, in cash, for everything that was received: and, sometimes, I knew that these payments were made with his own money: whether these advances were repaid, I knew not.

Col. Simcoe, one of the most daring & active partizans in the British Army, was, with Col^{s}. Emerich & De Lancey, opposed to Burr, on the lines; yet they were completely held in check.

But, perhaps the highest eulogy on Col. Burr is, that no man could be found capable of executing his plans, though the example was before them.

When Burr left the lines, a sadness overspread the country; and the most gloomy forebodings were too soon fulfilled, as you have seen, above.

The period of Col. Burr's command was so full of activity that every day afforded some lesson of instruction.

But you will expect only a general outline; and this faint one is the best in my power to give.

I am, with real esteem,
Your obedt Servt.,
SAMUEL YOUNGS.

To R. V. MORRIS, Esq^{r}.
Mem: of Assembly.

V.—LANSINGBURGH. *

ITS EARLY HISTORY, OLD SETTLERS, SCHOOLS, MARKETS, ETC.—*Continued.*

VI.

DOCTORS, DRUGGISTS, BREWERS, ETC.

Old Robert Montgomery built the house where Mrs. Burton now lives: it was considered to be the best-built house in town. It was first occupied by Dr. Willard. Dr. Taylor came to town, quite early: he taught school as well as practised. Calvin Baker kept a very large Drug-store where Peter Smith now is; and William Montgomery kept the same kind of wares, in an old building which stood where Esmond now is. Up town, in the Adencourt-house, Elias R. Parmelee sold Drugs and Medicines. In a later day, the Parmelees had a large Brewery, also a Soap and Candle-factory, on Olivet-church corner. On the site occupied by Mr. Dauchy, Fitch Skinner had an extensive Cabinet-shop; and, where the Bebee-house now is, he had a very large ware-room. For a number of miles up the river, sawmills were erected; and, during the freshets, large quantities of floodwood came down; and our numerous boatmen were ever on the alert to replenish their wood-piles. Many families depended entirely upon this source, to supply themselves with fuel; and the quantities caught would, now-a-days, seem incredible. Moreover, at the subsidence of the water, the several islands, above here, would be left covered with chips, slabs, pieces of joists, etc.; and many boat-loads were brought down, of this welcome kindling.

TANNERIES.

Another feature of the burgh was the number of the tanneries. John Topping kept a Currier's-shop, where the news-room now is; Keating Rawson had a Tannery, where Brooker now lives; Cornelius Lansing was a Tanner, and had a number of vats just North of Bacon's old place: he had a brick house there. A brook came down where Noyes's coal-yard now is; and this was the outlet of the swamps and ponds, in the eastern part of the Village. Forsyth had a Tannery on this brook, just South of Tracy's malt-house. Asa Burt carried on the business where Colburn was, in after years.

NEWSPAPERS.

Tracy & Bliss had a Bookstore, and published the *Lansingburgh Gazette*, in the old Webster House, on the corner. The *Northern Budget* was published in the house where George Lally now lives: Francis Adencourt was the editor. It was, in after years, removed to Troy.

*From the *Lansingburgh Gazette*.

Miscellaneous.

The Farmer's Bank was kept in a building near where Lown's store is now—but then it was in Lansingburg, but afterwards it was removed to Troy. Where Fox's paint-shop is, on State-street, Robert Getty kept Tavern; and where the Public Library is kept, a passage was open through, to the sheds in the rear. Where Vail's farm-house now is, was a Tavern kept by Golden. Where Mrs. Bliss lives, on Congress-street, was a two-story school-house. William Powers taught there, and so, also, did Joseph Comstock. The school taught was on the plan recommended by an Englishman named Lancaster; and hence called Lancasterian. The school-house, North of Alfred McMurray's house, was abandoned, I think, in 1818. In 1824, the school-house on Bunker-hill, as it was called, was built. This was erected mainly through the efforts of Dr. Spafford, an old-time citizen. The old Baptist Church stood on the corner East from the Academy: this was subsequently torn down, and a weathercock, representing a bird, which surmounted the steeple, now decorates the barn of Henry Van Arnum, over in Brunswick. The old burying-ground was a source of attraction, in the former time; and young men and maidens strolled thither, in great numbers, on pleasant Summer afternoons. It was better cared for, then, than now.

Indians.

The Red Men visited us quite often in old times: sometimes they encamped in the vicinity, and drove a thriving trade with the villagers, in bows, arrows, bead-work, etc. In 1823 or 1824, I have forgotten which, a large number encamped on an island opposite Waterford. Here they erected several bark wigwams, and maintained their primitive habits, undisturbed. They had a number of bark canoes; and did a profitable trade, carrying passengers back and forth, attracted by curiosity. I visited them, one afternoon, with the Rev. Mr. Dorr, the then Episcopal Minister. They remained there, several weeks. Their detention was due to the sickness of their Chief, Captain John Shilol-o-quish—he died there; and his remains were borne to the vicinity of Albany, for interment. A short time after this, an Indian applied for free passage across Unionbridge: he was refused; and, in attempting to swim the river, he was drowned. His body was subsequently recovered: on it were a number of healed bullet wounds: he was buried in the old burying ground in Waterford.

"Old Hollyhock."

An old colored man lived in the Village, in the olden time, named "Hollyhock." He was a dissipated old fellow; yet he did washing, errands, and, in various ways, made himself useful to the old families. Scarcely a family but knew "Hollyhock," and had been called upon to contribute a penny to hear him spell "Phil-um-a-del-phia"—the final vowel run out with emphasis. He would enter a house, where he was acquainted, and help himself to any article of food he might find in the cupboard. The relations existing between the old families and the colored people were very different from what they are at the present time. Old "Hollyhock" was a large man, and had a very high head, which ran up like a sugar-loaf: this head, from base to summit, was covered with small curls, or cells. One Saturday, a lady had baked a dish of pork and beans for her Sunday dinner, and set the dish on a swing shelf, in the cellar, leaving the outer door, on the sidewalk, open. The old darkie, coming up the street and seeing the cellar door open, went down to see what he could find. He soon espied the dish of beans; and, taking off his old slouched hat, which served not alone for covering but as a receptacle for supplies, as well, he emptied a good portion of the beans into it. Replacing the hat on his head he went up, the inside way, to the kitchen. Here Mrs. C. asked if he would have some broken victuals, and brought out a plate. He, forgetting himself, removed the hat from his head, when lo! such a sight appeared as is rarely, if ever, witnessed. Each curl or cell was filled with beans, to the top of his head; and, in spite of her impatience, she burst into a loud peal of laughter. Of course, scolding was out of the question. He went, always, to the poor-house, in the Fall; but, in the Spring, "when de sun crosses de noxions, and de "blue bird peep," he returned to the Village. Quite a number of slaves were kept here and in Waterford, in the former days.

Old Man.

VII.

The Presbyterian Church.

In 1784, an Act was passed by the Legislature, to enable Congregations to organize for religious purposes other than denominational, and to hold property. In 1792, Levinus Lansing, John Leavitt, John D. Dickinson, James Dole, Jonas Morgan, and Shubael Gorham met and organized a religious society. At the second meeting, they ordered a Bible and Psalm Book. There was no regular preaching, neither had they a settled Minister or house of worship. Their public meetings were held, for the most part, in the old red school-house, before

spoken of, with occasional prayer-meetings at private houses.

In 1794, the old brick Church on the Green. was built upon land donated by the Lansing family. This family had donated a large plot of land to the Village, with the proviso that a portion should be occupied by a Church. The man who built this Church was from the East: and Seth Seelye (who, in latter years, carried on Cabinet-making, where Mason & Son now are) made the sash. He was a Carpenter, and came to the Village with the man that built the Church.

In 1799, the Society organized itself into a Presbyterian Church, with James Hickock, Depui Rosecrans, Michael Henry, James Morgan, Elijah Janes, and Thomas Bissel, as Trustees. This "Tommy Bissel," as he was called, prided himself on his musical abilities and, generally, led the singing in the old Academy and in the new Church.

About this time, there was a preacher, in Troy, named Coe—Jonas Coe—an arrangement was entered into, with him, whereby he was to divide his time between Troy and Lansingburgh. In 1804, a change was made; and Lansingburgh and Waterford became one charge, presided over by Dr. Samuel Blatchford, an Englishman. He was a strong character, and a man of marked ability; and, in his case, the Church needed no Ruling Elder. During his pastorate, he taught in the Academy; and many of our old citizens, to-day, remember their training under Dr. Blatchford. In Waterford, the services, in the old time, were conducted in what, to-day, is known as Knickerbocker Hall. He could not abide either cats or cheese; and, at a house where he was entertained, it was necessary to put both these articles well out of the way. I remember his coming to our house, one afternoon, to tea, and, after remaining a short time, under much embarrassment, he withdrew. A cat was subsequently found sleeping under the bed. He was a fine scholar and an able preacher, and contributed greatly to the establishment of the society. He died in 1828, leaving a large family, some of whom became noted men, in their day and generation. He was buried here. His successor was the Rev. Isaac McIlvaine, who remained but about two years, and was followed by John M. McCullough. He remained four years; and, in 1834, the Rev. Henry Benedict took the parish; but feeble health compelled him to resign. He was a man of excellent spirit; and his withdrawal was mourned by the congregation. The Rev. Mr. Phelps, who followed Mr. Benedict, remained but a few months, when failing health drove him to a warmer clime, where he soon died. He was loved by his congregation; and, although here but a short time, he left-warmed friends behind. In 1840, came the Rev. J. H. Symms. He remained three years; and was followed by Rev. Villeroy Reed, in 1844. He was raised here, being the son of Ketchel Reed. For some time, he taught the Academy in Waterford; and, by his urbane manners, won the love of his pupils. Under his pastorate, the present church-edifice was erected, and the old Church, on the Green, sold and destroyed. Mr. Reed won the regard of his people in an eminent degree; and, when he felt it his duty to remove, his resignation was accepted with unfeigned sorrow. I learn he has since become a D. D. The present Pastor, Rev. Mr. Beverage, came in 1858, and still remains. It can be truly said of him, that none among his predecessors obtained a more lasting hold upon the hearts of the members. During his ministry, the Church has been much enlarged and beautified.

For many long years, Mr. Editor, I have watched the progress of this Society. I sat in the old school-house, under the preaching of Dr. Blatchford: I saw the church foundations laid, broad and deep, by men of culture and sound religious principles. Very many of my old acquaintances, in that Church, have been laid away, awaiting the resurrection morning; but the truth of God remains, and the Church, to-day, is a power for good in this community. No Society with which I am acquainted, possesses so many working young men and women—in fact, to me, it seems a peculiarity; and, as a result, we find a flourishing Mission organization, in Batestown, sustained mainly by the people of this Society. May its future be like its past—and yet more glorious—showing to sister Churches, that its mission is not to teach the theology of him of Geneva, but to inculcate the maxims and emulate the life of Him of Nazareth.

OLD MAN.

VIII.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

About the first of January, 1804, a call was issued for a meeting of all persons in the Village, attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church, to meet, on the fifth of said month, at the house of David Smith, father of the present Sidney D. Smith, for the purpose of organization.

They came together, according to call, and elected John Young and David Smith, Wardens, and John Rutherford, William Bradley, Stephen Ross, John Walsh, Joseph S. Mabbett, John Stewart, Jonathan Burr, and Henry Davis, Vestrymen. This was the beginning of the

Episcopal Society, in this Village. I remember them all; and, to-day, not one of them is alive.

On the thirtieth of April, of the same year, a Committee was appointed to purchase lots on which to erect a church-edifice; and, in May, a Committee was raised to procure plans and estimates. On the fourteenth of the same month, a seal was adopted, having for a device a ship and star. The Church, forty-five by fifty-five feet, was erected the same year. On the nineteenth of June, the Rev. David Butler was called; he to receive three hundred dollars for three-eighths of his time, the remainder being devoted to the Parish of St. Paul's, in Troy. Toward building the Church, Trinity Church, in New York, contributed twenty-five hundred dollars,

In 1806, it was resolved that the rental of the pews should be fixed at three hundred dollars per annum. Dr. Butler was a man of mind and of muscle, and eminently calculated to rear an infant Church. He was a gentleman of the old school: and we old folks well remember the high-topped boots and magisterial step of the Dominie. "Do you think there is "much practical piety in your Church?" said Dr. Beman to Dr. Butler. "None to boast of," was the prompt reply.

In 1807, the churchyard was enclosed. In 1842, Dr. Butler died, and was buried in the churchyard, and the Rev. Parker Adams called in his stead. In 1818, Timothy Leonard, father of the present Dr. Leonard, died, and left to the Church one thousand dollars. In the same year, Mr. Adams resigned; and the Vestry extended a call to the Rev. George W. Upfold, afterward Bishop of Illinois, which call was accepted. He was to receive three hundred dollars for half his time; and, the connection with Troy having been severed, the other half was to be devoted to Waterford, with which Parish a connection had been established. I do not remember when Dr. Upfold resigned, but I think it was about 1826. He was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, of whom I have before spoken, in one of my former letters. Mr. Dorr resigned in 1829. He was much admired by his parishioners; and was very able in the pulpit. He was the author of a very readable book entitled *A History of a Prayer Book.* Resolutions of esteem were passed by the Vestry, and of regret at his removal; and a Resolution to continue his salary, until the end of the current quarter. A copy of these Resolutions was forwarded to the Vestry of Utica, to which place Mr. Dorr had removed.

During the same year, the Rev. Phineas W. Whipple was called to the Parish, and remained until 1840. He was a man who preached the Gospel and lived according to its precepts. The connection between this parish and that of Waterford had been severed before he came; and he gave his whole time to his charge. He won the respect of the other denominations, in a great degree; and was instrumental in the growth of the parish. In 1830, Bishop Hobart died; and, out of respect to his memory, the Church was draped in black. Resolutions of respect and of sorrow were presented to his family. In 1831, the Trustees of the Village received permission to place a town clock in the belfry of the Church. During the administration of Mr. Whipple, several legacies were received by the Church, amounting to one thousand dollars.

In 1840, the Rev. A. T. Twing was called to the Parish. Dr. Upfold was a man of noble presence, and his voice was as the sound of a trumpet, while reading the service or preaching; but Mr. Twing was the most impressive reader and speaker that ever presided over this Parish. I have heard them all. A noble presence, a just apprehension of the meaning of words, a fine voice, and a reverential manner—these were the gifts freely vouchsafed to Mr. Twing. He had scarcely an enemy in the Parish, and among the people he was a universal favorite. He was a man of great benevolence; and, whenever a poor man needed help, for body or soul, however unseasonable the hour, he could count upon this most Christian Minister. He contributed largely to the growth of the Church; and his removal was sincerely mourned by numbers in and out the pale of his own Communion. During his Pastorate, the Church was enlarged and rebuilt. He left, in 1863, to assume a position of great responsibility in the Church; and, since that time, has resided in New York.*

The next Rector was the Rev. William H. Cooke, who remained four years. Mr. Cooke drew many to his Church by the beauty of his singing; and, in this direction, he was peerless. He was very popular with the young people of his Congregation; and his reputation as a preacher was high for one of his years. He resigned, in 1867, to accept a lucrative position in the Parish of Trinity, New York, where he is at present officiating.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Byran Hall, the present Rector, who, soon after his induction, was compelled to witness the burning of the church-edifice. This was a severe blow to the Society. A building hallowed to the membership by many a solemn rite. The aged had worshipped in it, for sixty years. Their chil-

* Rev. Doctor Twing is now one of our neighbors; and we can readily understand the force of all that is here said of him. Every body respects him.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

ad been baptized at its altar—had knelt
chancel-rail for Confirmation—had been
in wedlock by its white-robed Priests—
hen death had claimed its victims, the
Burial Service had been read over their
s—"Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust
ust," had often been heard within t h
v of its sacred walls. A new stone edi-
ow crowns the sacred spot; and the
hat had echoed to the tread of a Butler,
fold, and a Twing, exist only in the
n of memory.

OLD MAN.

THE EARLY BAPTISTS, IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.

REVS. A. HOSMER AND J. LAWTON.

article is a careful re-print of an early pamphlet
t rarity, for which we are indebted to Rev. CHARLES
astor of the Baptist Church, at Morris, N. Y.; and
ine to the belief that the possession of a copy of
erable work will afford much pleasure to many of
lers.
printing this interesting local, we have studiously
d the original, from the first line to the last; and,
that it may be properly used by those who shall
s, we have noted the pages of the original through-
re-print.
roper to say that the original is an octavo of thirty-
ages; poorly printed, on coarse blue-tinted paper;
trimmed edges; and that we know of no other
copy.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

itle-page.] *A | View | of the | Rise and se | of the | Churches, | composing the | Baptist Association.* | By A. Hosmer Lawton.—

in'd in love, the new-born churches stand,
wing order, in this western land;
nciple, and practice uniform,
on the Rock, they bravely stand the storm.

BOSTWICK.

stown : | Printed by Warren Barnard. |
)— |

Back of Title-page.] Advertisement. | If book should meet with acceptance, the s propose to pro- | ceed in their collections terials for publishing an account of the mainder of the Baptist churches in this n country, with other | matters now ne- ily omitted. We do earnestly request all that | feel disposed to grant us their as- ce, to communicate such materials as | hall conceive necessary. |

[3] BUTTERNUTS CHURCH.

he month of June, A. D. 1778, Ebenezer ap and Increase Thurstin, removed with families and settled on the Butternut Creek* about fourteen miles from its mouth where it empties into the Unadilla river, about twenty miles nearly southwest from the head of Susquehannah river. At this time there was no English settlement to the westward of them nearer than Niagara, in the province of Upper Canada, which is upwards of two hundred miles distance, the intermediate space was filled with several tribes of the aborigines, nor any inhabitant in any direction within sixteen miles. A few more persons came on the same summer, and made some improvements, but in the winter they returned (excepting Benjamin Lull, jun. who had married Elizabeth the daughter of Ebenezer Knap and lived in the family with him) and those two families lived alone through the winter. Ebenezer Knap and his wife were members of the Baptist church in Warwick under the care of Elder James Benedict. These persons notwithstanding their local situation, and their distance from civilized people, were not unmindful of the duties of religion; but upon their arrival in this inhospitable wild they set up a religious meeting, which was held at the house of Ebenezer Knap, in which they attended to singing, exhorting and praying. But without any visible effect on the minds of their children until the February following, when on one Friday evening Elizabeth Lull, wife of Benjamin Lull, jun. arose from her bed in great distress of mind, and coming down stairs she repeated the following words:

"Shall Simon bear thy cross alone,
"And other saints go free;
"Each saint of thine shall find his own,
"And there is one for me."

"I have lived sixteen years; and never had "a good thought, spake a good word, or did a "good deed." This made an impression on the mind of her sister Martha, and likewise upon her husband. Thus the work of the Lord began. Ebenezer Knap was gone from home† and they had no earthly instructor than their mother. They continued in this exercise of mind until April, when Mrs. Lull and her sister Martha were brought into liberty. In the course of the ensuing summer seven more families moved into the settlement and united with them in their religious meetings. This summer was a comfortable time with them, in the former part of which Increase Thurstin's wife was brought to rejoice in the Lord, together with Caleb Lull son of Benjamin Lull,

* This Creek is so called from the circumstance of three Patents cornering on the bank thereof, at which place grew three Butternut trees, which were marked.

† He went away from home in December, and returned in April.

senior, and many others appeared under deep exercises of mind on account of their souls. It continued a comfortable season with them until the summer following.

In June 1775, one Jackson was killed by an Indian on the Butter[4]nut Creek about two miles from the settlement; it was supposed the Indian murdered him for his money.

In A. D. 1776, the inhabitants began to be distressed by the war, and had no more peace until they were deprived of most of their effects and forced to break up their settlement and retire to the interior of the country.

In the course of this year a party of men were sent by the authority of the state, who obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of neutrality and disarmed them.

In A. D. 1777, a party of the British came into the settlement, and obliged the inhabitants to swear not to take up arms against the King of Britain.

In 1778, in consequence of a suspicion that the inhabitants had violated their oath, and supplied the enemy with provision, Two companies were sent from the garrison at Cherry-Valley, who took the principal men prisoners, and drove away all the cattle they could find. The prisoners were carried to Cherry Valley and examined, then sent to Albany and confined. In September the same year a party of the Oneida Indians came and took away all the men that were left, except one who was absent; and carried them to Fort Stanwix, and delivered them as prisoners to the garrison under pretence that they took them on their way to Niagara. The women and children were now left alone surrounded by hostile savages and howling beast of prey.

In a few days after the Indians were gone, Elizabeth, the wife Benjamin Lull, senior being deprived of her family (which consisted of her husband and five sons, who were all taken prisoners) formed the resolution of leaving the place; accordingly she set out (accompanied with another woman, who carried with her two small children) through the wood for Cherry-Valley, where they arrived after two days travel, in which they endured great distress, on account of the ruggedness of the way, continual fears of the enemy, and the inclemency of the weather, for a great part of the time it rained exceeding hard, and at night they took up their lodging in an old hut and made their bed of some oat-straw. The distance they travelled was about thirty-two miles. Mrs. Lull was at this time about 57 years of age, and carried a pack that was judged to weigh about thirty weight.

In a short time after this the prisoners were released, as there was nothing found against them. They immediately removed their fa lies back into the old settlements. Thus w these people driven from their habitations a passing through scenes of anxiety and distr which must affect the feeling heart with exq site sensations.

But through all their distress and dang kind providence protected them, so that lives were lost except Jackson's aforesaid. 1783 Benjamin Lull with his wife and one s returned to the settlement and lived alc through the winter.

In 1784, four more families returned. 1785 they again set up religious meetin About the year 1787, they had preaching p of [5] the time and were baptized by Elder Co stock who had collected a small church Cooper,s patent, but he dying soon after. l church became extinct.

In A. D. 1792, Elder Craw from Greenfie visited them, preached and baptized two p sons; May 16, 1793 a number of Baptist p fessors met at the house of Mr. Joseph Lull, Unadilla* for conferences after an agreeal interview in which they found a union of se timent respecting doctrine and discipline, th adjourned their meeting.

June 1793, they again met and after furth conversation they read and adopted a covenan and agreed to call a council.

August 28th, 1793 a council consisting the Elder and delegates from Greenfield churc met, and after inspecting their doings, ga them fellowship as a church in sister relation Their number was five males, and five female This church lies southwesterly from Springfiel about thirty-five miles.

Ebenezer Knap and his wife are yet membe of the church and they have the pleasure seeing their two daughters (their only survivin children) one of their sons in law, and six their grand children) in the same church wit them.

SPRINGFIELD.

IN 1787 there was a collection of nine Babtis professors in the town of Springfield, but wer not regularly organized as a church: they con tinued in this situation until 1789, when Elde Furman removed to that place, whose labor i the Gospel (by the divine blessing) prove successful. In February the same year th work of the Lord began, and on the 13th day March following Elder Furman, with twent more, united with them in Covenant, and no

* This settlement, with the adjacent country was the known by the name of Unadilla, but is since divided int four towns.

ered themselves a gospel church, and in
rds of Elder Furman, "this was a beau-
sight, a glorious day in the wilderness."
vere now thirty in number walking to-
in union and harmony: This was the
aptist Church erected in this once howl-
sert. The work of God still continued
fore the end of January following, thir-
more were added to the church.
793 God again visited them with a small
i, and seven were added to the church.
796 the Lord was pleased to pour out his
among them again, and fourteen were
to the church. This church from the
ing has been in a flourishing condition,
vored with additions yearly. Elder Fur-
ill continus his labours among them, and
ve received information that God is again
g them, and a work of reformation is
on in that place.

FIRST CHURCH BURLINGTON.

the 27th of November A. D. 1793, a
er of Baptist pro[6]fessors met at the house
ther E. Leonard in the easterly part of
gton for conference. Part of these were
ers of churches in the older towns, others
een members of a church which arose
nder the auspices of an Elder Comstock,
e dying, they lost their visibility. From
time they continued their conferences;
eard the relations of those who were un-
ed, until the 4th of January, 1794, when
oted to send for a council. March 28th,
the council consisting only of the Elder
essengers from the church in Springfield,
ned, and after examining their articles
ovenant, gave them fellowship as a sister
h. Their numbers were ten. This church
southwesterly from Springfield, distant
24 miles.*

FAIRFIELD AND PALATINE.

March 1793 Elder Butler removed his
y to the Royal Grant. In April following
conferences to see if they could be agreed
ne together as a gospel church, they con-
d until July 1794, when they entered into
ant and were fellowshipt by Elder Cor-
Their number was 14. Lies north from
gfield 22 miles.

is church has never been in very flourishing circum-
, owing as we conceive, to some injudicious conduct
person who had the lead at the time of its forma-

NORWICH FIRST CHURCH.

ON the 9th of June, A. D. 1792, a number of Baptist professors living on the Governor's purchase upon the west side of Unadilla river, met in conference chose a moderator and clerk, proceeded to give a relation of their Christian experience; and made other inquiries necessary to the gaining an acquaintance and obtaining fellowship with each other. These conferences were continued; and such fellowship obtained, that on the 27th of November 1793, they agreed to send for a council to meet at the house of Simeon Camp on the Unadilla river, on the 20th of January 1794; on said day Elder Joseph Craw and one Brother from Greenfield church † attended (the other churches failed) where after inquiring into their doings, gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order, which is now known by the name of the First Church in Norwich. Their numbers were eleven. This church lies southwesterly from the church in Springfield about forty-two miles.

SECOND CHURCH IN BURLINGTON.

IN the beginning of the year 1794, the inhabitants on Wharton creek, in the town of Burlington, generally attended a meeting of the [7] Methodist order. About the first of March 1794, Deacon Martin Luther removed into this place, when he and Brother J. Vaughn had conversation on the propriety of setting up a meeting of the Baptist denomination, and agreed to appoint a conference at Brother Vaughn's on the 13th day of March 1794. Accordingly a number of the inhabitants met at the time and place appointed; when after duly considering of the matter, those of the Baptist sentiment agreed to set up a meeting, which was cordially acceded to by the Methodists.—At the next conference which was held soon after a number of persons gave a relation of their experiences which was very satisfactory; and was a very comfortable time, for it appeared evident that the Lord was present by the gracious influence of his holy spirit, and pleasing symptoms of an approaching reformation were discoverable.

On the 29th of March 1794, a number of the Brethren and Sisters convenanted together as a church of Christ.

April 20th 1794 they voted for a council, in order to obtain their fellowship as a sister church.

May 16th 1794, a council consisting of the following churches, viz. Springfield, First in

† This church belongs to the Shaftsbury Association, an is distant from this place about 100 miles.

Burlington, and Unadilla, convened at the house of Paul Gardner, where after proper inquiries respecting their faith and practice proceeded to give them the right hand of fellowship.—their number was nine. From the 5th of April to the 18th of May, meetings were frequently held, and at every meetiug there were some who gave a relation of their experience, so that on the said 18th day Elder Furman visited them, preached, baptized 23 persons and brake bread to the church. From this time there was an increasing attention among the people. At almost every meetng some gave a relation of their experience, until the 29th of June, when Elder Caleb Nichols from the Shaftsbury association visited them, preached, baptized 28 persons, and brake bread to 116, a number of whom were members of the churches in this vicinity. The work was carried on with power until the October following when their number increased to ninety-eight. This church lies southwesterly from Springfield, distant 28 miles.

THIRD CHURCH IN BURLINGTON.

IN March 1793, Jonathan Pettit and Stephen Taylor set up a religious meeting on the Lord's day, in the northwest part of Burlington, and continued the same until December following, when Elder Furman visited them, baptized two persons, and advised them to attend religious conferences for the purpose of obtaining acquaintance and union in order for coming into church order; accordingly, on the 8th of March 1794, they met in conference and eleven persons related their experience, gave mutual satisfaction and union was obtained. They kept up their conferences until May 11th 1794, when they voted to call a council, having before covenanted together. A council consisting of messengers from the following churches, viz. Springfield, [8] First and Second in Burlington, convened at Brother Timothy Taylor's in Burlington, where after examining their articles and covenant, the council unanimously gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. Their numbers were eleven. The church lies southwesterly from Springfield distant about 30 miles.

RICHFIELD *alias* EXETER.

A NUMBER of Baptist professors from different places, having moved into that part of Richfield now called Exeter, did on the 28th of December 1793, agree to set up a meeting on the Lord's day for religious worship. On the 24th of April 1794, they met at Brother Thomas Hedge's to confer on the propriety of forming a church in gospel order; but many not having as yet received letters of from the churches to which they they concluded to adjourn until th June 1794, to meet at the same place. ingly on said day they met, and f agreement, they voted to consider t as a church in gospel order. The Springfield and the first church in B having been previously invited, met delegates and formed a council for th of inspecting their doings; when, a did examination, they gave them fell a church in gospel order. Their nur This church lies west from Springfiel about seventeen miles. Fifteen mem added within fifteen months from thi

STEWART's PATENT, *alias* FIRST

A NUMBER of persons living on patent, in the town of Otsego, did or of March, 1794, set up a religious On the 10th of April the same year, th conference and began to tell their ex to each other, and entered into a eov gether to keep up the public worshi and family prayer. July 18th 1794, ceeded to receive others into thei upon their giving a relation of a work upon their souls.—November 30th 17 Furman preached and baptized five In conference on the 10th of Decem they proceeded to examine the art covenant which had previously been when finding a good agreement, they send to Springfield church to come an into their faith and order. Decem 1794, Elder Furman and four Breth him, came and examined into their cl gave them fellowship as a church of Their number twelve. This church from Springfield church, distant ab miles.

SECOND CHURCH OTSEG

IN the year 1791 a number of perso a religious meeting, The year f Elder James Bacon came into the began to preach to the people, baptiz and continued with them for [9] the two years; and then returned to Co About this time B'r John Bostwick improve by way of doctrine among th On the 20th of May 1795 they met i ence and deliberated on the propriety ing a church. On the 4th Wednesday following they again met in confere consulted on the subject of church

ıent, and a covenant was agreed to, and they oted to call a council to give them fellowship. n the 19th of August 1795 pursuant to a re- uest, a council consisting of the following hurches, (viz) Springfield and Franklin, con- ened and gave them fellowship as a church in ospel order. Their number was 12. This hurch lies southwesterly from Springfield, dis- ınt about 20 miles.

OTEGO FORMERLY SECOND UNADILLA.

IN the year 1790 three Baptist professors ıoved into the town of Unadilla, near the ıouth of Otego creek, and soon set up the orship of God on Lord's day: the country eing new rendered it difficult for the people assemble, especially on evenings, on which ccasions they made use of torches to light ıem through the Indian paths to their habita- ons. At a certain time a number of rude ersons made an agreement to break up their ıeeting; but before the time came they were nvinced of the impropriety of such conduct, ıd desisted from their purpose. About this me they were involved in some trials by ason of false brethren, who came in among ıem. In the years 1792 and 1793 some minis- rs visited them, a small reformation took lace and five persons were baptized. In 1794 veral professors moved into the place and ited with them in the worship of God. In 795 they met and gave a relation of their hristian experience to each other, and obtain- l fellowship, agreed upon articles and coven- ıt, and voted to send for a council. August th 1795 A council consisting of Springfield ıd Franklin churches convened and gave em fellowship as a church. Their number as 15. It lies southwesterly from Springfield stant about thirty-five mlles.

OTSEGO ASSOCIATION.

IN the year 1789 Elder William Furman re- oved with his family into the town of Spring- ld, in the county of Otsego, state of New ork. This town lies at the north end of Ot- go lake, and about 15 miles south of Mohawk ver; and about 60 miles west of Albany. At is time there was no Baptist church in all is extensive country. Eld'r Furman was at is time about forty years of age, he is of a iddling stature, robust constitution, fitted to dure hardships, naturally of a mild and gen- disposition, affable in conversation, meek d winning in his preaching; sound in doc- ne, in exhortation excels, his gifts seem to mostly of the exhortative kind; yet, he is capable of handling a text doctrinally to the satisfaction of the lovers [10] of truth. He is of deep penetration and sound judgment, which renders him eminently useful in councils. He was the first minister who was settled in this wilderness, who was particularly useful in planting churches, and promoting the rise of this Association. Having the glory of God in view, and desirous of the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, he spared no pains, but exerted himself to the utmost for the accomplishment of those glorious purposes. He may with propriety be said to be the father of these churches, God has remarkably blessed his labors with abundant success. He now rejoices to see the happy effects of his unwearied pains in the service of his Lord.

In the spring of the year 1794 he proposed to the churches to meet in a conference, to consult the propriety of forming an Association of these churches. Accordingly seven churches met by their delegates on the 4th day of September 1794, at the house of B'r Wm. Go · Burlington. Eld'rs Werden, Cornell and C belonging to the Shaftsbury Association being present, took seat with them. After an agreeable conference on the subject, they adjourned until the 2nd Thursday in January, 1795, to meet at the house of Paul Gardner, in Burlington.

January 8th, 1795, the churches again pursuant to adjournment, and two more were added, Sentiments of an Association and the platform thereof were read, and agreed to refer them to the churches, requesting them to appoint delegates to meet at the meeting house in Springfield, on the 2d day of September next, invested with power to decide on the propriety of forming an Association.

Adjourned.

September 2d 1795.

The delegates from the churches met.

Introductory Sermon, from Luke xxiv. 26, by Elder Ashbel Hosmer.* A Moderator and Clerk were chosen. Letters from the churches were read, and the following list taken:

Churches.	*Ministers.*	*Numbers.*
Springfield,	William Furman,	56
1st Burlington,	——— ———	22
2d Burlington,	Ashbel Hosmer,	101
3d Burlington,	——— ———	10
Norwich,	——— ———	30
1st Unadilla,	——— ———	17
Richfield,	——— ———	22

* He was at this time a member of a church in Connecticut, but having removed his family into Burlington, and residing with the second church in that place, was sent as one of their delegates to this Conference.

Stuart's Patent,	——— ———	21
Schuyler,	John Hammond,	63
Charlestown,	Elijah Herrick,	24
[11]Norway Palatine,	Joel Butler,	31
2d Unadilla,	——— ———	15
Otsego,	——— ———	12
13 Churches.	5 Ministers.	424

Note the three last mentioned churches had not before attended the conference.

Eld'rs Cornell and Finds by appointment from the Shaftsbury Association being present, took seat in the conference. Adjourned until 8 o'Clock to-morrow morning.

Sept. 3, 8 o'Clock.

Sermon by Eld'r Cornell from Timothy II. 3. After a short intermission proceeded to business. A Platform and plan of union for these churches was read and unanimously agreed upon.

The delicate circumstances in which the infant churches, in this extensive territory were placed, rendered them liable to impositions from artful and designing men; and several such of dangerous principles and corrupt practices having already obtruded themselves upon these new settlements, it became indispensably necessary that some method should be devised to prevent such impositions in future, and to keep out of our connexion all persons sustaining such characters. Therefore the conference appointed Eld. Cornell to examine each church respecting their faith and practice, and each minister concerning his character. After which the aforementioned churches and minister being found in a circumstance to unite, they UNANIMOUSLY voted to consider themselves at this and future meetings as an Association, by the name of the Otsego Association. The Elders and brethren present gave them fellowship as an Association.

Voted to open a correspondence with the Shaftsbury and Danbury Associations.

Voted to meet annually on the first Wednesday in September at 10 o'Clock A. M.

This being the first interview of this nature ever enjoyed in this western country, it was apparently crowned with a divine blessing.—The presence of Jehovah was really felt, and the souls of God's people expanded with joy. Some who came to the meeting with a resolution to oppose the forming of an Association, were constrained to acknowledge that God was with them; and their souls rejoiced in the union of these infant churches. Indeed it was a pleasing and interesting scene, to behold the little churches scattered throughout this extensive land, coming up out of the wilderness and uniting together in an Associate capacity, thereby exhibiting what the Lord had done and was still doing in this once howling desert.

In order to give the reader an idea of the state of the churches in this connexion, we shall present him with some extracts from their [12] yearly letters to the Association, so far as we are able.

Extracts of letters to the Association for 1795.

Butternts alias *1st Unadilla.* "It seems to be a winter season with us, yet at our last "conference we had a very comfortable time.—"Our frozen hearts began to thaw; and our cold "affections began to flame. We felt a little of "our first love, and our desire is that the bleed-"ing cause of God may be built up; that Zion "may travel and Satan's kingdom may fall to "the ground."

1st Otsego alias *Stuart's Patent.* "We have to bless God "that when we put our "trust in him he never proves a barren wilder-"ness to our souls, but is as the shadow of a "great rock in a weary land. We have gone "through some trials at times; but the Lord "has helped us. We have some encourage-"ment—many attentive to hear the word and "convicted we trust. We wish that brotherly "love may continue."

Exeter alias *First Richfield.* "We have reason to bless "God that not only peace "and harmony abound, but we have some ad-"ditions and it appears that the Lord is at "work on the minds of others."

Spring-field. "Approves of the platform, and "desires the association of the "churches."

Third Burlington. "Peace and harmony "among us."

Schuyler and Whitestown. "Wishing that practical God-"liness may be zealously attend-"ed by the churches—we have reason to speak "of the goodness of God that we have addi-"tions to the church, while we lament that "some have of late left us and embraced her-"etical principles."

Second Burlington. "The church in comfortable "circumstances, pray for the up-"building of the cause of truth."

Second Otsego. "Desirous of union."

Norway and Palatine. "We rejoice that God has put "it into the heart of any of his "people to seek for the advancement of his "glory, and the building up of Zion in the "world."

Otego alias *Second Unadilla.* "In comfortable circum-"stances, desirous for the

'advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom."

Charlestown. "Small and feeble, recommend "themselves to the prayers of God's people."

First Norwich. "In a comfortable state."

(*To be continued.*)

VII.—FLOTSAM.

"What's in a Name?"—Among recent miscellaneous items in the *Transcript*, I have noticed the following:

"Mr. Stickerly, a happy parent in Ohio, "named his children 'One,' 'Two,' 'Three,' "&c., as they arrived, without regard to sex. "General Two Stickerly was a successful Briga- "dier during the War of the Rebellion."

The "Mr. *Stickerly*" referred to was Mr. B. F. *Stickney;* not, originally, "a happy parent in "Ohio," but in New Hampshire, near my native town. My boyish remembrance of him was as the keeper of a country tavern—a man of many reputed peculiarities—one of which was the inscribing on his tavern-sign, besides the usual painting of his name and a spread-eagle, or head of Washington, perhaps, the words, "A bad harbor is better than none." From this came the unfortunate designation of "*bad harbor*," in connection with his establishment, which, contrary to his expectation, lost him some custom.

Another whim of his was the numbering of his children; not, as is stated, "without regard "to sex," but as confined to the boys—for one of the girls, as I remember, was named Indiana; and I think the name of some State was given to each of the others. I recollect seeing, and talking with, *Two* Stickney, when he was a boy, visiting his relatives in New Hampshire, more than half a century ago; and have, since and before our War of the Rebellion, heard of him as somewhat distinguished in the border troubles that once existed between Michigan and Ohio. The father, Benjamin F. Stickney—who was early appointed by our Government as Indian Agent at the West, and left New Hampshire for that section of country—I met and passed an evening with, about twenty years ago, near his residence on the Maumee-river, in Ohio. I found him quite intelligent, although, of course, far advanced in age.

Mr. Stickney's first wife, and the mother of his children, was a daughter of General John Stark, of Revolutionary memory. He had married again; and his last wife was the widow of one of the early printers and publishers of Washington City. The peculiarity of numbering the children was always ascribed to th father. But it is rather a singular fact (there being no blood affinity between them) that a whim, almost as peculiar, should have actuated a brother-in-law, a Mr. Cameron of Caledonia-county, Vermont, who married another daughter of General Stark, in giving a daughter born to them the name of Thomas Jefferson. G. K. —*Boston Transcript*, May 13, 1871.

John C. Calhoun's Fogyism.—The following anecdote of John C. Calhoun is told by William Schouler, on the authority of the late Hon. Abbott Lawrence: "Some time before "1840, Mr. Calhoun wrote to Mr. Lawrence that "he had been adding to his landed estates, and "would like to obtain a loan of ten thousand "or fifteen thousand dollars, in Boston, where "money was more plenty than in South Caro- "lina, and the rate of interest not so high, for "the payment of which he would give his "notes and a mortgage upon his estate, which "would be ample security. Mr. Lawrence said "he consulted Mr. Nathan Appleton and one or "two other wealthy citizens of Boston upon "the subject; and it was agreed to raise the "money for him, and take no security for the "payment but his own note. Mr. Lawrence "informed Mr. Calhoun of the arrangement "which he had made; and expressed his grati- "fication that it was in the power of himself "and a few of his friends to do a kindness to "one so distinguished, whose life had been de- "voted to the service of his country. Mr. "Calhoun immediately wrote back, declining "the offer and withdrawing his original request. "He said it did not agree with his sense of "propriety to accept a loan upon such terms; "that in the discharge of his public duties he "did not wish to be embarrassed by a sense of "obligation to any one."—*Albany Argus.*

Antiquities of Iredell-county, North Carolina.—One mile, North of the Placebo Houston homestead, on the waters of Bryant-branch and Kennedy-creek, were discovered "prospect-holes," which, we think, were dug long before our ancestors moved to this section of the country.

We never heard any of our forefathers say anything about miners *ever* having been in this country, hunting for gold, in their day.

The "prospect-holes," on the hill-side, near Bryant-branch, are not more than ten feet apart; higher up on the ridge, however, they are some fifty feet apart, or probably more. The "lead" or "lode" can be traced to the Yadkin-county line, a distance of about two miles.

The "lead" runs North-east and South-west, as is the case in the Rocky Mountains Some of the pits, or "prospect-holes," we opened. The most prominent feature of which is, that there is a hard, blue rock bottom, which is very heavy, and which, we think, contains some precious metal.

It is our opinion, that this "lead" contains silver or some other valuable metal, which has not yet been discovered, as the miners, who have been introduced into this section, have always been told to "hunt for gold," and thus, in hunting for gold, lost sight of the other precious metals. We are of the opinion that the heaps of rock which have generally been designated as Indian graves, were thrown up by persons who visited this country, centuries ago, when it was a vast prairie, as land-marks by which they could retrace their steps to their headquarters or boats; for, in those days, mathematics had not been reduced to practical use, as they now are.

Such conclusions we never could have drawn, had not a gentleman, who has been engaged in the mining business, for several years. in the West, suggested it.

The miners, whoever they were, operated just as the miners of the present day. We also think that we can discover traces of a trench which conveyed water into a sluice-box; and, judging from the suitability of the situation and the pits, there is no doubt but that we are right in our conjectures. Large trees have grown up in some of the pits and upon the mounds composed of the earth thrown up.

Now, what are we to conclude? Somebody has been here. Who and where from?—*Statesville, N. C., American.*

The American Cromwells.—A correspondent of the London *Times* lately declared that "the historic name of Cromwell has had no "living representative since 1799," meaning, we suppose, that neither Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's Minister, nor Oliver Cromwell, his greater kinsman, have any descendants of that name now living. This is very likely to be true; but there are, in this country, descendants of Oliver Cromwell who do not bear the name, as the Chenoweths, descended from a daughter of Richard Cromwell, who settled in Virginia, and others of various names.

As for the Cromwells in this country, it is not necessary to suppose that they are descended from Oliver, for there was a family of the name, settled in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, while Oliver was living. Argentine Cromwell, a daughter of Giles Cromwell, of Newbury, married and lived near Exeter, N. H., in the seventeenth century, and has many descendants in the country, of various names. Of the male descendants of Argentine Cromwell's father we know little; but Captain Cromwell of Cincinnati may be one of them.

As Rev. John Wheelwright, the first Minister of Exeter, was a personal friend of Oliver Cromwell, for many years, it is possible that he brought with him, from England, among his parishioners and friends, a kinsman of Oliver; but we believe there is no evidence of this, though there was a tradition that Argentine Cromwell was akin to the Protector.

Any antiquarian who can trace the wanderings of John Wheelwright, from 1627 to 1636, when he landed in Boston, may throw light on several interesting points in New England history. He was a Lincolnshire man; five years older than Cromwell; but was at Cambridge with him; and his Lincolnshire Parish was not far from Cromwell's home in Huntingdon. —*Congregationalist.*

Positively the last Slave sold.—The Norfolk *Journal* says that it may not be generally known that the last sale of a Slave, in the South, occurred in Virginia. News had just reached the Valley of the retreat of Lee's army from Petersburg, when a gentleman offered a slave to a farmer of Augusta-county. After some higgling, the bargain was closed by bartering the negro off for *one hundred Cabbage-plants.*

The Cherokee Alphabet.—This alphabet was invented by a full-blooded Cherokee Indian, known among white people of Chahooga-county, Georgia, by the name of Dick Guess.

When advanced in years, without any knowledge of the English language, he had wondered at seeing the white man "talk on paper." After a long study, he undertook to open the way for his countrymen to the same accomplishment. He went to work making different characters upon the ground, exciting the surprise of all who observed him, and creating the general impression that he was *non compos mentis.* When he had brought his studies to practical results, he announced to his countrymen that he could talk on paper. This was received with contemptuous laughter. He was unable to induce any of his tribe to learn his alphabet, which consisted of about one hundred rude syllabic characters. He then went to the Cherokees, settled in Arkansas, and was more successful in inducing them to learn his alphabet. He taught a number of these Indians to write; and, on his return to Georgia,

brought with him letters written by his pupils and read them to the old Cherokees. The latter were now convinced that he had discovered the method of talking on paper, and became his pupils. This alphabet was afterward improved by Bondinot and others; but Dick Guess was its real father. His home was in what is now Knox's Quarter, near Alpine, Georgia.—*Doylestown Democrat.*

—The history of the well-known "Bartlett "Pear" is thus given by the Boston *Traveller.* Mr. Enoch Bartlett, who owned the Bartlett estate in Dorchester, now Boston Highlands, was Vice-president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, for many years, and was an eminent horticulturist. Some forty years ago, he brought from this estate to one of the meetings, a choice pear, never before seen by the members. Mr. Bartlett and the members of the Society supposed it to be a seedling pair; and, out of regard to Mr. Bartlett, it was named the "Bartlett Pear." But, in point of fact, this was merely an old English pear, well known there as "William's Good Christian;" and it had been imported by Mr. T. Brewer, who built the Bartlett house and laid out the grounds, some time about the year 1815. But the estate having been, after a few years, sold, and passing into other hands, the history of the tree was not known until Mr. Bartlett's introduction of it to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society made it famous.—*Albany Aryus.*

—The old Presbyterian-church, at Easthampton, Long Island, where Drs. Buel, and Lyman Beecher, and others delivered the Gospel, in years long gone by, has at last been levelled to the earth. When the new house of worship was erected, nearly twenty years ago, the old one was sold; and it has been decaying and unused ever since. At last, the frame has been taken down, and the place that knew it will know it no more, forever.

It was erected in 1717. Its history would be the record of glorious displays of the power of God, in the preaching of his Word, revivals of religion, conversions of multitudes, and the growth of successive generations of intelligent Christians. It was in this church that Dr. Buel, when speaking of the aggravated guilt of those who would perish under such privileges as they there enjoyed, once said. "In the "last day, when the world is assembled before "its Judge, the cry will go up, 'Make room! "'make room! an Easthampton sinner has "'come to judgment!'" It was in this church that Dr. Lyman Beecher preached some of his early and powerful Sermons. Near it, several of his children, now famous, were born. The pulpit of the Church is in the possession of the Long Island Historical Society, in Brooklyn.—*N. Y. Observer.*

VIII.—NOTES.

Kid, Kidnapper.—The following definitions, from Bailey's *Dictionary*, have an historical interest as well as a philological one. They show some of the popular impressions that prevailed in England, at the beginning of the last century.

"Kid, formerly, one trepanned" [i. e. *entrapped*] "by kidnappers; now, one who is "bound apprentice, here," [*England,*] "in or- "der to be transported to the *English* colonies "in *America.*"

"Kidnapper, a person who makes it his "business to decoy either Children or young "Persons, to send them to the *English* planta- "tions in *America.*"

S. A. G.

Boston.

Old Point Monument.—In 1689, Sebastian Rasle, a man of good sense, sound learning, and address, belonging to a respectable family in France, was appointed a Jesuit Missionary to the Norridgewock Indians. He consented to relinquish the pleasures of refined and polished society, and to live with the Indians, thirty-five years, in their rude huts and on their scanty fare.

He was killed and scalped, and his Church, built by the Government of Massachusetts, of hewn timber, was burned, on the twenty-third of August, 1724. His body was buried by some of his converts, who escaped the general destruction of their tribe; and a wooden cross erected over the grave, near the place of the altar. This cross was standing, in 1774, when this place was first settled by a small Colony from Massachusetts. The place was often visited by travellers of distinction, such as Governors, Judges, and men of distinguished reputation. But, as all vestiges of the spot had nearly disappeared, the Honorable Edward Kavenau, a native of France; a gentleman of talents; who had been educated a Catholic; who had come to this country, before Maine became a State, and become an adopted citizen; and, when Maine became a State, whose services were appreciated by the people and he was repeatedly chosen Senator for the large County of Lincoln; and, at last, was chosen President of the Senate. He became the acting Governor of the State, after the death of

Governor Lincoln, and discharged the duties of his various offices with ability and fidelity, to the satisfaction of all parties.

In January, 1833, being a member of Congress, he projected a splendid monument to be erected over the grave of Rasle, at Old Point, near the Northwest corner of Norridgewock; procured an artist to make a drawing of it; and sent a copy to the Selectmen of this town. It was to be eight feet square at the base; with a marble slab inserted, on the front side, to receive the inscription; and to be seventy feet high. He sent a copy likewise to Bishop Fenwick, of Boston. The Bishop approved of having a less costly monument erected; but was opposed to that projected by Mr. Kavenau, on account of the violent prejudices that then existed against the Catholics. A mob in Boston, which could not be restrained by the police, had, not long before, demolished and burnt their Church in that city. That, if a costly structure were erected over the grave of Rasle, it might excite the existing prejudice so as to cause its destruction, even if erected by Mr. Kavenau. That, if it were practicable, he would have a stone from the quarry with no mark of a hammer on it—the more Indian-like the better—but, as that could not be done, he would assume the whole cost of the purchase of a lot, to contain an acre, on which Rasle was buried, and erect a monument, to be four feet square, at the base, covered with a granite slab, six inches thick, four feet and six inches square, with a granite shaft, four feet square at the base, and *eleven* feet high, tapered to a round point, with an iron cross inserted in the top; the whole to be seventeen feet high; the front stone, in the upper part of the basement, to be hewn smooth to receive an inscription. All which was done, and Bishop Fenwick paid the bill; and the monument was erected on the twenty-third of August, 1833, in presence of a large concourse of people, including a large delegation of Indians, from Penobscot.

A company from Boston went to see it, two years afterwards, and one, in a boisterous manner, said that it would not be permitted to stand a week, in that vicinity. This excited the prejudice of some who heard it; and, after a few days, it was thrown down. But it was soon after replaced by Samuel Searle, Esq., and one or two others, at their expense, being indignant that the reputation of the town should thus be invaded. All prejudice gradually subsided, except with some one who defaced the Latin inscription and deposited filth about it.

In the fall of 1848, a rum-seller in a neighboring town, being prosecuted for selling rum in this town, to revenge himself, threw down the monument; a second time, and stole the iron cross, as we have good reason to believe.

In 1861, a party from Skowhegan and Norridgewock had a pic-nic at Old Point; raised a contribution; and had it erected a third time; and it still remains, a harmless memento of the place where the Indian Church once stood. The inscription being unintelligible, a copy in English is as follows:

"Rev. Sebastian Rasle, a native of France, "a Missionary of the Society of Jesuits, at "first preaching, for a few years, to the Illinois "and Hurons, afterwards, for thirty-four years, "to the Abnaqies, in faith and charity; a true "Apostle of Christ. Undaunted by the danger "of arms; often testifying that he was prepar-"ed to die for his flock; at length, this best "of Pastors fell amidst arms, at the destruction "of the Village of Norridgewock and the ruins "of his own Church, in this very place, on the "twenty-third day of August, A. D. 1724.

"Bishop Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, has "erected this monument and dedicated it to "him and his deceased children, on the twenty-"third of August, A. D. 1833, and to the "greater glory of God." WILLIAM ALLEN.

NORRIDGEWOCK, ME.

SOME OF THE DEVICES PRACTISED IN THE LATE WAR, BY THOSE LIABLE TO MILITARY SERVICE, TO AVOID GOING INTO THE ARMY.—According to the custom of the ancients, in similar cases, some mutilated some of the fingers of their right hands; some scalded their shins, to produce bad sores; and some bound copper cents to their feet, until they produced that result. One woman endeavored to screen her son by bringing the record of his birth in her Bible, to show that he was under age; but she happened to have a copy, according to its date, printed later than the entry with the pen. In some cases, the date of the book had been altered by the hand. One man made himself a place of concealment, by digging into the side of a bank of earth, where he amused himself by playing on the violin, by the sound of which he was detected. Some others found a small stream running between some hills, and crossing a public road. From this, to avoid leaving any track, they waded up the stream and dug into the bank, on the side of a hill, in an upward direction, carefully concealing the dirt. At the farther end of their den, they made an opening to the surface. Over this, in its natural position, they placed a large hollow tree, for a chimney. Under this, they could have a fire, at night, when, mostly, they frequented their burrow. During the day, they lurked among some pine bushes, on the opposite hill. One man put a partition across his house, not far from the wall of one end, in which was no

window. He had a trap-door, under a bed, in the main apartment, and another through the floor of his closet. His ingress and egress were through these; and, here, he kept goods for sale, to those of like sentiments with himself and who could keep his secret. When his hiding-place was discovered and the officers threatened to shoot through his partition, he surrendered. In one instance, a man had a large bin for grain, with a double bottom and with a sufficient space between the two for him to occupy, through the day. An opening was made for him to enter, in the backside, which could be pushed up to the wall. His wife betrayed his secret, by always seeming to keep near the box, when the recruiting officer was present. One man burrowed under the manger of his stables. The outer opening of his hole was under a pile of manure, in the yard.

In unfrequented places and remote from public roads, *men* assumed the garb of women and, in Summer, worked in the fields. Some had hiding-places under stacks of hay or straw; some between the weather-boarding and ceiling of their log houses; and some over the piazzas, with openings through the walls, to enter.

In one instance, a man found a very large hollow tree, broken off some distance from the ground. He made a light ladder that would reach near the top; threw down a quantity of dry leaves, inside; took up the ladder and let it down on the inside; and descended to the bottom. By making a small hole in the rind of the tree, he admitted light enough to work at the trade of a shoe-maker. He took up and let down his ladder, each way, as he went in and out of his place of confinement.

A great variety of diseases was feigned—some of them very strange ones, and such as cannot well be spoken of in print. One person told the Surgeons he had "a *confliction* of dis-"eases as great as any man ever had." One said he had a very dirty disease—he did not like to name it; and it was with difficulty he could be brought to do it; when it proved to be something like the piles. Others, acquired the ability to assume the appearance of these, at pleasure. One soldier, with a very dark skin and very much resembling a negro, though not of that origin, with great concern, consulted with a friend as to what he should do to avoid conscription to the Army. The friend advised him to put in the plea of colored blood—he did so, and escaped. Some men affected to have kidney-diseases, which they were never known to have before. Some alleged impotence; some, being affected periodically, like the female sex.

Thus, there was almost no end to the stratagems, devices, and pleas, to avoid entering the Army, in addition to the multiplied Government contracts, for numberless articles of use in the tented-field.

OBSERVER.

NORTH CAROLINA.

IX.—QUERY.

Can any one tell me the name of the author of the following extract, and where it may be found? S. A. D.

"Literature is a ray of that wisdom which "pervades the universe. Like the sun, it en-"lightens, rejoices, and warms. By the aid of "books, we collect around us all things, all "places, men, and times. By them, we are re-"called to the duties of human life. By the "sacred example of greatness, our passions are "directed and we are aroused to virtue. Liter-"ature is the daughter of heaven, who has "descended upon earth to soften the evils of "life. Have recourse, then, to books."

X.—REPLIES.

THE BELL OF ST. REGIS, (*H. M.* II. vii. 407).—The story of the Bell of St. Regis first appeared, I think, in one of the Annuals, which it was formerly the custom to publish. It was a very nice story, but it is hardly history. There are a few difficulties in regard to it, which, at the time it was written, were not so glaring as the mere general knowledge of Canadian matters make them now.

FIRST. In 1704, there was no individual known as St. Regis. This name is a short form for St. John Francis Regis. He was not canonized till 1737; and the name "Saint" was not affixed to his name till then.

SECOND. The Iroquois village of St. Regis was not begun by Father Gordon, till about 1760; and the French were a little too busy, just then, as well as too poor, to send to France for a bell for Father Gordon's log Chapel, erected for the hard cases whom he took to the new village, to get them away from the *cabarets* (liquor-stores) of Montreal.

THIRD. The attack on Deerfield, in 1704, was made by Lieutenant Hertel de Rouville, with Abenaqui Indians, chiefly—the New Englanders having first attacked the Abenaquis. The Rev. Mr. Williams was taken, at the time; and his *Redeemed Captive* shows an entire absence of any allusion to the bell, its capture, or transportation, overland.

The story, then, is certainly out of the way, in making any "St. Regis," in 1704; in making one in Canada, in 1704, and in making a bell, carried to any such place, from Deerfield, in 1704.

J. G. S.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

North Carolina.—[*H. M.*, II., ix., 122.]—Hon. D. L. Swain was appointed Historical Agent of the State of North Carolina, by authority of a Resolution of the Legislature, in 1854–5. He reported to the Governor, on the twentieth of November, 1855, and on the first of December, 1856. In 1857, a Resolution was adopted, continuing the agency and authorizing the Agent to examine the public archives and other sources of information of sister States, as well as the mother country. Under this Commission, he visited Charleston and Columbia, S. C., but did not cross the ocean.

Governor Swain was active in making historical collections to the end of his life; but most of them remain in private hands, with the exception of a MS. copy of Governor Tryon's Letter-book, obtained from Harvard University, and deposited in the Executive Office, in Raleigh.

The Colonial historical documents which were ordered to be printed by the Legislature, in 1861, were the MS. records in the archives at Raleigh. The Resolution was rescinded by the Convention, which met that Spring; and the volume has never been printed.

F. P. B.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

XI.—BOOKS.

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of The Historical Magazine, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.," or to Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway*, *New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Captain John Cleves Symmes.* Sine loco, [*Cincinnati?*] sine anno. [1871?] Octavo. pp. 28.

In a recent issue of the Magazine, we called the attention of our readers to the recent publication, by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, of two elegant volumes of *Pioneer Biographies*, written by the late venerable James McBride of Hamilton, Ohio; and, in the elegant tract before us, we find one of that series of biographies—that of Captain John Cleves Symmes—separately printed, evidently for private circulation.

There was enough in the character and career of Captain Symmes to entitle him to this distinction; and the venerable biographer's very carefully prepared and very useful memoir will assume, in this separate form, its proper place on the Catalogues of Libraries, as an important addition to the local historical, the military, and the scientific literature of the country.

It is very beautifully printed and will ornament any library table.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society.* 1871. New York: Printed for the Society. 1871. Octavo, pp. iv., 72, 68.

A new edition of the Society's Catalogue, with the proper references to the various additions which have been made to its Museum and Galleries, during the past few months.

There is nothing particularly noteworthy in the work; but collectors and others of our readers will be interested in the knowledge of its appearance.

3.—*Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio*, by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. Published for the Society by a Gentleman of Cleveland. Cleveland: 1871. Octavo, pp. 40.

We have already noticed, in the Magazine, the commendable beginning which Colonel Whittlesey has made to bring his floating contributions to American history and American science—which have been common plunder, year after year, for every one who has been disposed to steal from others instead of producing for himself—into such shapes as shall secure for him as their author, the credit, to which he is justly entitled; and we suppose the tract before us is one of that series of productions.

It contains, First, a sketch of the *History of the Surveys;* Second, a brief essay on the *Ancient Inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley and the Lake Regions;* Fourth, a *Comparison of the Pre-historic Races, in Europe and America;* Fifth, careful descriptions of the various earth-forts of the Cuyahoga-valley, in Ohio, illustrated with well-executed plates and maps; Sixth, similar descriptions of the ancient Pits, or Caches, and the Rock inscriptions, also illustrated, and of other relics of the bygone races who have inhabited the western country.

No more interesting and important service could be done for American Archæology and History than this, which Colonel Whittlesey has done in this tract; and the completeness and evident accuracy of his descriptions, so amply and judiciously illustrated, induce us to hope that other works, of like character, will soon be forthcoming.

The tract, in all its parts, is very neatly executed.

4.—*Constitution, By-laws, and List of Members of the Georgia Historical Society.* Savannah: 1871. Octavo, pp. 27.

There is no Society of this class which is more richly entitled to the respect of those who regard the history of the United States with any favor, than is the Georgia Historical Society, chartered in 1839; and we welcome this excellent evidence that "it still lives," in very fact, with a fine list of Resident Members and every appearance of reasonable prosperity.

We notice some errors in the list of Honorary Members—our venerable and honored friend, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, of Boston, for instance, is marked as "Deceased"; and so are Colonel Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, and President Woods, of Brunswick, Maine; while Rev. Doctor Bethune, of New York; Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of Salem; Hon. George Folsom, of New York; Albert G. Greene, of Providence; Doctor Robert W. Gibbes, of Columbia, S. C.; Rev. Doctor Jenks, of Boston; Doctor Usher Parsons, of Providence, and Hon. William Willis, of Portland, considered as among the living, are, alas! no more on earth.

The Society has our best wishes for its continued prosperity.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

5.—*Statistics of Minnesota, pertaining to Agriculture Manufactures, Population, &c., &c. For* 1870. Being the Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics to the Governor. Made according to Law. Saint Paul: Press Printing Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 187.

A few months since, we referred to the admirable manner in which the Assistant Secretary of State of Minnesota had discharged the duties recently imposed upon him, in making him the statistician of the State; and commended his First Report, in terms which we certainly considered were justly called for, by its unquestionable merits. In the volume before us, we have the second volume of the series, which, if possible, surpasses the first, in the completeness of its details and the admirable manner in which they are arranged.

A more perfect picture of Minnesota, as that young State was, a few months since, cannot be conceived; and the ability and industry of the officer who constructed it are worthy of all praise.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*Drawing Book for Schools and Beginners.* Designed and Drawn by M. H. Holmes. Parts I–IV. Elementary. New York: Harper & Bros. Sine anno. *Oblong.*

A new series of Drawing Books, extending, in its examples, from a straight line to a flight of steps, in perspective, and, as far as we can judge, admirably adapted to lead the beginner, whether in a school or elsewhere, from the first step, in drawing, to a moderate respectability in that useful accomplishment. The examples are admirably lithographed; and the books, in every respect, are very neatly gotten up.

7.—*The Institutes of Medicine.* By Martyn Paine, M.D., LL.D., etc. Ninth Edition. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. xvi, 1151.

The author of this portly volume is one of "the Old Guard" of medical science; and wherever he is seen or heard, no child's play need be expected. He has become celebrated, the world over, as a leader, if not the head, of that particular school of Allopathy which recognizes the supremacy of the *Vital* rather than that of the mere *Chemical* power; and, in defense of his peculiar system, he wields a pen of unusual power and with a resolution of purpose and an evident conviction of his truthfulness which are seldom seen.

We are not expected to know enough of the subjects discussed to allow us to become a party in the contest; but we cannot fail to be impressed with the untiring industry with which Doctor Paine has collected his material, the remarkable skill with which he has employed it, and the positive earnestness with which he presents it to the world, in opposition to what he conceives to be the radical errors of his own professional brethren. Indeed, there is so much boldness, both in the man and the manner, that no one can mistake either the entire sincerity of the one or the entire originality of the other; and, whether agreeing or disagreeing, the careful, honest, intelligent reader—and no other need attempt to fathom the mysteries of his tremendous *seven-page sentences, unbroken by a single full stop*—will lay down the volume with astonishment and respect.

The volume is made for service rather than ornament; and it makes no claim whatever to typographical beauty,

8.—*Anteros.* A Novel. By the author of *Guy Livingstone*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871, Octavo, pp. 165. Price 50 cents.

Ralph the heir. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. Octavo, pp. 282.

A Life's Assize. A Novel. By Mrs. J. H. Riddell. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 157. Price 50 cents.

The Monarch of Mincing Lane. A Novel. By William Black. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 153. Price 50 cents.

Her Lord and Master. A Tale. By Florence Marryat. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 117. Price 50 cents.

Five works of fiction, by eminent authors, printed very neatly, and sold at low prices.

9.—*Bench and Bar:* a complete digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperities, and Amenities of the Law. By L. J. Bigelow. With portraits and illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 532.

This is a new and much enlarged edition of a work which we noticed when it first appeared; and we have glanced over the pages, both those of the reprint and those now first printed, and been amused with some of the funny paragraphs which we find there. We have been surprised to find, however, how much of a partisan work it is; and how much pleasure its author sometimes enjoys in contradicting himself, when it becomes necessary to do so in order to make a point against a political opponent—contrast, for instance, what he said of Judge Taney and the rights of negroes, on page 126, with what he said, on the same subject, on page 130. The proof-reader, also, by reason of his oversight, has helped to make the volume still less acceptable—a feature which is seldom seen in a book from the Harpers.

10.—*The Wonders of the Heavens.* By Camille Flammarion. From the French, by Mrs. Norman Lockyer. With forty-eight illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. iv., 289.

Wonderful Escapes. Revised from the French of F. Bernard and original Chapters added. By Richard Whiting. With twenty-six Plates. Duodecimo, pp. vi., 308.

The Wonders of Engraving. By George Duplessis. Illustrated with thirty-four wood engravings. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 338.

Wonders of European Art. By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with eleven wood engravings. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. vii., 235.

Four additional volumes of the wonderful *Library of Wonders* which this excellent house, during the past two years, has been scattering over the country.

As a home library, for instruction as well as entertainment, we know of nothing which is more attractive; and as twenty-two volumes have been issued, it is a library in itself, such as few families already possess.

11.—*Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham,* written by himself. In three volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 380.

Who does not know of Lord Brougham —the acute lawyer, the sturdy advocate, the merciless reviewer, the astute Judge, the clear-headed politician, whose unequalled sarcasm and ugly phiz have served to increase what, without either of these and even without the help of *Punch*, would have made their possessor one of the most famous of modern notables?

In the volume before us, we have the first installment of this remarkable man's remarkable *Autobiography*, bringing down his record, as written by himself, to 1810; and we have seldom seen a work in which appears so perfect a picture of the Scottish and English society of that period—1778 to 1810—as this. It is exceedingly minute and circumstantial; and to those whose tastes lead them to remember the *personnel* of British high life, a century since, this volume will be unusually attractive. The succeeding volumes will be more interesting to us; and we shall look for them with unusual interest.

12.—*The Ogilvies.* A Novel. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 421. Price $1.50

Olive. A Novel. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 428. Price $1.50

The Head of the Family. A Novel. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 528. Price $1.50

Motherless; or A Parisian Family. From the French of Madame Guizot DeWitt. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman,* for Girls in their teens. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 253. Price $1.50

Fair France. Impressions of a Traveller. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 212. Price $1.50

Miss Mulock is so widely and so favorably known, through her writings, that we need say nothing on the subject beyond a mere announcement of what, to some extent, is an uniform edition of her writings —if those may be called *uniform* which, except in their height, are very often, entirely different.

All, however, are very neatly printed and bound; and all, we doubt not, will find a most hearty welcome among those of our readers whose tastes lead them, also, to the lighter literature of the day.

13.—*Science for the Young. Heat.* By Jacob Abbott. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 306.

——— *Light.* By Jacob Abbott. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 313.

These well-printed and carefully illustrated volumes form the opening works of a series, for the instruction of youth in the principles of science; and they are clothed in narrative, in order that those for whom they were written may not only receive their teachings in an agreeable form but be taught the fundamental principles of the several sciences treated of, more thoroughly and accurately than is usual.

The author acknowledges the assistance he has enjoyed, while preparing these volumes for the press, from recent European works; and the publishers have certainly seconded his efforts by the liberal outlay of illustrations with which the volumes are ornamented.

The series certainly ought to be successful and we hope it will be.

THE

Historical Advertiser.

NOVEMBER, 1870.

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The great trouble which the care of unbound pamphlets impose on every one who has attempted to preserve them is too well known to require comment; and *the very best* plan for avoiding that trouble, as far as we have seen those plans, is in the case which is offered therein. We have one in use, and we speak from actual experiment.

—*Littell's Living Age* needs no commendation from us. It is one of the *oldest*, as it has always been one of the *best*, of the periodicals of our country; and those who desire to keep pace with the current of foreign literature can employ no better means than are offered in this work.

—*The Historical Magazine*, back volumes, in several cases, cannot be had seperately; and several numbers are no longer to be had, unless in *complete volumes*, and two of them only when *complete sets of the Series* are ordered. Those who desire to secure particular volumes or to complete sets, will see the propriety of taking time by the forelock.

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—*The Sun* "shines for all"—for no one more than for you, reader; and you better "make "hay while it shines," by sending your orders to Mr. England, whose address you will find in his advertisement.

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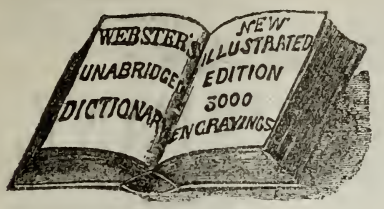
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TO OUR READERS.

I.—The importance of the question of, so-called, "neutrality," at the present moment, is so great that a very unusual proportion of the space in this number is occupied with a careful review of Mr. Adams's recent Address on that subject, before the N. Y. Historical Society; and, at the suggestion of those who were consulted on the subject and in accordance with our own views of its *present* importance, this number of the Magazine has been delayed, in order that it might appear, at the earliest possible moment.

II.—The March number of the Magazine, which is well advanced, will contain the celebrated "Motley Letter," about which Mr. John Jay made so much noise, some years ago, when he is said to have attempted, unsuccessfully, to bring *the military power of the Federal authorities to bear on its author* for having amused himself in a sick-room by writing it. It will also contain the first of a series of ten articles on New Jersey history which the Magazine for 1871 has been promised from the accomplished pen of President Tuttle, of Wabash College, Indiana; a historical sketch of the Buffalo Historical Society, by its President, O. H. Marshall, Esqr.; and various other articles of interest.

III.—The number for April, which is also in the printers' hands, will contain the Rev. Doctor Gillett's exhaustive paper on the development of Unitarianism in America—a paper which may extend beyond the ordinary limits of the April number and thus oblige us to unite that and the May number, in one cover.

IV.—The celebrated paper, yet unpublished, of *Washington in Morris-county, New Jersey*, by President Tuttle, is also in the printers' hands, in New York, and will appear in an early number.

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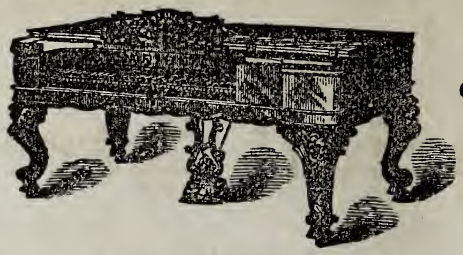
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TO OUR READERS.

The publication of "The Motley Letter," with which this number opens, will not be unacceptable to the friends of its author, by whom it has been so long heard of in terms of bitter malignity. Whether or not the distinguished Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Austrian Court and those who have echoed his raillery concerning it will be equally pleased with it is not within our province to determine.

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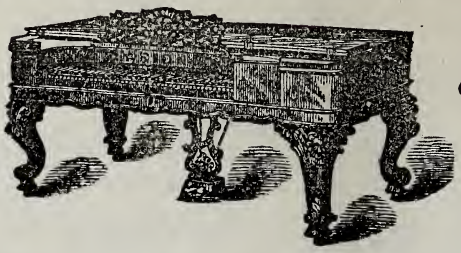
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April & May, 1871.

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

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